Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II: Poetry, Religion, and Society

Mnemosyne Supplements

LATE ANTIQUE LITERATURE

Editors

David Bright (*Emory*)
Scott McGill (*Rice*)
Joseph Pucci (*Brown*)

Editorial Board

Laura Miguélez-Cavero (*Oxford*)
Stratis Papaioannou (*Brown*)
Aglae Pizzone (*Geneva*)
Karla Pollmann (*Kent*)

VOLUME 408

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/mns-lal*

Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II: Poetry, Religion, and Society

Proceedings of the International Conference on Nonnus of Panopolis, 26th – 29th September 2013, University of Vienna, Austria

Edited by

Herbert Bannert
Nicole Kröll

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Bacchus als god van de wijn, Pieter Serwouters, after Jacob Matham (1616–1657), engraving (detail); h 51mm × w 68mm, Inv.-Nr. RP-P-1886-A-10529
Rijksmuseum Amsterdam

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at http://catalog.loc.gov
LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2017035550

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2214-5621
ISBN 978-90-04-34119-7 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-35512-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense and Hotei Publishing.
All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.
Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Les auteurs et les éditeurs
dédient ce volume d'études nonniennes

à la mémoire de Pierre Chuvin
(18.7.1943–26.12.2016)

professeur émérite à l'Université Paris X-Nanterre
spécialiste de poésie grecque tardive et de mythologie
connaisseur de l'Asie centrale et du monde turc
grand savant et cher ami

σὺ δὲ χαῖρε, καὶ ἵλαος ἔσσο

Contents

Preface xi
Herbert Bannert and Nicole Kröll
List of Abbreviations xix
List of Illustrations xx

Introduction: Nonnus, from Our Time to His. A Retrospective Glance at Nonnian Studies (Notably the *Dionysiaca*) since the 1930s 1
Pierre Chuvin

PART 1
The Poetry of the Dionysiaca

1 The Cadmus Narrative in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 21
Michael Paschalis

2 Dionysus, Ampelus, and Mythological Examples in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 33
Katerina Carvounis

3 Nonnus' Catalogic Strategies. A Preliminary Approach to the *Dionysiaca* 52
Laura Miguélez-Cavero

4 Mythographic Lists as Sources of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus 73
Simon Zuenelli

5 Similes and Comparisons in the *Dionysiaca*: Imitation, Innovation, Erudition 86
Camille Geisz

6 What a Wonder! Looking through the Text-Internal Observer's Eyes in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 98
Berenice Verhelst

7 **The Tablets of Harmonia and the Role of Poet and Reader in the *Dionysiaca*** 120
Joshua Fincher

PART 2
***The Poetry of the* Paraphrasis**

8 **In the Beginning was the Voice** 141
Jane L. Lightfoot

9 **Words and Their Meaning. On the Chronology of the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*** 156
Fabian Sieber

10 **Characterization of Persons and Groups of Persons in the *Metabole*** 166
Maria Ypsilanti and Laura Franco

11 **The Wise Mysteries of the Sacrificial Hour. Nonnus' Exegesis of *John* 4.23** 184
Filip Doroszewski

12 ***Flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae.* Nonnus' *Paraphrase* 7.143–148, *John* 7.37–38, and the Symbolism of Living Water** 195
Roberta Franchi

13 **The Staphylus Episode. Nonnus and the Secret Gospel of Mark** 216
Konstantinos Spanoudakis

PART 3
Nonnus of Panopolis in Context

14 **Nonnus and Pindar** 255
Daria Gigli Piccardi

15 **Christodorus of Coptus on the Statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople. Text and Context** 271
Mary Whitby

16 **An Attempt to Remove the Asia-Europe Opposition. Καύκασος in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis** 289
Nestan Egetashvili

17 **Metrische Beobachtungen zum Hexameter der Disticha des *Kyklos*** 299
Claudio De Stefani

18 **Die Versuchung des Nonnos. Der Mythos als Brücke zwischen Heiden- und Christentum** 327
Domenico Accorinti

19 **The Quest for Nonnus' Life. From Scholarship to Fiction** 355
David Hernández de la Fuente

20 ***Ut poesis pictura.* Nonnus' Europa Episode as Poetry and Painting** 374
Robert Shorrock

Appendix: Note on Panopolis in Upper Egypt (Now Akhmim, Governorate Sohag) in Late Antiquity and After 393
Michael Zach

Bibliography 395
Index of Passages 427
Index of Greek Words 430
General Index 431

Preface

Herbert Bannert and Nicole Kröll

Προχθές του Νόννου στίχους εδιαβάζαμε. Τι εικόνες, τι ρυθμός, τι γλώσσα, τι αρμονία. Ενθουσιασμένοι τον Πανοπολίτην εθαυμάζαμε.

The other day we read some lines by Nonnos: what imagery, what rhythm, what diction and harmony! All enthusiasm, how we admired the Panopolitan.

Once upon a time in Alexandria, five exiles from Constantinople responded with delight to the words of the author of the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*. The famous lines by C.P. Cavafis (1863–1933), written in 1914,[1] come to mind, when, for three bright days late in September 2013, Nonnian scholars from all over the world came to Vienna to discuss various aspects of the dynamics of Nonnus' œuvre as well as the intellectual context of the Panopolitan and of his contemporaries. The contributions collected in this volume, essentially the Proceedings of the Conference "Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II: Poetry, Religion, and Society" (26–28 September, 2013), although sometimes varying in subject-matter and approach, intend to give a comprehensive view of the problems and questions of interpretation connected with Nonnus and with late antique epic poetry. The volume, according to the title of the Conference, is designed to cover literary, cultural and religious aspects of Nonnus' poetry as well as to highlight the social and educational background of both the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*.

The papers are divided into three sections: 1. The Poetry of the *Dionysiaca*; 2. The Poetry of the *Paraphrasis*; 3. Nonnus of Panopolis in Context.

1 Κωνσταντίνος Καβάφης, Κρυμμένα Ποιήματα 1877–1923, Athens: Ίκαρος 1993; C.B. Cavafy, Collected Poems, translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, edited by George Savidis. Revised edition, Princeton, N.J. 1992, 200 and 271; cf. Bowersock 2009, 174.—The historical background of the poem is the four-year Photian schism (863–867), when Emperor Michael III was assassinated by his successor Basilius I (the Macedonian).

An introduction is provided by a survey of Nonnian scholarship of the last decades, in combination with a bibliographically orientated assessment of compositional poetics: **Pierre Chuvin**, *Nonnus, from Our Time to His. A Retrospective Glance at Nonnian Studies* (*notably the* Dionysiaca) *since the 1930s*.

The section on the *Dionysiaca* is opened by **Michael Paschalis**, *The Cadmus Narrative in Nonnus'* Dionysiaca, arguing that Nonnus shifts the focus of the narrative from a search for Europa to a search for the bull. Cadmus' involvement in the Typhonomachy and his voyage to Samothrace constitute insertions in the standard version of the myth: the rape of Europa by Zeus, the hero's search for his sister, and the foundation of Thebes following an oracle. While the focus of the narration is laid on these insertions, Cadmus' search is so thinly spread out and seems to be so irrelevant from a thematic viewpoint that the reader loses sight of its point. However, the combination of different narratives does make sense when the focus of the narration is slightly shifted.

Katerina Carvounis, *Dionysus, Ampelus, and Mythological Examples in Nonnus'* Dionysiaca, offers a close reading of one episode in order to highlight subtleties in Nonnus' mythical mode more generally. Ampelus' death and subsequent transformation constitute an important episode in the first half of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. The paper displays the relationship between Ampelus and Dionysus, who are repeatedly compared to and contrasted with each other by a series of famous mythological *exempla* bringing together other gods or mortals (such as the stories of Zeus and Ganymede, or of Apollo and Hyacinthus, which is prominent in this episode, but also recurs elsewhere in the epic); moreover, a rather obscure story is inserted, the encounter of Calamus and Carpus. Building on recent research on this episode, Nonnus' use of mythological *exempla* and rhetorical effects in *Dionysiaca* 10–12 is examined.

Laura Miguélez-Cavero, *Nonnus' Catalogic Strategies. A Preliminary Approach to the* Dionysiaca, gives a rich contextualizing overview of the role of catalogues in Nonnus' poetry, and in epic more widely. The programmatic, performative and narrative functions displayed by Homer, especially with the Catalogue of Ships in *Il.* 2, constitute catalogues as an essential part of epic poetry, and, inevitably, also as a major concern for scholars. Moreover, the chapter aims to explore the macro-structural impact of catalogues in the *Dionysiaca*, that is, how they contribute to the overall understanding of the poem, how they are inserted in the poem as structural devices, and how they can be seen in the light of catalogues in Homeric and post-Homeric poetry.

Simon Zuenelli, *Mythographic Lists as Sources of the* Dionysiaca *of Nonnus*, argues firstly that Nonnus was very likely to have used mythographic lists in composing the *Dionysiaca*, and secondly that an alphabetical list of metamorphoses forms the basis of the catalogue at *Dion.* 12.70–102. This hypothetical list can also be linked to discourse-material of rhetorical school education.

Camille Geisz, *Similes and Comparisons in the* Dionysiaca*: Imitation, Innovation, Erudition*, explores some of the Homeric reference points in a range of Nonnian similes. Unlike his predecessors, Nonnus favours mythical and literary themes as subject matter for many of his similes, some are directly inspired by Homeric similes, and some are transformed, varied, complemented, and adapted to a different context. Through his use of similes, the Nonnian narrator illustrates the narrative in a way which provides both a variety of vignettes taken from a world beyond the *Dionysiaca*, and the pleasure of recognizing elements taken from Homer and reworked in Nonnian style.

Berenice Verhelst, *What a Wonder! Looking Through the Text-internal Observer's Eyes in Nonnus'* Dionysiaca, offers a concise study of anonymous observers' speeches in the poem: unique in many ways, the *Dionysiaca* also differs considerably from other Greek epic poetry in its use of character speech. By comparing the two Homeric epics as well as Apollonius and Quintus of Smyrna with Nonnus, it is argued that only in this epic poem so many different characters raise their voices. A more fundamental difference, regarding the function of speech, is the limited presence of conversation, which most probably is caused by a strong influence of contemporary rhetoric.

Joshua Fincher, *The Tablets of Harmonia and the Role of Poet and Reader in the* Dionysiaca, proposes a metapoetic reading of the Tablets of Harmonia in books 12 and 41 of the *Dionysiaca*. When interpreted allegorically and read together, these passages provide a metapoetic commentary on the role of the poet, reader, and literary tradition: the tablets represent the complex, accumulated literary tradition of the classical past; Helios and Harmonia, with their cosmic vantage, represent the poet guiding the reader through the world of literary history as subsumed within his poem and its Dionysiac lens; Autumn and Aphrodite signify two ideal models of reading the *Dionysiaca*, the former focusing on the main narrative thread, the latter on digressiveness. This serves to graphically illustrate how Nonnus conceives of his role as poet of universal history and the ideal attitude of his readers.

The section dedicated to the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel* opens with **Jane L. Lightfoot**, *In the Beginning was the Voice*, a contribution on the relationship between the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*. Various models have been proposed for the apparent correspondences between the two epics: syncretism, accommodationism (whereby *St John's Gospel* was chosen because it offered the greatest potential for overlap with enlightened paganism), *Kontrastimitation* (whereby the Christian poem appropriates the attributes of pagan deities in a competitive spirit), and Livrea's notion that the *Dionysiaca* was meant to demonstrate that paganism already contained inti-

mations of Christianity. Lightfoot discusses those models considering the two poems' presentation of inspiration and prophecy and the figurative language applied to them. It is suggested that, as far as the related notions of prophecy, inspiration, and futurity are concerned, each poem—despite the use of a common lexicon, imagery, and certain phraseological parallels—retains its own system with more or less consistency and integrity, and hence that syncretism has its limits as a way of understanding the dynamic between the two works.

Fabian Sieber, *Words and Their Meaning. On the Chronology of the* Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel, discusses important issues in textual interpretation and Christological debate. There are open questions concerning the *Paraphrasis*: Should it be interpreted as a rather clumsy imitation of the Gospel? Is it a kind of commentary? Or is it something completely different—just a piece of epic poetry? In his presentation, Sieber proposes a reading based on text- and tradition-immanent observations. The *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*, then, is interpreted in line with the development of the New Testament Canon according to the textual tradition of the Old Testament. The canonical and extra-canonical Gospels are a product of a relecture of traditions, therefore the *Paraphrasis* is not only based on a *Vorlage* but is commenting (metatext), imitating (hypertext) and transforming (becoming a hypotext) a *Vorlage* which in itself is multitextual and a genre beyond any genre.

Maria Ypsilanti and **Laura Franco**, *Characterization of Persons and Groups of Persons in the* Metabole, argue that in the *Paraphrasis*, by using several adjectives and phrases to characterize persons and groups of persons, Nonnus goes beyond the Gospel's narrative which tends to present persons in a neuter way, without commenting on their disposition or actions. Nonnus therefore adds elements to the Johannine text, creating imagery which highlights various aspects of the persons described, according to his own imagination, or influenced by interpretative works he uses (namely Cyril) and by social trends of his time. For instance, the Jewish priests are θρασεῖς, ἀναιδεῖς and ἀνιπτόποδες, the latter (Homeric) adjective being heavily ironical; the Jewish crowd is δολοπλόκος, has "envious" or "deceitful" mouth and is conceived as a "swarm". The anti-Jewish attitude is further extended to the presentation of Annas and Caiaphas, who are described as ἀθέμιστος, ἐπίκλοπος (Caiaphas), θρασύς and with a θεημάχος voice (Annas), and of the Pharisees. These and other instances are examined in the context of Nonnian rhetoric and of his usual method to describe and to characterize persons.

Filip Doroszewski, *The Wise Mysteries of the Sacrificial Hour. Nonnus' Exegesis of* John *4.23*, expounds Nonnus' exegetical practice and his sacrificial terminology, focused on a single verse. In Nonnus' renarration of Jesus' conversation with the Samaritan Woman about worship (*John* 4.1–42), the essential

difference between the Judaic worship and a new, better way of honouring God, lies in the type of sacrifice performed. Whereas the Judaic cult practices are characterized by regular animal sacrifices, the worship in Spirit and in truth, as depicted by Nonnus in *Par.* 4.110–118 (= *John* 4.23), is based on a unique "sacrificial hour" (θυηπόλος ὥρη) and the "wise initiations" (σοφαὶ τελεταί). Doroszewski argues that in Nonnus' exegesis the meaning of *John* 4.23 is strictly interrelated with the death and resurrection of Jesus, and he further examines *Par.* 4.110–118, especially the expressions "sacrificial hour" and "wise initiations", in the broader context of the poem, with special regard to the passages relating to the Feast of Tabernacles and the Crucifixion.

Roberta Franchi, Flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae. *Nonnus'* Paraphrase *7.143–148,* John *7.37–38, and the Symbolism of Living Water*, points out that in the Old Testament water symbolizes the life lavished by God upon nature and human beings, and thus is connected with God's Spirit (*Is.* 44.3–4). In the *Gospel of St John* (7.37–39), rivers of living water are mentioned in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles. Interpreting this passage, three major problems arise, of punctuation, of the position of the personal pronoun, and of the source of the Scripture citation. Dealing with these questions, and with regard to Nonnus' handling of that subject, Franchi demonstrates convincingly that water imagery is a kind of *Leitmotiv* throughout the *Paraphrasis*, and has also some influence on the conception of the *Dionysiaca*.

Konstantinos Spanoudakis, *The Staphylus Episode. Nonnus and the* Secret Gospel of Mark, investigates a passage from the *Secret Gospel of Mark* (SGM), allegedly an expanded version of the canonical Gospel, quoted in a previously unknown letter ascribed to Clement of Alexandria. The letter was found in 1958 in the Mar Saba monastery and published in 1973 by Morton Smith. The passage recounts that Christ resurrects a youth of Bethany who then entertains him and his escort for a week. The last night Jesus invites to his chamber the youth who turns out wearing nothing but a white robe, to be taught "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven". The content of the letter, the conditions of its discovery (the whereabouts of the manuscript meanwhile are unknown), and the personality of Morton Smith have rendered the *SGM* probably the most provocative and controversial discovery of the last century. Nevertheless, the *SGM* is presented as a source forming part of an episode in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*. The argument also would affect the question of the *SGM*'s authenticity.

The last section, 'Nonnus of Panopolis in Context', opens with an important overview and a thorough discussion of the role of Pindaric poetry in the *Dionysiaca* by **Daria Gigli Piccardi**, with the presentation of the well-known proem

to book 25, where Nonnus mentions Pindar together with Homer as his inspiration. Whereas the imitation of Homeric poetry appears quite obvious, the reference to Pindar can only be understood in relation to the quality and consistency of the lyric poetry adapted to epic contexts. Attention should also be paid to this process in the earlier Hellenistic poetry of Callimachus, and, for late antique intellectual discussions, to the commentaries on Pindar, from ancient Scholia to Eustathius' Commentary.

Mary Whitby, *Christodorus of Coptus on the Statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople. Text and Context*, relates Christodorus' ecphrastic account to contemporary archaeological evidence. Christodorus' poem, preserved as the second book of the Greek Anthology, describes a collection of eighty statues in the baths of Zeuxippus in Constantinople, usually assumed to be spolia gathered to adorn Constantine's new capital. Christodorus, author of the poem, originated from Coptus in Egypt and is one of the group of 'wandering poets' characterized in Alan Cameron's classic 1965 Historia article (Cameron, Alan 1965). The statues portray a wide range of subjects: pagan divinities, prophets and seers, a substantial group of figures associated with the story of Troy, Greek and Roman historical and literary figures. This chapter relates the Zeuxippus collection to other known bathhouse statue schemes and other statue collections in Constantinople; it further examines the extent to which the poem should be interpreted in the light of the literary tradition of descriptions of works of art and the learned tradition of Nonnian poetry.

Nestan Egetashvili, *An Attempt to Remove the Asia-Europe Opposition. Καύκασος in the* Dionysiaca *of Nonnus of Panopolis*, discusses the representation of the Caucasus in the poem and offers a primarily descriptive list of points at which the Caucasus is mentioned by Nonnus and others. In addition, some contributions in Georgian are cited.

Claudio De Stefani, *Metrische Beobachtungen zum Hexameter der Disticha des* Kyklos, outlines the different metrical practices undertaken by authors in epigrams and in hexametric poetry. The metrics of the epigrammists of the age of Justinian is usually analyzed according to the usage of Nonnus, but, as is argued, the epigrams of the *Cyclus* show many a metrical feature which in Nonnus (and his most strict followers) would be impossible. The consequences of this analysis are twofold: the metrical skill of these poets can be evaluated, and there is no need to correct passages in which the 'laws' of Nonnus are not executed.

Domenico Accorinti on myth as a bridge between paganism and Christendom (*Die Versuchung des Nonnos. Der Mythos als Brücke zwischen Heiden- und Christentum*) starts with the curious coincidence that two of the most intriguing and controversial figures of Late Antiquity, Synesius of Cyrene and

Nonnus of Panopolis, have been reputed to have experienced a conversion from paganism to Christianity. Further coincidental is the fact that the first, the Neoplatonic philosopher and former pupil of Hypatia, became bishop of Ptolemais in 412, the second, the author of epics on Christ and Dionysus, has been conjectured to be the same person as the homonymous bishop of Edessa. Accorinti suggests another link between the two men: in the same way in which Synesius struggled to lead an active life as bishop and a contemplative one as philosopher, Nonnus fluctuated between classical and Christian culture, constantly tempted by myth. Examples taken from the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis* illustrate how Nonnus used myth to bridge the pagan and Christian world.

David Hernández de la Fuente, *The Quest for Nonnus' Life. From Scholarship to Fiction*, provides a survey of Nonnian biographical traditions, focusing particularly on fictional biographies of the poet. Being such a rare specimen of poet, to whom two apparently different works are attributed, a *Life of Nonnus* would have spared modern scholars much trouble in their interpretation of both the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*. In this contribution, documents are collected in which the literary fascination for this missing *Life* during the centuries of reception is demonstrated; furthermore, a brief examination is given of several attempts to provide biographical profile, from scholarship to fiction writing.

Robert Shorrock, Ut poesis pictura. *Nonnus' Europa Episode as Poetry and Painting*, is an article about the depiction of Nonnus' Europa episode in both textual and visual form. Shorrock first considers Nonnus' own playful and allusive construction of the Europa episode, positioned at the very start of the epic narrative, before turning the spotlight on an extraordinary, and previously overlooked, painting of the 'Abduction of Europa' by the eighteenth-century French rococo artist Noël-Nicolas Coypel (1772). Moreover, cross-referenced with the articles of Paschalis (on the Europa tale), Carvounis (on Boreas and Europa) and Verhelst (on witnesses and interpreters of the scene), both opulent presentations, the textual and visual, of a famous and well-known myth are a suitable conclusion to the volume.

In an *Appendix*, **Michael Zach** gives information and some hints for further reading concerning the history of Panopolis in Late Antiquity, when, around the year 500, the kingdom of Meroe collapsed and the Middle Nile Valley was united under the Nubians. Nothing of that, as far as we can see, is reflected in Nonnus' poems.

Reading Nonnus is a pleasure, but it is also demanding. The language of the epic, while inspired and often guided by Homer, of course is modern as well, rooted in the author's own times, famous for mushrooming neologisms, and therefore not easy to access. The mythological tales and arrangements of the *Dionysiaca* are interesting as being the longest and most elaborate examples of Greek myths in their late stage, and sometimes overloaded with fantasy. On the other hand, the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*, indebted to religious and political circumstances of Late Antiquity, is the poet's masterpiece in demonstrating that he can present the new myth of the Saviour and the stories which are associated with his life and deeds in the same poetic form as he does with pagan mythology. Therefore, the distinction between pagan and Christian should focus less on the author's Christianity, but more on the audience and its expectations. Both the tales of Dionysus and the stories of the New Testament provide distinguished characters and an excellent background for narration. Thus the invocation of the Muse at the beginning of the *Dionysiaca* chimes well with the invocation of the Word at the beginning of the *Paraphrasis*.

The editors of this volume thank all participants in and contributors to the Vienna Conference, especially Laura Miguélez-Cavero for suggesting publication in 'Brill's Late Ancient Literature, A Supplement to *Mnemosyne*' (and Joseph Pucci as series editor), Konstantinos Spanoudakis for sharing the idea of a regularly recurrent gathering of Nonnian scholars and for coining the main title of the conference series, and Domenico Accorinti for providing bibliographical information, particularly with the comprehensive bibliography of *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* (Accorinti 2016). A special thank goes to the anonymous reviewer of the manuscripts, who gave excellent advice and made many suggestions which gratefully were accepted by authors and editors.

Last but not least, with due respect, we all are grateful to Nonnus himself and to readers and interpreters of his epic: Ενθουσιασμένοι τον Πανοπολίτην εθαυμάζαμε.

List of Abbreviations

Cunliffe	Cunliffe, R.C., *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Norman ^{2}1963).
DNP	*Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike* (*DNP*), edd. H. Cancik et al., 16 vols., 1996–2003 (Stuttgart etc.).
LIMC	*Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (*LIMC*), publié par la Fondation pour le Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC), edd. H.C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler, 8 vols. + 2 vols. indexes, 1981–1999 (Zürich etc.).
LSA	*Last Statues of Antiquity* (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk, 1.8.2017).
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon, with a Revised Supplement*, edd. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, ^{9}1996 (Oxford).
Lampe	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe, 1961 (Oxford etc.).
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols., 1857–1866 (Lutetiae Parisiorum etc.).
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, ed. F.J. Dölger et al., 27 vols. + 1 vol. index + 2 suppl., 1950–2015 (Stuttgart).
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (http://www.tlg.uci.edu/, 1.8.2017).
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. G. Müller, G. Krause et al., 36 vols. + 3 vols. indexes (Berlin etc.).

List of Illustrations

12.1 *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well.* Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Italy. © Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 202

18.1 Auguste Rodin (1840–1917), *Apollon et Marsyas* (ca. 1880). P. Picard (ed.), *Rodin. La lumière de l'antiquité*, Paris 2013: 174 (Nr. 92). 354

20.1 Noël-Nicolas Coypel, *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1722. Oil on canvas, 90 × 102 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund. Photo: Katherine Wetzel. © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. 381

20.2 Simon Vouet, *The Rape of Europa*, circa 1640. Oil on canvas, 179 × 142 cm. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. © Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. 382

20.3 Noël-Nicolas Coypel, *La Naissance de Vénus* (*The Birth of Venus*), 1732. Oil on canvas, 81 × 65 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Inv. no. GE-1176. Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Leonard Kheifets. 383

20.4 Noël-Nicolas Coypel, *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727. Oil on canvas, 127 × 193 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia. Acquired with the kind assistance of John Cadwalader, Jr., through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Orville Bullitt (by exchange), the Edith H. Bell Fund, and other Museum funds, 1978-160-1. 384

20.5 Boreas and Europa, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 385

20.6 A triton plays the conch for Zeus, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 386

20.7 Cupid taking Zeus by the horns, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 387

20.8 Two cupids shepherding Zeus, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 387

20.9 Nereid on Dolphin, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 388

20.10 Poseidon, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 389

20.11 Nereus, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 390

20.12 The river-god Enipeus, detail from Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (*The Abduction of Europa*), 1727 391

INTRODUCTION

Nonnus, from Our Time to His. A Retrospective Glance at Nonnian Studies (Notably the *Dionysiaca*) since the 1930s

Pierre Chuvin

There is certainly no need to underline the importance of the 1930s to Nonnian studies. Works published during this decade by Paul Collart, Josef Golega, Viktor Stegemann, Albert Wifstrand, and Rudolf Keydell still influence scholarship today. A turning point, then? Certainly, but why and how? The flavour of the time was in many respects a bitter one, and the menacing atmosphere and global turmoil of the troubled decade weighed heavily on scholars and scholarly research: Keydell had begun working on his edition, a replacement for that of Ludwich (1909–1911), in the thirties but it finally appeared only in 1959.

Nowadays Nonnian scholarship is flourishing again. The numerous new, densely annotated editions in the Budé series and, for the *Dionysiaca*, in the BUR, the work-in-progress on the *Paraphrase* project, the reappraisal of the poetic treasury of Late Antiquity, and recent Nonnian conferences such as the present one in Vienna (2013), its predecessor in Rethymnon (2011), and, I trust, the next one in Warsaw (2015), all testify to this revival.

I shall begin by offering a brief outline of the innovations of the 1930s, beginning with some metrical and stylistic aspects.[1]

1 A 'Modern' Poet

Rhythms, Sounds, and Words

One of the most valuable legacies of the 1930s comes from the historians of Greek metre. The pathbreaking book in this field was that of Albert Wifstrand, which covered the ground "from Callimachus to Nonnus" (1933). Its first

1 See Miguélez Cavero 2008, chapter 1, "The so-called school of Nonnus", and 2, "Common stylistic features". For a still more up to date, though briefer, account of the Nonnian art see Accorinti 2013.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_002

impact was on the editors of Nonnus who followed Rudolf Keydell: Francis Vian began working on Nonnus in the sixties, and published his edition from 1976 onwards. Wifstrand's work subsequently became an essential tool of later Nonnian criticism—see among many others Mary Whitby in Hopkinson 1994, Gianfranco Agosti and Fabrizio Gonnelli (1995), Agosti again in 2004, 35–37, and Enrico Magnelli 2014. Wifstrand and his heirs brought to light the compliance of many late antique poets with 'modernist' tendencies, and this gave rise to the inaccurate formula 'Nonnian school'—inaccurate even if Nonnus is formally the strictest poet of his time, and one of the most melodious.[2] His rejuvenated hexameter adapts itself to phonetic and metrical changes, notably to iotacism and to the shift from a pitch accent to a stress; other innovations include limitations on placing the stress at the end of the verse, a preference for dactyls and for a third-foot feminine caesura, and restrictions on the position of monosyllables, with the result that only nine forms of hexameter are permitted, as compared with 32 in Homer; while the Nonnian verbal inventiveness and fondness for "tétracôla" (Vian 2003, 215–219) prepared the ground for the creation of a new syllabic verse.

This modernisation and concern for musicality of language can produce refined and significant results when adapted to varying contexts (Whitby 1994, Newbold 2003, "the power of sound"). To give two brief examples:

(1) In *Dionysiaca*, 25.325, 327, Nonnus explicitly makes fun of an eunuch's high-pitched voice (χέων ὀξείαν ἰώην), using a range of shrill vocals alternating with a long *ô*-sound; Attis has been sent by Rhea to bring a magic shield to Dionysus—the choice of Attis as messenger of the gods for a warlike purpose is already *per se* parodic—, and Dionysus' answer is no less effeminate than the speech of Attis. At 25.340–341, he is mimicking Calypso's complaint in the *Odyssey* (5.118) (σχέτλιοί εἰσι θεοί, ζηλήμονες), with the significant change from ἔστε to εἰσι which makes the prevalence of the *i*-sounds still more effective.

(2) In the *Paraphrase*, Agosti 2004, 41 has observed that the first and the last lines are constructed from alliterations of *alpha*, and he gives more examples of soundplay in Nonnus' style. Such concealed correspondences show that the subtlety of *arte allusiva* occurs even in late poetry, and is not restricted to the Hellenistic poetic masters.

2 "A strong literary trend, not a real school", so Magnelli 2014, 282 n. 75, after Miguélez Cavero 2008.

A careful study of the vocabulary enables us to reconstruct its historical evolution and Nonnus' use of it; thus κεράννυμι has acquired its present meaning "to offer wine, to present with wine", while the original meaning, "to mix wine with water", has already become obsolete (Vian 1995a, app. 11). In a similar, though less successful change, ἀκούω comes to mean "to read" (Agosti 2003, 542, comm. to Nonn. *Par.* 5.177).

In the *Dionysiaca*, χορεύειν, "to dance", is also used with the meaning "to come dancing" (27.167, Dionysus to the Bassarides, καὶ δεῦρο χορεύσατε); this meaning then weakens, sometimes becoming a mere substitute for "to go", though perhaps not so regularly as Vian 1987 believed. For an example of the intermediate state of the change, cf. 40.476, καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἕλιξ ὄφις ἀμφιχορεύει, where the snake coiled around the mystical olive-tree of Tyre is certainly not "going" anywhere, but rather swings around in what is really a dancing movement.

Such detailed remarks may bear upon the interpretation of entire works: Vian 1997, 143–160, investigating the use of μάρτυς in both the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase*, finds there the proof that both poems were written by the same author and that the *Paraphrase* was composed first. But the triumphant affirmation at the close of Vian's paper must now be slightly muted as the *Paraphrase's* Italian editors tend to date the composition of both works to the same period and generally explain stylistic variations as due to differences of literary genre. In any case, and despite all his admiration for Homer, Nonnus emerges as a 'modern' poet, highly conscious of the contemporary sounds and up-to-date meanings of words.

Changing Tastes, Contrasting Fates. The Reappraisal of the Paraphrase

The *Paraphrase* was the more widely read of the two poems until the early 17th century (18 editions from the Aldine Press between 1504 and 1636), but with the Enlightenment and the secularisation of knowledge it retreated to the background (no edition in the 18th century, three in the 19th—Passow, Marcellus and Scheindler[3]). Significantly, for a whole century between Scheindler's edition in 1881a and the launching of Enrico Livrea's project (Accorinti 1986, Accorinti 1987, Livrea 1989) no complete or potentially complete edition was published. Overshadowed by the secular Nonnian poem during the 19th and most of the 20th century, the *Paraphrase* has made a strong comeback since the 1980s, thanks to the Italian school (also Agosti 2003); between 1989 and

3 From the list drawn up by Livrea 1989 (*Paraphrase* 18), 9–10.

2013, eight of the 21 projected volumes (the same number as the chapters of *St John's Gospel*) have been issued with full commentaries. They reveal multiple bridges between Christian and Dionysiac themes (see below).

The 1930s was also a turning point for the *Paraphrase*. J. Golega (1930) and subsequently H. Bogner (1934) lucidly discussed the problem of the compatibility between the scandalous material of one poem and the precise Christian (Chalcedonian) theology of the other. "Hat er (Nonnos) wirklich das Epos als Heide gedichtet, ist es das frühere Werk und muss zwischen ihm und der *Paraphrase* eine Bekehrung angesetzt werden?" (Bogner 1934, 320). A good question, but a bad answer and a pointless theory (nobody today believes that the *Dionysiaca* could possibly be a polemical 'pagan' work, interrupted by the conversion of its author). A radical solution was to uncouple the two works, as did the χωρίζοντες critics of Homer, and to attribute the *Paraphrase* to a Christian imitator of Nonnus' style. Refuted by Keydell 1933 ("endgültig", Bogner 1934), this theory reemerges from time to time (Sherry 1991).[4]

The secular work of Nonnus is longer, more original in content (numerous tales, some of them otherwise unknown) and, at least at first glance, more appealing than the Christian one. Perhaps this is why, until the pioneering work of Enrico Livrea's team, the *Dionysiaca* had been scrutinised more closely than the *Paraphrase*, and, in general, independently of it.

Analysts Dissecting the **Dionysiaca**

Let us return to the 1930s and its scholars, three of whom devoted themselves mainly to the *Dionysiaca*.

Fellow of the French Oriental Archaeology Institute in Cairo (IFAO), the papyrologist Paul Collart (1878–1946) published in 1930 his *Études sur la composition et le texte* of the *Dionysiaca*. He viewed the poem essentially as the crude work of a young man, which was left unfinished and in disorder after the author's conversion to the Christian faith. Collart went on to a brilliant career as a scholar and administrator, but he did not continue with Nonnian studies. He was perceptive about the importance of 'circular composition' in Nonnus, but his obsession with disorder prevented him from exploiting this theory to the full.

Taking the opposite viewpoint to Collart, Viktor Stegemann published in the same year his *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte*; a young man, born in 1902,

4 Cf., in Hopkinson 1994, discussion by Hollis 1994 *in fine*, and Bowersock 1994, 158. Also Cameron, Alan 2007, 38, "the discovery that Nonnos wrote both his poems as Christian" and 42, "that he wrote the *Paraphrase* before the *Dionysiaca*".

he was a specialist in Coptic studies. By contrast with Collart, he deciphered in the huge poem an overall design, possibly of a dual nature—rhetorical, the discourse of biographical eulogy, which followed the rules laid down by Menander the Rhetor (encomium), and also philosophico-astrological with a strong stoic flavour and Iranian influences, whence the title of his book. He died at a fairly young age in 1948.[5]

Rudolf Keydell (1887–1982) had been publishing on Nonnus since 1923 (he was then 36). He reacted fiercely to the theories of Stegemann[6] but it was the latter who ultimately proved to be correct, even if his views on Iranian influences, for example, were open to criticism.

Like Collart, but with greater moderation, Keydell started out from the problems of the work's consistency, under the influence of the analyst theories which prevailed at that time in Homeric studies, throughout the German world as everywhere else—an example from France is Victor Bérard's astonishing edition of the *Odyssey* (1924). In the case of Nonnus, the key analytical concept of interpolation was replaced by the concepts of rewriting by the poet himself and of incompleteness, with the implication of a haphazard and arbitrary genesis.

Keydell's work on the *Dionysiaca* continued, though obviously at a slower pace, during the troubled years of Nazism, World War and Cold War, in the wake of his previous studies (six articles on Nonnus from 1933 to 1944, then one in 1953 and one in 1955). He escaped to West Berlin from the Soviet Sector (since October 1949, the GDR) at the end of the 1940s and published his edition of the *Dionysiaca* in 1959, so that it substantially reflects the 'state of the art' at the end of the 1930s rather than in the 1950s.[7] Complementary to this, there appeared between 1968 and 1975 a valuable tool, the *Lexikon* of the *Dionysiaca* directed by Werner Peek (1904–1994), a friend of Keydell (both were pupils of Wilamowitz), and an avowed former supporter of National Socialism.

But why recall the ancient, grim demons? Because this leads us to the third field where the thirties were influential. After style and composition, ideology.

5 See Brunhölzl 1993.

6 Keydell 1936, 909–910.

7 Keydell's text (1959) leans on Ludwich's (1909), as he himself explains in his *praefatio*, p. 6*. He nevertheless was able, directly or not, to make some checkings on the *Laurentianus* XXXII 16, and to make use of H. Haidacher's valuable (*ut pro aetate*) Inaugural-Dissertation, *Quellen und Vorbilder der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis*, Graz 1949 (Haidacher 1949; a typescript, never printed). See also my paper in Spanoudakis 2014, 3–4.

*In the Shadow of Ideologies—"***Entartete Kunst***"?*

During the thirties, a greater menace than the dissections of the analysts or the excesses of *Quellenforschung* began to creep in. These 'racial' or 'racialist' theories went far beyond conventional antisemitism, even in the case of scholars not suspected of it. They inspired several papers by Levi R. Lind, two of them with the title *"Un-hellenic elements" in the Dionysiaca* (Lind 1935–1936 and 1938), and set their mark on the presentation of Nonnus by H.J. Rose, at the start—indeed in the first sentence—of his "Mythological Introduction" to the Loeb edition (1940). "The Greek myths in their final stage of degeneracy,"[8] he writes, using that very word, three years after the Munich exhibition. Nonnus thus finds a place in the history of literature, but as *entarteter Künstler*, with connotations of 'Oriental' (sexual …) perversions, or, at best, as the purveyor of bizarre tales lacking in logic and moderation. Nothing exceptional here: scholars live in their own times, sometimes for the better, but also sometimes for the worse. And the evaluation of Nonnus the artist has suffered from this 'anti-Oriental' prejudice ever since, though nowadays in a muted form.

"Phönizische Überlieferungen in den **Dionysiaka***"*

The remedy, however, was close at hand. At this time excavations, mainly at Ugarit/Ras Shamra, were beginning to uncover a Semitic literature dating back to the second millenium BC, which was sporadically reflected in Greek literature from Hesiod to Nonnus. The revolutionary *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjathon* (1939) was the work of a Biblical scholar, Otto Eissfeldt, and had the explicit subtitle "Phönizische Überlieferungen als Quelle für die Bücher 40–43 der *Dionysiaka* des Nonnos von Panopolis". Naturally it remained at first confined to a limited circle.

But even after the ebbing of ideologies, there remained the feeling of a work outside the norm, to be understood only by reference to its models. The discovery of proto-historic roots to Nonnus' stories constituted a triumph of *Quellenforschung*. They confirmed the value of intermediary testimonies—*patria* illustrated on 'pseudo-autonomous' coins of the cities or quoted from local archivists or historians such as Philon of Byblos transmitting Phoenician traditions—sometimes authenticating tales formerly told by Nonnus alone, sometimes doubled by parallel 'younger versions', labelled as such by the poet himself.[9] But the discovery had its limits. For we were left with the vertigo of

8 Cf. Barron 1992.

9 Vian 1995a, 75 (*ad* 12.290–294 and notice); 26.354–365; 41.155; cf. 47.256–257.

disappeared civilisations coming back to light, of courses to trace, of transfers to explain—from Ugarit to Nonnus, a long way indeed. What of the aesthetics and the interests reflected by the new texts? What meant, to the poet and his audience, these *logoi* which were converted into the *patria* of Romanized cities?

II Towards Reading Nonnus 'on His Own Terms'

Gennaro D'Ippolito's *Studi Nonniani* (1964) marks another turning-point, while at almost the same time (1966) M. String published in Hamburg his *Untersuchungen zum Stil der Dionysiaka*, which points in the same direction.[10] D'Ippolito endeavoured to define aesthetics specific to the *Dionysiaca* and to create a typology of scenes, identifying the motif of παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι, a motif revisited nowadays in the light of gender studies and psychoanalysis.[11] Anticipating the dictum of Michael Roberts (1989), D'Ippolito tried to explain Nonnus 'on his own terms' and he emphasized the non-dramatic and non-narrative bias of the poet, the disappearance of dialogue in favour of rhetorical speech, and the prevalence of circular composition. The keyword here as elsewhere in Nonnus is *diversity*, ποικιλία, as recorded by the poet himself at the very beginning of his work (Nonn. *Dion.* 1.14–15)—an aesthetic of surprise.

The Conservative Era

After the analysts, it was the turn of the conservatives, primarily Livrea and Vian, who worked in the same field, both starting out as editors of Hellenistic poetry. I would say that Vian's hypothesis of consistency and completeness throughout the whole of the Nonnian project in the *Dionysiaca*, as set out in the general introduction in the first volume (1976), played a decisive role here. Disorder, incompleteness and confusion were no longer admitted as explanations, at least at first glance as before. Vian conceived the poem as describing Dionysus' long journey from his initial condition, imperfect but already more than human, to a fully divine status, with its progress following the rhythm of his absorption of divine food (summary Chuvin 2014, 9–10). Vian was a convinced atheist, and he was disinclined to discover traces of Christianity in Nonnus' work—it has been left to the Italian school in Florence to make this link—but he was well aware of the significance of apotheosis as

10 See also Riemschneider 1957.

11 Newbold 2000, and the chapter on Nonnus in Saïd 2013.

a means of integrating Roman order, both cultural and political, within the cosmic order of things.

Twenty years after D'Ippolito, Daria Gigli Piccardi, with *Metafora e poetica* (1985), became, and remains, one of the most prominent Nonnus specialists. Gigli Piccardi progressed further along the path of thematic studies, but in a different direction, emphasizing Nonnus' creation of "una costellazione linguistica autonoma" (p. 103) involving philosophical interpretation, for example through his predilection for circular, round, spherical forms (pp. 215–221). But here we are dealing with scholars most of whom are still active, and I shall refrain from venturing further in so perilous a field, and turn to remarks on the Nonnian art of composition, which was long misunderstood, but is now being granted an ever more prominent role.

Compositional Devices

Circular composition and mosaic-style complementary elements are among Nonnus' favourite devices.[12] They vary in extent, and can include recurrent patterns which pervade the entire work, such as the pyramidal structure of the stories of the five women beloved by Dionysus (analyzed by Vian—see outline in Chuvin 2014, 7). For another large-scale example, see R. Schmiel 2003 on the battle for the crossing of the river Hydaspes (21–24).

On a smaller scale, Nonnus permits himself virtuoso variations, for example, at the beginning of the great sea battle (39.225–250), which Keydell has wrongly considered "out of repair". In this 'morceau de bravoure', the customary sequence, A B C B' A' is replaced by a double diptych, AB A'B', with an intertwining of themes: A (225–231, warriors drowned in the waters) + B (232–238, their weapons [breastplate: flat]] sinking into the mud) and A' (239–242, warriors eaten by sea-monsters) + B' (243–247, their weapons [helmet, shield: hollow] floating on the waters). An overall framing device, like a musical *fugue*, makes lines 248–250 repeat the initial motive of 225–227, the sea red with blood; within this frame, Nonnus plays with opposites: the men, drowned/eaten; the weapons, sinking (breastplate)/floating (helmet and shield). Two 'phrases-titres', 225 and 239, place the fate of the men in higher relief—murdered (φόνος) or swallowed (τάφος). Keydell felt these lines to be in a desperate state of disorder (*imperfecta … frustula*, as he writes in his 1959 edition at line 215, referring the reader to Keydell 1927, 430 ff.), but in fact the successive components hang together quite well.

12 For an example of the latter, introduced by "phrases-titres", Simon 2004, 57–59—after Tissoni 1998.

On all levels, Nonnian composition reveals itself to be “rigoureusement structurée” (Simon 1999, 94). In the last eight books of the poem, after Dionysus’ victory and triumph, stories are carefully distributed between books for contrasting effects of *poikilia*: on two occasions, a single tale extends over three books—three predominantly erotic books (41–43, wedding of Beroe) are followed by three tragic books (44–46, death of Pentheus, noticed by Simon 2004). The two final books each contain three tales (noticed by Fayant 2000), with 47 enjoying a clear geographical location in ‘classical’ Greece—Athens (Icarios and Erigone), Naxos (Ariadne) and Argos (Perseus), and 48 depicting Dionysus fighting with the Giants, then wrestling and making love with Sithon’s daughter Pallene, and finally binding and raping Aura … predominantly positive heroes in one book, predominantly negative in the other. The locations in book 48 are as clear as in 47: we are in the Northern Aegean (Vian 2003, 4–5). Sithon is the eponymous hero-figure of Sithonia, i.e. the central peninsula of Chalcidike, and Pallene that of the western peninsula, the location of the Phlegraean Fields, the traditional site of the Gigantomachy. ‘Sithonia’ is also used generally for ‘Thracia’, a country formerly dedicated to Dionysus, where the capital of the Empire stood in Nonnus’ day.[13] The poet did not care to elaborate these points, though he knows of a Mount Nysaion in this area (line 33).

As for Aura, she goes hunting in the mountains close to the great city of Cyzicus, one of the most beautiful cities of the Empire at the time of Nonnus, on the southern shore of Propontis, in the area of Phrygia (888–889) which faces the coast of Thrace. Nicaia and Aura are close neighbours inland: Nonnus made Aura the mother of the third Bacchus, Iacchus, and Nicaia the mother of his servant Telete. In these three episodes we again find an implicit coherence—even a formalism—which comes as a surprise. Here are terrifying creatures, semi-ridiculous Giants and two athletic viragos, one of whom (Aura) becomes the victim of a cowardly trick by Dionysus.

After these three challenges, the ceremony of apotheosis, which took a decisive step forward at Tyre at the end of book 40 (574–578, five lines), is completed here, in the very last lines of the poem, with the same brevity (974–978, five lines) but with great solemnity. Dionysus drinks “celestial nectar from better cups”, which reminds us of 46.363, and of references in the first part of the poem (9.84; 7.351; 3.351–354), where admission to the supernatural world is a matter of consolation or reward. A double reading would be possible in most of

13 Allusion to Constantinople in Nonn. *Dion.* 3.362–371.

these instances—catasterism, feasting in Olympus / admission to the Eternal Life of Christianity—, while humour, so perceptible in the earlier episodes of book 48, fades away completely in these last lines.

Nonnus and His Audience. A Game of Connivance

Against a background of shared scholarly culture, the invitation to connivance on the part of the reader is continuous; he must be sensitive to the "scattering" of clues (Agosti), to the ellipses in narration, and to the subtlety of the reminiscences. One might say that Nonnus sets riddles for his audience, e.g in Anatolia with the wordplay on the name of the city of Iconium (13.517b), or of the rivers flowing from Apameia-on-the-Maeander (13.514–517a). For a Phrygian audience, Nonnus was certainly in a position to expand and elaborate such *patria* on demand, as he does just before these lines from book 13, with the legend of Satala (474–498) and, just after, with that of Priasus and the flood (520–544) and in the following books, and, on a larger scale, with the punishment of Nicaia (14.284–16.405 [end of the book]).

In their search for literary criteria, critics have committed themselves to a reappraisal of some distinctive features of Nonnian style—the 'broken' narrative method which proceeds by jumps, juxtaposed scenes, sequences of short stories in the form of finely-wrought sketches (not rough copies as fancied by Collart). D'Ippolito chose the word *epyllion* for this kind of narrative, but the original meaning of this Aristophanic and derogatory Greek word is quite different (small, shrill Euripidean verses). The French term *miniatures* (*sic* J. Fontaine for late Latin poetry) might be a better choice, but, being used for small-scale images, it is hardly appropriate to Nonnus if we take into account the size of some of these 'miniatures'. In a more general context, Roberts happily refers to the poet's "jewelled style", which results in a string of seemingly unconnected *tableaux* or cameos (Roberts 1989, see also Giraudet 2010). The characterisation of Nonnus' art as baroque in the musical or architectural meaning of the term—an art of movement, of studied variation, of exuberant ornamentation over an existing but hidden structure—has in its turn been rejected, perhaps wrongly (see the argument in its favour by the late B. Gerlaud[14]). In a register that I too would call 'baroque', the use of *spolia* expresses an art of quotation (use of whole lines, or scenes, borrowed conspicuously from a 'classical' model); but in this respect, the Homeric emulation is fundamental (R. Shorrock 2001, see below).

14 Gerlaud 1994, 67 (notice of book 15).

Mythological Ellipse. Conception by Licking?

Arte allusiva of itself implies ellipses—to take only one example, the rape of Core by Zeus-serpent, in 6.162–164, where we might expect one of those torrid or horrifying pictures that seem so often to delight our poet (cf. 4.324–330). Instead, he gives just one concrete detail: the licking of the young girl by the serpent.[15] No mention here of virginity blood, by contrast with his treatment of Philomela (book 4, *loc. cit.*), or Aura (book 48, 652–661). Could there be a lacuna, as suspected by editor L[3]? But miraculous pregnancies are by no means a rarity in mythology, and Christianity provides a celebrated example: the Virgin's "immaculate conception" occurs through a mere encounter between Joachim and Anna, an embrace at the gates of Jerusalem.[16] In Nonnus' secular poem, it seems that with a kind of euphemistic discretion, halfway between modesty and awe, the poet refrains from his customary licentiousness out of respect for the mother of the first Dionysus. In book 7, lines 318–349, for the union of Zeus with Semele, mother of the second Dionysus, the poet does not allude to the sexual act itself: again he is content to describe Zeus-serpent licking the neck and breast of Semele, and he expands this evocation with a catalogue of the metamorphoses of Zeus, as premonition of Dionysus' conception—a much more powerful figure than the unfortunate baby Zagreus. Nevertheless, the pattern of the conception remains the same, and in this regard we may also compare the difference in Dionysus' behaviour to Ariadne, his spouse, and to Nicaia or Aura, mere passing fancies.

Controversies. Nonnus and Ovid

But before we take leave of D'Ippolito and concentrate our attention on Nonnus himself, a "thorny" (Laura Miguélez Cavero) question has to be faced. D'Ippolito's book revived a controversy going back to the late 19th century, relating to the possible imitation of Ovid by Nonnus in tales common to both poets, mainly those of Phaethon (*Dion.* 38) and the Tyrrhenian pirates (*Dion.* 45)—the kind of problem which is said to be insoluble when it involves themes common to Theocritus and Apollonius Rhodius. Is Nonnus imitating Ovid or Ovid's Hellenistic forerunners here?

One argument convinced Vian in favour of a direct imitation of Ovid (Vian 1964, in his review of D'Ippolito's book). The legend of the pirates is framed in the same way by both poets, who place it in the mouth of Teiresias when he attempts to dissuade Pentheus from challenging Dionysus (Ov. *met.* 3.582–

15 Chuvin 1992, *ad* 6.155.

16 *Protevangelium of James* 4.4.

691)—it represents the 'story inside the story'. The device is by no way surprising, and it is used in both the Theocritean *Heracles Leontophonos* and, closer to the present context, in Callimachus' *Bath of Pallas* 5.357 ff., where the story of Actaeon is framed by that of Teiresias. The choice of two identical legends, with the same purpose, the same addressee and the same narrator would seem not to be fortuitous.

Discussion has been continuing since Knaack (1886, common Hellenistic source), Crusius (1889, imitation of Ovid by Nonnus), Castiglioni (1909, id.), and others (see D'Ippolito 1964, 176 ff.).[17] The most recent editors are divided and often cautious: Tissoni (p. 216, not proven), Simon (pp. 64–69, underlining the differences between the two narratives), Livrea (sceptical), Chuvin 1991 (p. 77), Accorinti 2004 (p. 346, acceptance with reservations). Vian 2005 merely reiterates the conclusions he reached 40 years before, while Agosti is negative. As the only true parallel between Ovid and Nonnus is the identical framing device, it is tempting to say *testis unus, testis nullius*. We have reached an impasse,[18] and in any case, the main source for the Tyrrhenian pirates in Nonnus remains the *Homeric Hymn* 8, *to Dionysus*.

III Works in Context

In order to proceed further, we need to put the works back in their original context, geographical and chronological. This may be the literary milieu of Panopolis, studied by Laura Miguélez Cavero 2008 (following J.-L. Fournet), the general historical context from the late 2nd century AD (D. Hernández de la Fuente), or contemporary (evolution of the hexameter) or ancient (the Homeric challenge, R. Shorrock) instances. The task of contextualisation was stimulated by the short but important book edited by Neil Hopkinson in 1994, thirty years after D'Ippolito and rather more than sixty years after the 'first blossoming' of Nonnian studies.

Shorrock's approach is perhaps the boldest, as according to him, Nonnus tries to replay Homeric situations, while varying this or that element, in order to make us hear another voice behind the dominant one of the text. The

17 See, in Spanoudakis 2014, the multiple entries referred to in the index, *s. v.* Ovid.

18 See also Cameron, Alan in Accorinti and Chuvin 2003, 40–60, and 2011, 640–642, drawing on Knox 1988 negative. Other episodes, Paschalis 2014, 109–114. Also Fantuzzi 2012, 283–286, on necrophilia in book 35, "we cannot rule out the possibility that Nonnus also had Propertius in mind".

concept is attractive, but it is difficult to apply in practice. It may be a neat idea to compare Icarios and Laërtes—two old men, skilled gardeners, with flourishing orchards—but can we really go further and speak of "replay" here? Shorrock parallels the lynching of Icarios by drunken countrymen with the slaughter of the suitors by Ulysses, but the situations have nothing else in common (pp. 100–101). Or can a "replay" consist merely of two juxtapositions of a frenzied outburst and a bucolic image, as they reappear in reverse order and with quite different motivations?

The Realm of Μίμησις

Robert Shorrock's provocative book aims to decipher a "meta-text"—in other words it implies not framing but superimposition, not "the story within the story" but "the story behind the story".[19] This is stimulating, but dangerous. First, how to decide that there is imitation or implicit reference, and not mere identicalness of themes?

Let us look first at journeys—that of Cadmus from Phoenicia to Thebes, and of the Argonauts from Iolcos back to Iolcos. Some scenes certainly resemble each other—disembarkations at an unknown harbour, descriptions of a palace, maidens' farewells as they flee their homeland—, but there is no identical structure, only disconnected sections of a narrative whose principle of unity lies elsewhere. We are faced with an ingenious composition which is in part constructed of *spolia*, allusions and quotations gathered from various authors, Apollonius, Homer, Callimachus, and the epigrammatists (*προπεμπτικὰ εἰς ναυτιλίαν*) …

Shorrock's analysis omits of course many motives, and gives free space to the poet's incredible combinatorial cleverness. He includes nothing about the sea-crossing, no characteristic detail migrates from the *Argonautica* to the *Dionysiaca*, for example the gods contemplating the launching of Argo from the balcony of heaven (A.R. 1.536–558). Instead, the charming *vignette* of the dancing dolphins (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.25–26) represents the latest in a series which emerged down the centuries from Euripides to Moschus and Oppian of Cilicia. The call at Samothrace is common to both crossings but handled in very different ways. And to say nothing of the local chronicles, we know that at least two other poems described the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia in Samothrace (not, as in the Nonnian version, at Thebes or in Libya; Chuvin 1976, 15). The belated wedding of the hero and the heroine, long after their flight, is

19 This is not so far, it seems to me, from the point of view of Spanoudakis 2014a, replacing Homer by the teachings of the Church.

also a common feature, but it is an isolated element in quite different contexts, and Nonnus' eclecticism prevents us from making any guess about his sources.

By contrast, when it comes to scenes borrowed from Homer, we possess both the model and the imitation, which may extend to an entire book. An example of strict Homeric imitation occurs with the funeral of Opheltes and the ensuing merely athletic games (37, closely connected with Hom. *Il.* 23, as examined by Frangoulis 1999)—the reader has already met a contrasted form of funeral, Dionysiac, not Homeric, involving exclusively musical contests, in honour of Staphylos (19). The imitation in 37 occurs in a long series of related Homeric scenes, such as the θεομαχία (36) and the παραποτάμιος μάχη (21–24); the catalogues of the Bacchic (13) and Indian (26) hosts; the Διὸς ἀπάτη (Nonn. *Dion.* 31–32 / Hom. *Il.* 14); the description of the shield (25); the catalogue of the Indian army, already quoted (26); and the assembly of the gods (37; analysis of composition by Vian 1990, 137–138).

These imitations all come from the *Iliad* and, with the exception of the catalogue of Dionysus' troops (13), occur exclusively in the second part of the *Dionysiaca*. This second part is quite explicitly under Homeric, Iliadic, patronage—see its *prooimion*, Nonn *Dion.* 25, lines 7–10, and its solemn praise of Homer, father of the *Iliad*, lines 253–270, and compare the first, general prooimion (1.1–44), which by contrast makes fun of an episode from the *Odyssey* involving Menelaus and the stinking sealskins. The tone of Staphylos' funeral accords with the generally more light-hearted and relaxed mood of the first part of the poem, while that of Opheltes is more appropriate to the 'heroic' second section.

From Homeric Imitation to Self-Imitation

How did Nonnus contrive this? We have observed the overall geometrical design he chose for the final part of the poem, books 41–48 (*supra*, p. 9 f.). In book 25.242–252, the choice and sequence of Zeus' female lovers whose children are compared with Dionysus is identical to the core of that in *Iliad* 14.315–328: Danae/Perseus; Europa/Minos; Semele/Dionysus; Alcmene/Heracles (noted by Vian 1990, 16). This catalogue/summary of the twelve Labours of Heracles (six lines, 246–251), framed by a double chiasmus between 244b–245 and 251b–252, looks like an exercise in virtuosity. By contrast, at the beginning of the poem, the description of the metamorphoses of Proteus expands the Odyssean catalogue (Nonn. *Dion.* 1.16–33, 18 lines against three in *Odyssey* 4.456–458).

A notorious example of a shift from Homeric imitation to self-imitation is the Διὸς ἀπάτη, found many times in the poem (Nonn. *Dion.* 31–32 / Hom. *Il.* 14), and eventually almost reduced to the theme of the spontaneous flowering

meadow for the theogamy of Zeus and Hera (see Fayant 2000, 176 *ad* 47.457–459).

This reduction is striking, and I would illustrate the shift with another shorter and equally precise parallel, the dream of Nausicaa in the *Odyssey* which inspires the young girl to go down to the river (Hom. *Od.* 6.15–70). The Homeric canvas is used twice by Nonnus: the dreaming girl is first Semele (Nonn. *Dion.* 7.141–165), a bride like Nausicaa, and then Agave (44.46–122), where Homer's favourable omen of wedding is transformed into a nightmare.[20] In the Pentheid, Agave's dream foretells the death of Pentheus; it is interpreted by Teiresias and conjured up by a sacrifice, which prompts a first, and then a second omen. This sequence precisely follows the stages of Semele's dream in book 7.141–183 (defloration by Zeus), except for the contrast between the happy omen of Zeus' lightning/Semele's apotheosis and the evil omen of the petrification of Cadmus and Harmony as snakes, expressly a punishment (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.669–681 and 4.416–420[21]). The contrast is of course intentional: among so many possibilities for the ultimate fate of the couple, with first choice referents, Nonnus deliberately chose the version which involves the petrification of two human beings.[22] We may compare an epigram by Christodoros of Coptos which gives a more classical variant, according to which Cadmus became the founder of the Illyrian city of Lychnis (*AP* 7.697, 1–6, quoted by Cameron, Alan 2007, 32). The orientation of these versions is plain: for a small city, Lychnis, the foundation legend brings heroic illustration; while at the entrance of Kotor's gulf, Cadmus and Harmonia have the fate of stone idols, deaf and blind. But there is no hint of polemic or irony in these lines of the *Dionysiaca*.[23]

I would rather underline the contrast between allusions and developed narratives, e.g. in 13, 517 (allusion to the *patronymicon*) contrasted to books 41–43 (expanded *patria* of Beirut). As we saw earlier (p. 6), very short allusions may reveal themselves as firmly anchored in local traditions.[24] Two words, or

20 See Accorinti 2004, 340–341 and Chuvin 1992, 78–79.

21 Nonn. *Dion.* 44.115–119 and 46.364–367. For a complete analysis of this part of Cadmus' legend, see Vian 1963, 124–128.

22 Rather than a metamorphosis into living snakes as in Ov. *met.* 3.98 (and 4.576–601), or a monument, the plain "stone of the fair-haired Harmony" (Call. fr. 11 Pf.), or the stone grave of the couple (A.R. 4.516–518, cf. Eratosthenes and Nicander), or stones which clash in the event of danger (D. P., 390 f.).

23 Contrast the abuse of the crowd in the Menouthis affair near Alexandria, in 485–487, barely one generation after the *Dionysiaca*, narrative in Chuvin (2009, 1990), 108–111; discussion by Cameron, Alan 2007 and Watts 2010.

24 After L. Robert, Chuvin 1991 and 1994 *passim*.

even a single epithet, may be enough to establish a link between Nonnus and earlier *patria*.

By contrast, some narratives which are developed at length seem to have been freely elaborated by Nonnus or his model. A typical example is the story of Hymnos and Nicaia, which includes *realia*, both historical and geographical—the battle on the shores and at the mouth of the Astacid lake at Nicaia, the "country of silver" to the south, the river Geudis, the mountainous northern coast of the gulf and the cave of Brongos (this last identified by Vian). But the main tale, concerning Hymnos, Nicaia and Dionysus, seems unknown to local traditions, in which the god otherwise plays a major part.[25] One might develop a similar argument about the story of Beroe which occurs after Dionysus' reception at Tyre. There, Dionysus seems to be the *interpretatio Graeca* of the Phoenician god Baal Marqod, "lord of the dance", worshipped in the Berytian chora, while Poseidon is the supreme god of the city. A good deal of information is available to us on this issue, but no trace can be found in Beirut's mythology of a contest between the two gods and a sharing of prerogatives between them, a pattern well known in Greece.[26] And it is odd that Beirut should be given the name of Beroe, since Antique Syrian Beroe is the modern Aleppo. Relics of ancient tales are in fact used to introduce a new one, which was probably felt as more trendy, perhaps also more secular.

Profile of a Poet. Interplay of Mythology and Christianity

As implied throughout this paper, to reach a better understanding of the *Dionysiaca* we should accept that the poet had acquired an erudite knowledge of traditional mythology while at the same time being immersed in a Christian *Weltanschauung*.[27]

---

25 See a summary of the discussion in Gonnelli 2003, 177–178. In my doctoral dissertation (Chuvin 1991, 160–166), I was struck by the similarities between the battle fought by Dionysus against the Indians on the shores and at the mouth of the lake of Nicaia, and the victory of Septimius Severus against his rival Pescennius Niger (193) at the same locations—and I remain so, despite the scepticism of such authorities as Louis Robert (orally) and Glen Bowersock 1994a. The intermediary between the historical event and its legendary transposition by Nonnus (victory of Dionysus against the "black" Indians) might be a recognized source of Nonnus, the poet-courtier Pisander of Laranda (beginning of 3rd century).

26 About Baal Marqod, see now the evidence gathered in Aliquot 2009, notably 138–139, 191, 216–218, 268–271.

27 So Bowersock in Hopkinson 1994, 162, "Christian perspectives impinged just as powerfully upon pagan thought and imagery as pagan perspectives had earlier shaped Christian doctrine and iconography."

The *Dionysiaca* is not a ‘pagan’ religious poem, but merely a profane one. Can the author possibly be Nonnus, bishop of Edessa, as Livrea has repeatedly argued? A near-contemporary with Nonnus, Patriarch Severus of Antioch, had, on his own testimony, been at one time a ‘pagan’ (*Hellen*). But what does ‘Hellen’ mean in this context? Writing the 21,000 lines of the *Dionysiaca* is not something done on impulse. About a century before Nonnus, most probably another bishop, Heliodorus of Emesa, wrote a novel, the love story of Theagenes and Charicleia.[28] But how innocent seems this, when compared to the characters of Nonnus! A generation or two after Nonnus, the poets and *literati* of Gaza, John and Procopius, made some use of classical mythology, but, unlike Nonnus, they refrain from any impropriety. To my mind, the main point here is to recognize, in two works at first glance as different as the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase*, the work of one and the same author, who was undoubtedly familiar with theological problems, and who faced the ancient traditions of his world with a mixture of fascination and contempt, reverence and irony, the latter perceptible here and there in an attitude which emerges, as one might expect, mainly towards the end of the vast work.[29]

If We Don’t Know Who was Nonnus, What about the Dionysiaca*?*

Nonnus may be said to have bequeathed to us a kind of ‘library’, if by that term we understand a collection of literary samples, somewhat similar to the *Bibliothecae* compiled by Diodorus, pseudo-Apollodorus and later Photius. The *Dionysiaca*, which follows a biographical sequence, are not of course a mere compilation, but—a fundamental distinction from the three prose-writers quoted above—they also have a powerful aesthetic of their own. It has long been noted that the poem pours into the hexameter mould a whole range of poetic genres. Some were identified long ago: epigrams (O. Weinreich), hymns (J. Braune), *threnoi* (B. Gerlaud, book 15, Hymnos), didactic poetry, mainly astrological, but see also the catalogue of inventions of Cadmus in book 4 (lines 252–285) and Aristaeus in book 5 (lines 211–279), elaborating the theme of πρῶτος εὑρετής (with Chuvin 1976, 89–95), novels (Achilles Tatius being Nonnus’ favourite), the only prose genre which finds its way, on several occasions, into the list; tales of metamorphoses, *patria* and of course, last but not least, Homeric poetry. An encyclopaedia not so much of Greek mythography as of Greek poetry of the Roman period.

---

28 As for Heliodorus (second half of the fourth century), see Bowersock 1994b, appendix B, and Chuvin ^{3}2009, 321–325.

29 See Miguélez Cavero 2009.

The tendency to import whole works is quite clear in the second half of the poem, which contrasts with the tondos of the first half: Opheltes' funeral, the fate of Phaethon, the Tyrrhenian pirates, the catasterism of Erigone, the Bacchantes—each of these stories is borrowed from one main classical source, and, except in the case of Erigone, we are in a position to compare the original with the Nonnian imitation.

Conclusion. The Two Faces of the Dionysiaca

The *Dionysiaca* have two faces: one is directed to a limited, 'atticized' audience and the other presents a consistent but not exhaustive repertoire of narratives exploiting a variety of literary genres, under the banner of *poikilia* and in hexameter rhythm. Some of these are developed at length, while others, no less significant, are condensed, or even alluded to in a single word. Some may even have been so deeply re-elaborated by the poet as to create an innovatory, syncretic narrative. On occasion ancient traditions are fused with innovation, as in the initial Typhoneia and the foundation myth of Tyre. This would help to explain the mix of bombast and mockery so evident in the whole of the poem—contrast the Gigantomachy of book 48 with the cosmic Typhoneia of books 1–2. The *Dionysiaca* are both a stockpile of material and a finely constructed edifice which offers a vibrant eulogy of the Christian Empire, with its imperial power, its justice, and its material and cultural delights. In short, it far transcends—in volume also—the 'soft porn' of some lingering Epicurean[30] or the "innocuous" entertainment of a pious bishop.[31] The famous "wandering poets" wandered not only through the Eastern Roman provinces, but also through the vast field of late antique Roman culture.[32]

30 Cameron, Alan 2007, 38.
31 Livrea 2003, 448.
32 Cameron, Alan 1965.

PART 1

The Poetry of the Dionysiaca

CHAPTER 1

The Cadmus Narrative in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

Michael Paschalis

In Nonn. *Dion.* 3.257–319 Cadmus gives the Samothracians a heroic account of his genealogy and his wanderings. The first 28.5 lines (257–283a) are dedicated to the story of Io; then follows a catalogue of the descendants of Zeus and Io (284–299) and the narrative is concluded with the story of the sons of Aegyptus and the daughters of Danaos (300–312a).[1] The last section treats the abduction of Europa and Cadmus' search (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.312b–319):[2]

'(…) ἀρτιθαλῆ δὲ
γνωτὴν ἡμετέρην θρασὺς ἥρπασε ταῦρος ἀλήτης,
εἰ ἐτεὸν πέλε ταῦρος· ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶδα πιθέσθαι,
εἰ βόες ἱμείρουσι γυναικείων ὑμεναίων.
Καί με κασιγνήτοισιν ὁμήλυδα πέμψεν Ἀγήνωρ
σύγγονον ἰχνεύοντα καὶ ἄγριον ἅρπαγα νύμφης,
ταῦρον ἀκυμάντοιο νόθον πλωτῆρα θαλάσσης,
ἧς [οὗ Koechly] χάριν ἀστήρικτος ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδε βαίνω.'

'(…) But our sister in her youthful bloom was ravished away by a bold vagabond bull, if bull he really was; but I do not know how to believe it if bulls desire marriage with a woman. And Agenor sent me along with my brothers to track our sister and the girl's wild robber, that bull the bastard voyager over a waveless sea. That is why my random journeying brings me here.'[3]

This brief retrospective narrative constitutes the first detailed account in the *Dionysiaca* of the events that led to Cadmus' search. Up to this point the reader has been given the story piecemeal. Certainly the abduction of Europa was a well-known story from literature and art and elliptical narratives are addressed

1 In Nonn. *Dion.* 4.249–284 Cadmus' civilizing merits are compared and contrasted with those of Danaos.

2 All quotations from Nonn. *Dion.* 3–5 are derived from Chuvin 1976.

3 All translations of the *Dionysiaca* are by Rouse 1940.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_003

to a learned audience. Yet omissions can be and usually are extremely significant. No two narratives of the same story are identical. Each time it is necessary to observe carefully what is omitted, what is retained, which are the elements of the story that receive attention.

Let me start with a textual issue. In 3.319 Koechly emended the reading ἧς of the Laurentianus to οὗ, thus making the bull the object of Cadmus' search.[4] Chuvin rejected the emendation because "c'est Europé et non le taureau que recherche Cadmos; ἧς n'a pas à être corrigé malgré la proximité de θαλάσσης."[5] The standard version of the story, as told for instance in Ovid, *Met.* 3.3–5 and Apollodorus 3.1.1, is that Agenor sends out his sons in search of Europa, ordering them not to return until they have found their sister.[6] As I will argue below, however, Nonnus shifts the focus from the search for Europa to the search for the bull. Cadmus' search invariably involves the bull, while Europa is either ignored or receives a marginal mention. Even in the passage quoted above, the only one in the *Dionysiaca* in which Europa is explicitly said to be the object of the search, the bull is given more space and prominence than Agenor's daughter. References to Europa are restricted to the bare essentials: age, degree of relationship, and sex: ἀρτιθαλῆ, γνωτήν, σύγγονον, νύμφης.

Cadmus' narrative is bracketed by the story of Io's metamorphosis into a heifer and the abduction of Europa by Zeus in the shape of the bull. The association exists already in Moschus' *Europa*, where the story of Io is given in an embedded *ekphrasis*, but in the *Dionysiaca* heifer and bull form a recurring pair as I explain below. The Io story is the longest section in Cadmus' narrative and its prominence is obviously related to the fact that Cadmus and Dionysus are descendants of Io. As a matter of fact, Io's transformation into a heifer has a Dionysiac flavor about it: she is called ταυροφυής (bull-shaped), an epithet of Dionysus recording one of his principal shapes; and her guardian, the hundred-eyed, ever watchful Argus is referred to as βουκόλον (…) ποικίλον.

Immediately after the Proem of the *Dionysiaca*, the poet invites the Muse to "begin with the quest of wandering Cadmus" (1.45 ἀλλά, θεά, μαστῆρος ἀλήμονος

4 Koechly 1857, vol. 1, xxvii.

5 Chuvin 1976, on 3.319.

6 Ov. *Met.* 3.3–5: *cum pater ignarus Cadmo perquirere raptam / imperat et poenam, si non inuenerit, addit / exilium, facto pius et sceleratus eodem*; Apollod. 3.1.1: "On the disappearance of Europa her father Agenor sent out his sons in search of her, telling them not to return until they had found Europa." See also *Scholia E. Ph.* 5, Diod. 4.2.1, *Scholia A. Th.* 486a–c.

ἄρχεο Κάδμου). First things first: the search opens the main narrative because it will lead to the foundation of Thebes, the establishment of the house of Cadmus and the birth of Dionysus. But let me note that in the *Donysiaca* the quest begins even *before* the abduction takes place and its object is not specified; and *before* the bull has reached the shore of Crete, the narrative is interrupted and Cadmus is portrayed as "going from place to place and searching for the wandering traces of the nuptial bull" (138–139 Κάδμος ὅθεν περίφοιτος ἀπὸ χθονὸς εἰς χθόνα βαίνων / ἄστατα νυμφοκόμοιο μετήιεν ἴχνια ταύρου). This is not, as one might assume, a simple case of parallel narratives, the narrative of the abduction and the narrative of the search. And the fact that the object of Cadmus' search is the bull and not his sister is not a simple case of a synecdochical narrative. In Ovid Cadmus is commanded to search for the ravished (3.3 *perquirere raptam*) but in Nonnus the hero searches for the ravisher (3.317 ἄγριον ἅρπαγα νύμφης).

Cadmus' quest has now brought him to Cilicia. Following the outbreak of the revolt of Typhoeus and while Cadmus is wandering in the land of the Arimoi (1.321 ὄφρα μὲν εἰν Ἀρίμοις ἐπεφοίτεε Κάδμος ἀλήτης), presumably continuing his search, the Europa narrative is resumed and concluded with the catasterism of the bull (1.355b–362a). Then Zeus in the company of Eros descends from heaven and meets Cadmus *still* wandering and searching in a mountain of Cilicia (365–366 φοιταλέῳ μαστῆρι δι' οὔρεος ἤντετο Κάδμῳ / πλαζομένῳ, ξυνὴν δὲ πολύτροπον ἤρτυε βουλήν). Cadmus' heroic career so far has been to wander and search for the bull. The last two instances place him in Cilicia and specifically in a mountain. How does this place relate to his search? How does his involvement in the Typhonomachy relate to his search?

Zeus has devised a plan for the defeat of Typhoeus, according to which Cadmus will be disguised as a pipe-playing shepherd and charm the monstrous giant with his tunes. As a reward for the restoration of harmony in the cosmos Zeus promises him the hand of Harmonia. Next the god addresses Eros and *in Cadmus' presence* he utters the following words: "may he (Typhoeus) have madness from the mind-bewitching tune of Cadmos, as much as I had passion for Europa's embrace!" Immediately afterwards Zeus rushes away in the shape of a horned bull, from whom Mt Taurus received its name. Here is the whole passage (Nonn. *Dion.* 1.393–409a):[7]

7 All quotations from Nonn. *Dion.* 1–2 are derived from Vian 1976.

‘(...) Εἰ δὲ Διὸς λάχες αἷμα καὶ Ἰναχίης γένος Ἰοῦς,
κερδαλέης σύριγγος ἀλεξικάκῳ σέο μολπῇ
θέλγε νόον Τυφῶνος· ἐγὼ δέ σοι ἄξια μόχθων
δώσω διπλόα δῶρα· σὲ γὰρ ῥυτῆρα τελέσσω
ἁρμονίης κόσμοιο καὶ Ἁρμονίης παρακοίτην.
καὶ σύ, τελεσσιγόνοιο γάμου πρωτόσπορος ἀρχή,
τεῖνον, Ἔρως, σέο τόξα, καὶ οὐκέτι κόσμος ἀλήτης.
Εἰ πέλεν ἐκ σέο πάντα, βίου φιλοτήσιε ποιμήν,
ἓν βέλος ἄλλο τάνυσσον, ἵνα ξύμπαντα σαώσῃς.
Ὡς πυρόεις, Τυφῶνι κορύσσεο, πυρσοφόροι δὲ
ἐκ σέο νοστήσωσιν ἐμὴν ἐπὶ χεῖρα κεραυνοί.
Πανδαμάτωρ, ἕνα βάλλε τεῷ πυρί, θελγόμενον δὲ
σὸν βέλος ἀγρεύσειε τὸν οὐ νίκησε Κρονίων.
Καδμείης δ’ ἐχέτω φρενοθελγέος οἶστρον ἀοιδῆς,
ὅσσον ἐγὼ πόθον ἔσχον ἐς Εὐρώπης ὑμεναίους.’
Ὣς εἰπὼν κερόεντι πανείκελος ἔσσυτο ταύρῳ,
ἔνθεν ὄρος πέλε Ταῦρος ἐπώνυμον. (...)

‘(...) If the blood of Zeus is in you, and the breed of Inachian Io, bewitch Typhon’s wits by the sovereign remedy of your guileful pipes and their tune! I will give you ample recompense for your service, two gifts: I will make you saviour of the world’s harmony, and the husband of the lady Harmonia. You also, Love, primeval founder of fecund marriage, bend your bow, and the universe is no longer adrift. If all things come from you, friendly shepherd of life, draw one shot more and save all things. As fiery god, arm yourself against Typhon, and by your help let the fiery thunderbolts return to my hand. All-vanquisher, strike one with your fire, and may your charmed shot catch one whom Cronion did not defeat; and may he have madness from the mind-bewitching tune of Cadmos, as much as I had passion for Europa’s embrace!’ With these words Zeus passed away in the shape of the horned Bull, from which the Tauros Mountain takes its name.

It is extremely ironic that Zeus should expect Cadmus to instill in Typhoeus the maddening passion he himself felt for Europa and that he should next transform himself into a bull, thus suggesting that *he* is the abductor of Cadmus’ sister. And it is perplexing that the son of Agenor does not react at all, does not make the connection between Zeus’ passion for Europa and his transformation into a bull, and does not realize that he has found the bull he had been searching for all along.

Now, there are two ways to approach this intriguing passage. One approach would be to see it as the awkward combination of unrelated narratives. There is some validity in this view and hence it cannot be discarded off hand. But behind the apparent incongruity one might also sense a subtle literary strategy, which is visible also in other parts of the Cadmus narrative. This strategy relates directly to what the argument of this paper is, namely that Cadmus' mind is set on the bull and not on Europa, and consists in the fact that the narrative expands the bull theme and stretches it as far as it goes in allusive and metaphorical terms.

The present passage combines three aspects of this expansion, which serve to link narratives that at first sight appear unrelated. In the first place Zeus' transformation into a bull establishes a connection with the origin of the name of Mt Taurus. This connection would justify from a semantic viewpoint Cadmus' wandering and searching for the bull in that very same mountain range of Cilicia, where the fight with Typhoeus takes place.

In addressing Cadmus Zeus appeals to his descent from Io: "If the blood of Zeus is in you, and the breed of Inachian Io". Of Io's transformation into a heifer and her union with Zeus I spoke above. As in Cadmus' speech to the Samothracians, heifer (allusively) and bull bracket the passage quoted above. But the story of Io has here a further very important function. It occurs a few lines above, in Hera's taunt directed against her husband who transformed himself into a bull in order to court Europa. Here is the conclusion of her monologue (Nonn. *Dion.* 1.334–343):

'(…) Ζεῦ ἄνα, πόρτις ἐοῦσα κερασφόρος ἤμβροτεν Ἰώ,
ὅττι σε μή ποτε τοῖον ἴδεν πόσιν, ὄφρα λοχεύσῃ
ἰσοφυῆ τινα ταῦρον ὁμοκραίρῳ παρακοίτῃ.
Ἑρμείαν πεφύλαξο βοοκλόπον ἠθάδι τέχνῃ,
μή σε λαβὼν ἅτε ταῦρον ἐὸν κλέψειε τοκῆα,
καὶ κιθάρην ὀπάσειε τεῷ πάλιν υἱέι Φοίβῳ
ἅρπαγος ἁρπαμένου κειμήλιον.—Ἀλλὰ τί ῥέξω;
Ὤφελεν ἀγρύπνοισιν ὅλον δέμας ὄμμασι λάμπων
Ἄργος ἔτι ζώειν, ἵνα δύσβατον εἰς νομὸν ἕλκων
πλευρὰ Διὸς πλήξειε καλαύροπι βουκόλος Ἥρης.'

'(…) Zeus your Majesty! it is a pity Io did not see you coming like that to court her, when she was a heifer with horns on her forehead! she might have bred you a little bull as horny as his father! Look out for Hermes! The professional cattle-lifter may think he is catching a bull and steal his own father! He may give his harp once again to your son Phoibos, as

> price for the ravisher ravished. But what can I do? If only Argos were still alive, shining all over with sleepless eyes, that he might be Hera's drover, and drag Zeus to some inaccessible pasture, and prod his flanks with a crook!'

The giant Argus *Panoptes* was assigned by Hera the task of guarding Io transformed into a heifer. Zeus ordered Hermes to steal the heifer; Hermes disguised himself as a shepherd, put his vigil eyes to sleep by playing his pipe and killed him. In the *Dionysiaca* Zeus repeats the very same ruse, this time against another giant: he causes Cadmus to be disguised as a shepherd and charm Typhoeus with the tunes of his flute. Cadmus is the *right* person to play this role: because he is a descendant of the heifer guarded by Argus; and because the stratagem is put into action immediately after the conclusion of the Europa episode, where Juno sarcastically turned the Hermes and Argus story against her husband for transforming himself into a bull in order to court Europa.

Cadmus' obsessive search for the bull explains also why the hero is given cattle (βόας), sheep and goats by goatherd Pan (1.369–370) and is cast in the role of herdsman (1.388 βούτης). The same line of argument sheds light on Zeus' stratagem as well. The god himself tells Cadmus that he is the *shepherd* of the universe (389 ποιμένα κόσμου); and in order to save the universe, he turns for help to another *herdsman* or rather one who can act as a herdsman for a day. The reason he provides is that the only weapon left to him is his *aegis*, which is powerless before Typhon's thunderbolt (1.381–382 αἰγὶς ἐμοὶ μούνη περιλείπεται· ἀλλὰ τί ῥέξει / αἰγὶς ἐμὴ Τυφῶνος ἐριδμαίνουσα κεραυνῷ;). This is obviously a literary pun appropriately evoking the meaning 'goatskin' of αἰγίς. It is a joke intended for goatherds and is appropriately cracked in the presence of "goatherd" Pan (αἰγίβοτος Πάν). Later Typhoeus repeats the joke to "goatherd" Cadmus: "If you want to wield the goatskin cape of Zeus, being a goatherd, I will make you a present of that too" (474–475 εἰ δὲ Διὸς ποθέεις, ὡς αἰπόλος, αἰγίδα πάλλειν, / δώσω σοι τόδε δῶρον).

To sum up this part of the paper, Cadmus' search for the bull takes him to Mt Taurus, the name of which becomes associated with Zeus' bull-shape and the abduction of Europa. Zeus in the capacity of shepherd of the world and an aegis-wielder asks Cadmus to become a herdsman and charm Typhoeus with his pipe-playing. Cadmus is the appropriate character for the job: because he is a descendant of Zeus and Io-heifer; because Io was liberated from her monstrous keeper through the same ruse; and because Cadmus's heroic activity so far has been the search for a bull who turns out to be none other than his present employer.

After the victorious conclusion of the Typhonomachy, Zeus gives Cadmus information regarding his search and instructs him to consult Apollo's oracle at Delphi (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.679b–698):

'(...) Ἀλλὰ τοκῆος
μνῆστιν ἔα κοτέοντος Ἀγήνορος, ἀσταθέων δὲ
ἀμφὶ κασιγνήτων μὴ δείδιθι. Κεκριμένοι γὰρ
πάντες ἔτι ζώουσιν· ἐπεὶ Νοτίην χθόνα Κηφεὺς
νάσσατο Κηφήνων ἐπιήρανος Αἰθιοπήων,
καὶ Θάσος ἐς Θάσον ἦλθεν, ἀερσιλόφοιο δὲ Ταύρου
δύσνιφον ἀμφὶ τένοντα Κίλιξ Κιλίκεσσιν ἀνάσσει,
Θρηικίην δ' ἐπὶ πέζαν ἀπόσσυτος ἵκετο Φινεύς·
τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ κομόωντα βαθυπλούτοισι μετάλλοις
γαμβρὸν ἐς Ὠρείθυιαν ἄγω καὶ Θρῆκα Βορῆα,
νυμφίον ὀμφήεντα φιλοστεφάνου Κλεοπάτρης.
καὶ σύ, κασιγνήτων ἰσοελκέι νήματι Μοίρης,
Καδμείων βασίλευε καὶ οὔνομα λεῖπε πολίταις·
πλαγκτοσύνης δ' ἀπόειπε παλίμπορα κύκλα κελεύθου,
καὶ βοὸς ἄστατον ἴχνος ἀναίνεο· Κυπριδίῳ γὰρ
σύγγονον ὑμετέρην ζυγίῳ νυμφεύσατο θεσμῷ
Ἀστερίων Δικταῖος ἄναξ Κορυβαντίδος Ἴδης.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ μαντεύσομαι, ἄλλα δὲ Φοίβῳ
καλλείψω· σὺ δέ, Κάδμε, μεσόμφαλον ἄξονα βαίνων
Δελφίδος αὐδήεντα μετέρχεο τέμπεα Πυθοῦς.'

'(...) Let pass the memory of your angry father Agenor, fear not for your wandering brothers; for they all live, though far apart. Cepheus journeyed to the regions of the south, and he has found favour with the Cephenes of Ethiopia; Thasos went to Thasos, and Cilix is king over the Cilicians round about the snowy mount of high-peaked Tauros; Phineus came with all speed to the Thracian land. As for him, I will make him proud with his deep mines of riches, and lead him as goodson to Oreithyia and Thracian Boreas, as prophetic bridegroom of garlanded Cleopatra. For you, the Portioner's thread weighs equal with your brothers; be king of the Cadmeians, and leave your name to your people. Give up the back-wending circuits of your wandering way, and relinquish the bull's restless track; for your sister has been wedded by the law of love to Asterion of Dicte, king of Corybantian Ida. So much I will myself foretell for you, the rest I will leave to Phoibos. And now, Cadmos, do you make your way to the midnipple of the earth, and visit the speaking vales of Pytho.'

The present account of Cadmus' search is less detailed and clear than the one the hero will later give to the Samothracians but it includes details not found in the latter narrative. Zeus seeks to calm the hero's concern for his brothers (of whom we have heard nothing so far) and assures him that they are all alive and well and have settled in various places. Along these lines he urges Cadmus himself to abandon the search *for the bull* (βοὸς ἄστατον ἴχνος ἀναίνεο), become king of the Cadmeians and leave his name to his people; and in order to dissuade him from pursuing his search, he informs him that his sister has been married to the Cretan king Asterion. At the conclusion of his speech the god instructs Cadmus to visit Delphi, in order to hear from Apollo the rest of the prophecy concerning his future. The reader will again grasp the irony of Zeus talking about the bull as if the animal had not been himself in disguise. Having finished his speech Zeus dismisses Cadmus and so we have no reaction on his part. But the Cadmus narrative continues in an original fashion that allusively ties in with the bull theme and Cadmus' search.

Zeus' announcement to Cadmus that his brother Cilix has become king of the Cilicians in the area of Mt Taurus (684–685 ἀερσιλόφοιο δὲ Ταύρου / δύσνιφον ἀμφὶ τένοντα Κίλιξ Κιλίκεσσιν ἀνάσσει) is at first sight incompatible with the fact that Cadmus has been there all along but has never met him. It becomes significant, however, if examined from a different viewpoint. Cadmus is next seen at the beginning of book 3, where he "comes down from the horny peaks of lofty Taurus", boards his ship and sails away to Samothrace. The narrative suggests a subtle association between Cilix's arrival in the area of Mt Taurus and Cadmus' departure from it. The whole passage is extremely interesting in terms of its metaphorical connection with the abduction of Europa and Cadmus' search for the bull (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.1–18):

Λῦτο δ' ἀγών, ὅτε χεῖμα παρήλυθεν· ἄκρα δὲ φαίνων
ἀννεφέλῳ τελαμῶνι φαεσφόρα νῶτα μαχαίρης
Ὠρίων ἀνέτελλε· καὶ οὐκέτι κυκλάδι λίμνῃ
λούετο παχνήεντα δεδυκότος ἴχνια Ταύρου·
οὐκέτι δ' ὀμβροτόκοιο παρὰ κλίμα διψάδος Ἄρκτου
ἴχνεσιν ἀβρέκτοισιν ὁδεύετο μάρμαρον ὕδωρ·
οὐκέτι Μασσαγέτης μετανάστιον οἶκον ἱμάσσων,
δουρατέῳ τροχόεντι διαστείβων ῥόον ὁλκῷ,
ὑδρηλὰς ἐχάρασσε πεπηγότος αὔλακας Ἴστρου·
ἤδη γὰρ Ζεφύροιο προάγγελος ἔγκυος Ὥρη
σχιζομένων καλύκων δροσεροὺς ἐμέθυσσεν ἀήτας·
καὶ λιγυρὴ μερόπεσσι συνέστιος εἴαρι κῆρυξ

ὄρθριον ὕπνον ἄμερσε λάλος τρύζουσα χελιδὼν
ἀρτιφανής· καὶ γυμνὸν ἀπ' εὐόδμοιο καλύπτρης
εἰαριναῖς ἐγέλασσε λελουμένον ἄνθος ἐέρσαις
ζωογόνοις. Κιλίκων δὲ παρὰ κροκόεντας ἐναύλους
ὑψιλόφου Ταύροιο λιπὼν πρηῶνα κεράστην,
πρώιος ᾔιε Κάδμος, ὅτε ζόφον ἔσχισεν Ἠώς.

The struggle was finished by the end of winter. Orion rose, displaying with his cloudless baldric the glittering surface of his sword. No longer were the frozen footsteps of the setting Bull washed under the circling mere. No longer in the region of the thirsty Bear, mother of rains, was the petrified water traversed by unwetted feet. No longer the Massagetan scored watery furrows on the frozen Istros, whipping up his migratory house, and traveling across the river with his track of wooden wheels. For already the teeming Season, fore-courier of Zephyros, had inebriated the dewy breezes from the bursting flowercups; the full-voiced herald, spring's welcome, fellow-guest, the chattering twittering swallow, had just shown herself to rob mankind of their morning sleep; the flower, clear of its fragrant sheath, laughed, bathed in the life-giving dew of springtime. Early in the morning, when Dawn had cleft the gloom, Cadmos came down from the horned peaks of lofty Tauros along the saffron glens of Cilicia.

The present description allusively associates the recently concluded Typhonomachy with wintertime and contrasts it with the arrival of springtime in nature. The mention of the Taurus constellation near the beginning of this passage and of Mt Taurus at the end of the passage immediately strikes the eye and emphasizes the importance of the bull theme in the narrative of Cadmus' search. The catasterism of the Bull in *Dionysiaca* 1.355b–362 marked the conclusion of the Zeus and Europa story, of which this description reminds us; both associate the constellation with springtime. The ἴχνια Ταύρου ("tracks of the bull") recur from the *first* reference to Cadmus' search for the divine bull at 1.139 ἄστατα νυμφοκόμοιο μετῄιεν ἴχνια ταύρου ("followed the never staying tracks of the bull turned bridesman"), but this time with reference to the Taurus constellation. Furthermore, as Chuvin notes ad loc., the phrase ἴχνεσιν ἀβρέκτοισιν ("with unwetted feet") is reminiscent of Moschus' *Europa* 114 χηλαῖς ἀβρέκτοισιν, where it refers to the divine bull's miraculous sea journey.[8]

8 The passage is quoted from Campbell 1991.

The preliminaries to Cadmus' voyage to Samothrace evoke the extraordinary voyage over the sea of the divine bull who abducted Europa (see further below). Once again the bull is singled out and Europa is ignored. On the other hand the *establishment* of Cadmus' brother Cilix in the area of Mt Taurus (2.684–685), the *setting* of the constellation of Taurus, and Cadmus' *descent* from Mt Taurus suggest that Cadmus' voyage to Samothrace substitutes for the bull's voyage—the search will not formally be abandoned until Cadmus has been so instructed by the Delphic oracle.

After sailing to Samothrace and finding Harmonia, the wife promised to him by Zeus, Cadmus will eventually go to Delphi to consult the oracle as directed by the father of gods. Now Cadmus' search for the bull is given yet another original turn: the Delphic oracle instructs the hero to stop going after the divine *bull* and follow instead an earthly *cow*; the cow will guide his steps to the location where he will found the city of Thebes (Nonn. *Dion.* 4.293–306):

'Κάδμε, μάτην, περίφοιτε, πολυπλανὲς ἴχνος ἑλίσσεις·
μαστεύεις τινὰ ταῦρον ὃν οὐ βοέη τέκε γαστήρ·
μαστεύεις τινὰ ταῦρον ὃν οὐ βροτὸς οἶδε κιχῆσαι.
Ἀσσυρίην ἀπόειπε· τεῆς ⟨δ'⟩ ἡγήτορα πομπῆς
ἄμφεπε βοῦν χθονίην, μὴ δίζεο ταῦρον Ὀλύμπου.
Νυμφίον Εὐρώπης οὐ βουκόλος οἶδεν ἐλαύνειν·
οὐ νομόν, οὐ λειμῶνα μετέρχεται, οὔ τινι κέντρῳ
πείθεται, οὐ μάστιγι κελεύεται. Οἶδεν ἀείρειν
Κύπριδος ἁβρὰ λέπαδνα καὶ οὐ ζυγόδεσμον ἀρότρων·
αὐχένα μοῦνον Ἔρωτι καὶ οὐ Δήμητρι τιταίνει.
ἀλλὰ πόθον Τυρίοιο τεοῦ γενετῆρος ἐάσσας
μίμνε παρ' ἀλλοδαποῖσι, καὶ Αἰγυπτίης σέο Θήβης
πατρίδος ἄστυ πόλισσον ἐπώνυμον, ἧχι πεσοῦσα
εὐνήσει βαρύγουνον ἑὸν πόδα δαιμονίη βοῦς.'

'Cadmos, in vain you travel round and round with wandering steps. You seek a bull which no cow ever calved; you seek a bull which no mortal knows how to find. Renounce Assyria, and take an earthly cow to guide your mission; search not for a bull of Olympos. Europa's bridegroom no drover knows how to drive; he frequents no pasture, no meadow, obeys no goad, is ordered by no whip. He knows how to bear the dainty harness of Cypris, not the plow's yokeband; he strains his neck for Love alone, and not for Demeter. No, let pass your regret for your Tyrian father, and abide among foreigners; found a city with the name of Egyptian Thebes

> your home, in the place where the cow of fortune shall sink and rest her heavyknee foot.'

As far as I know, no other version of the oracle given to Cadmus regarding the foundation of Thebes associates the bull of the Europa myth with the cow that guides the hero to the location where he will found the city of Thebes.[9] It occurs exclusively in Nonnus. To put this detail into perspective, in the *Dionysiaca* Cadmus' search for the bull looks backward to Io's transformation into a heifer and hence to Cadmus' and Dionysus' ancestry, and forward to the foundation of Thebes, the home of Dionysus. It is thus abundantly clear why so much prominence is given to the bull who abducted Europa and so little attention is paid to Europa herself.

I will conclude with a brief look at the story of Zeus and Europa as narrated by Nonnus in *Dionysiaca* 1.45–136 and 321–361. When reading Nonnus' version of the story one should keep in mind that the focus is on the bull while in Moschus the focus is on Europa. The 8.5 lines Nonnus dedicates to events on land prior to the abduction, as opposed to 112 in Moschus, mark the enormous difference between the two narratives. In the *Dionysiaca* Zeus lingers on land only as long as absolutely necessary: for the narrator to provide the location and time of the episode and Zeus' bull shape; for Zeus to give an amorous bellow, which explains *the reason* for his presence there and *the cause* of what will follow; for Eros to lift up the woman and for the bull to stretch his back underneath and raise her up. Europa's dream and the description of the basket may be peculiar to Moschus' narrative, but the meadow and the girl's companions are mentioned in every other version except in the *Dionysiaca*.

Nonnus dedicates 84.5 lines to the crossing of the sea as opposed to Moschus' 49. The difference in substance counts more than the difference in length. In the *Dionysiaca* Europa's lament is reduced to 9 lines (as opposed to Moschus' 18) and there is in addition a reply by Zeus. In Nonnus it is the bull that catches the eye of the amazed narrator and onlookers, sea divinities, and especially the sailor. In their vision the sea-faring bull assumes ever-changing shapes, and in this sense the *first* episode of the *Dionysiaca* picks up and expands the topic of ποικίλον εἶδος from the Proem: after Proteus and Dionysus, it is the turn of Zeus to dazzle with the many manifestations which wondering eyes generate, manifestations originating in the fact that a land animal is seen walking on

9 Though the oracle does not mention the bull, the proximity of *tauri* ('bull') to *bos* ('cow') in the compressed account of Cadmus' wanderings in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (respectively in 3.1 and 3.10) invites the reader to associate the respective events.

the surface of the sea. The reader is reminded at this point that the bull is one of the principal manifestations of Dionysus, just as the six shapes Dionysus assumes in the Proem (serpent, lion, leopard, boar, water, and tree) are also manifestations of Zeus.

Nonnus expands also the narrative of events after the bull's arrival in Crete into a total of 40 lines (as opposed to Moschus' 4.5). To the union of Zeus with Europa he adds Hera's sarcastic monologue directed against Zeus and the catasterism of the bull. Both additions concern the bull and actually this section of the Zeus and Europa episode begins with the bull on the Sidonian shore and ends with its catasterism.

This paper began with a question concerning Koechly's emendation of ἧς to οὗ in line 3.319, which refers the genitive not to Europa but to the bull. I have argued that in the *Dionysiaca* Cadmus' search is primarily for the bull throughout and not for Europa, and that it is the bull who receives the overwhelming attention on the part of the narrator and the characters of the epic. As regards the Nonnian narrative of the abduction I have argued that it's worth going back to read it without having Moschus in mind—and I would add nor Horace (*Odes* 3.27), Ovid (*Met.* 2.833–3.2) or Achilles Tatius (1.2–13).

CHAPTER 2

Dionysus, Ampelus, and Mythological Examples in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

*Katerina Carvounis**

Introduction

A striking feature of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is its extensive array of mythological narratives that are frequently invoked, expanded, recalled, and even challenged in the course of his epic, and (especially) within the speeches of the *Dionysiaca*.[1] Such narratives are part of the epic tradition as early as Homer, where they are introduced as examples to exhort, comfort or explain the situation at hand.[2] They can occur in isolation, as, for instance, when Achilles mentions

* I would like to thank the organizers of the conference 'Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II: Poetry, Religion, and Society' (Vienna) for their invitation to participate in that conference from which this paper arose and for their subsequent help and patience with the publication of this paper. I would also like to thank Fotini Hadjittofi, Sophia Papaioannou, and Mary Whitby for reading the paper and offering feedback. Nicole Kröll's monograph *Die Jugend des Dionysos. Die Ampelos-Episode in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Kröll 2016), which appeared after the paper had been submitted to the readers, includes relevant discussions on pp. 74–79 and 84–89 (on Hyacinthus and Ganymede respectively), 211–218 (on Calamus and Carpus), and 151–197 (on the influence of rhetoric on the Ampelus episode).—The text of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is taken from the Budé edition, while the translation is by W.H.D. Rouse (Rouse 1940) with some changes. When a reference is cited without the name of the author or the work, it is assumed that it is from the *Dionysiaca*.

1 Cf. Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 289: "[I]n Nonnus it is more frequent to find short narratives in speeches, rather than in the narration itself." Cf. also Vian 1978, 165.

2 See (e.g.) Willcock 1964 for invention in key details of the myth; Braswell 1971 for mythological *paradeigmata* arising from claims for compensation (cf. Austin 1966, 300 n. 9 on *hypomnesis*); Perceau 2002, 201–206 for correspondences between myths and frame; Austin 1966, 299–304 for the point that "almost every reference to the past, even those made by the poet as narrator, are prompted by the same impulse to find paradigm in the past." Sammons 2010, 23 uses the term 'paradigmatic exemplum' to describe the occasion where "[a] speaker, when he wishes to persuade for/against a course of action, to prove a point, to deliver a reproach, or to present an apology or consolation of himself or another, recounts to his listener a story from the past that appears similar to the situation at hand and hence can shed light upon it."

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_004

to Priam the fact that Niobe too ate, despite her grief (*Il.* 24.602–617), or in sequences, as is the case with Dione's catalogue to her daughter Aphrodite of other gods who also suffered wounds at the hands of mortals (*Il.* 5.382–404) or Calypso's catalogue of other goddesses whose liaisons with mortal men had an unfortunate ending (*Od.* 5.118–129). Sammons has recently highlighted the effectiveness of such sequences,[3] noting that they are much more frequent in the post-Homeric tradition; and as he puts it, "in the later poetic tradition, the display of mythological learning for its own sake takes on an increasingly high value."[4]

This also applies to Nonnus' epic, which contains an impressive number of mythological examples both in isolation and within catalogues. The term 'mythological examples' will be used here for mythological narratives that mostly fall outside the remit of a given literary work[5] and which concern figures that are acknowledged as precedents with varying degree of detail—from brief reference to extended (re)-telling—in order to fulfil a range of purposes, such as to exhort, comfort, convince, argue, describe, and compare.[6] Apart from the sheer number of mythological examples in the *Dionysiaca*, scholars have also drawn attention to their allusive nature, for, unlike other late poetic works, such as Quintus' *Posthomerica*, Nonnus often takes for granted the details behind a reference.[7]

Furthermore, mythological examples are also used in the *Dionysiaca* to draw contrasts between past and present parallel situations. Two instances can be adduced here to illustrate this point: at the very beginning of the epic, as Europa is being carried away from her homeland, she asks the waves to appeal to

3 Sammons 2010, 56: "The rhetorical use of paradigmatic catalogues is implicitly based upon a view of history as the repetition of a theme rather than variations on a theme. (…) Rhetoric is more powerful, because it lends an air of inevitability to any interpretation of events suggested by the overall pattern."

4 Sammons 2010, 23. Unfortunately, I have not had access to R. Oehler's *Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (diss. Basel, 1925).

5 Europa, whose rape forms the opening episode in the *Dionysiaca* and subsequently becomes a mythological example within this work, is an exception: see below.

6 For mythological examples fulfilling each of these functions cf. (e.g.) 39.138–211 (exhortation), 15.277–284 (persuasion), 39.53–73 (argument), 35.79–91 (description), 5.337–347 (comparison and contrast).

7 Vian 1978, 170: "Nonnos se caractérise au contraire par un parti-pris anti-narratif. L'ἱστορία reste à l'arrière-plan: elle est supposée connue et une allusion vague est jugée suffisante. Seul le nom propre importe, avec sa puissance d'évocation."

the bull for mercy and asks that messages be conveyed to her parents before imploring Boreas to receive her on his wings as he had lifted the bride from Attica (1.128–133). Yet she then interrupts herself abruptly, for she considers that she may see Boreas turn lustful like the bull (1.134–136):[8]

> Ναί, λίτομαι, Βορέης, ὡς ἥρπασας Ἀτθίδα νύμφην,
> δέξο με σαῖς πτερύγεσσι μετάρσιον ... Ἴσχεο, φωνή,
> μὴ Βορέην μετὰ ταῦρον ἐρωμανέοντα νοήσω.

> Aye Boreas, I conjure you, receive me on your wings in the air, as you ravished your Athenian bride! But stay, my voice! or I may see Boreas in love, after the Bull!

In appealing to Boreas as a way out of this desperate situation, Europa thinks of the precedent of Erechtheus' daughter Oreithyia as a 'hortatory paradigm',[9] but immediately revokes it as she thinks more carefully through the rest of the story she has just alluded to, namely the ensuing relationship between Boreas and Oreithyia. The story of Oreithyia's abduction is attested in the earlier tradition (e.g. Acousilaos fr. 9b 35 DK, Sim. fr. 534 *PMG*, Plat. *Phaedr*. 229b, A.R. 1.212–215[10]), and her relationship to Boreas is also referred to elsewhere in the *Dionysiaca* (e.g. 2.688, 37.160–161, 39.190–192, etc.). In her desperation, Europa first thinks only of one aspect of this precedent and then seeks to distance herself from the rest of that story.[11] In Nonnus' narrative of Europa's rape, Boreas has already featured as a lustful, prurient and, therefore, inappropriate listener (1.69–71):[12]

8 Compare and contrast Moschus' Europa, who concludes her speech with an address to Poseidon, "whose complicity she suspects": Whitby 1994, 131 n. 25.

9 For this term see Austin 1966, 300.

10 For Nonnus' reception of Apollonius see (e.g.) Hollis 1994, 43–45, Vian ^{2}2008, 398–409, Fayant 2012.

11 Cf. 2.113–162, where, faced with Typhoeus' destruction, a Hamadryad thinks of various mythological figures she would like to become before revoking them upon recollection of other aspects of each myth she would rather avoid: see Vian 1976, 143 (n. on 1.136).

12 Cf. Gigli Piccardi 2006, 131 (n. on 1.69–71): "[A]bbiamo qui un altro esempio di metafora a metà, in cui cioè il poeta gioca a sovrapporre senso reale e metaforico di un termine."

Καὶ δολόεις Βορέης γαμίῃ δεδονημένος αὔρῃ
φᾶρος ὅλον κόλπωσε δυσίμερος, ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ
ζῆλον ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεσύρισεν ὄμφακι μαζῷ.

And shaking with amorous breath, artful Boreas bellied out all her robe, love-sick himself, and in secret jealousy, whistled on the pair of unripe breasts.

The abduction of Europa herself will be frequently mentioned elsewhere in this epic (7.205–209, 8.134–151, 11.152–154, 16.50–70, 41.237–249, 42.100–107), while Europa's husband even intervenes later on to ensure that her story is not repeated (41.237–249), and the episode itself becomes an example for other characters to recall (42.100–107).

Another instance where a character dwells on worrying aspects of a known mythological example that has been adduced as a precedent to the current situation comes from *Dionysiaca* 33, when Morrheus has been pursuing Chalcomede (cf. 33.17–18) and she[13] tells him the story of Apollo and Daphne (33.208–215):[14]

Καί οἱ ἐπεγγελόωσα δόλῳ φιλοπαίγμονι κούρη
ἀγχιφανὴς ἐρέθιζε δυσίμερον· ἀντιβίῳ δέ
εἶπεν ἀνυμφεύτοιο ποδήνεμα γούνατα Νύμφης,
πῶς ποτε Φοῖβον ἔφευγε, Βορηίδι σύνδρομος αὔρῃ,
πῶς διερὸν παρὰ χεῦμα τιταινομένου ποταμοῖο
παρθένιον πόδα πῆξε παρ' εὐρυρέεθρον Ὀρόντην,
ὁππότε Γαῖα χανοῦσα παρ' εὐύδρου στόμα λίμνης
παῖδα διωκομένην οἰκτίρμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ.

The girl, exulting in playful trickery, showed herself near him and teased the lovesick man. She told her enemy how the knees of that unwedded

13 Koechly postulated a *lacuna* after 33.209, so the story of Apollo's failed pursuit is attributed to another speaker (perhaps an Indian or a Nymph?). But as Gerlaud 2005, 56 n. 1 rightly argues, Morrheus' joyful reaction (33.216) is then more difficult to explain and it seems more straightforward to assume that Chalcomede herself tells that story. In any case, it is important for our purposes that Morrheus rethinks the mythological example he has just heard and—not unlike Europa in *Dionysiaca* 1—isolates the details that he finds unappealing if applied to his circumstances.

14 For Apollo's pursuit of Daphne as a popular topic in later Greek literature see Gerlaud 2005, 56–57 (with n. 2, p. 56).

> Nymph fled swift on the breeze, how she ran once from Phoibos quick as the north wind, how she planted her maiden foot by the flood of a longwinding river, by the broad-flowing Orontes, when the earth opened beside the mouth of a watery marsh and received the hunted girl into her compassionate bosom.

In this version of the story, Chalcomede underlines Daphne's swiftness and the pursuit itself (ποδήνεμα γούνατα, 210; ἔφευγε, 211; Βορηίδι σύνδρομος αὔρῃ, 211; παῖδα διωκομένην, 215) and concludes with her escape into Gaia's compassionate embrace (οἰκτίρμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ, 215) rather than with her transformation into a laurel-tree.[15] Morrheus is indeed happy to hear this tale (ἀνεπάλλετο χάρματι, 33.216), yet he reflects upon the fact that Apollo was not successful in his pursuit:

> ἓν δέ ἑ μοῦνον ὄρινε, διωκομένην ὅτι Δάφνην
> καὶ θεὸς *οὐκ ἐκίχησε* καὶ *οὐκ ἐμίηνεν* Ἀπόλλων. (33.217 f.)
> δείδιε γὰρ τρομέων γλυκερῷ πυρί, μή τι καὶ αὐτή
> εἴη Χαλκομέδη φιλοπάρθενος, οἷά τε Δάφνη,
> μή μιν ἰδὼν φεύγουσαν *ἐτώσιον* εἰς δρόμον ἔλθῃ,
> μοχθίζων *ἀτέλεστον* ἐς ἵμερον, ὥς περ Ἀπόλλων. (33.221–224)
>
> [O]ne thing only annoyed him, that the god never caught Daphne when she was pursued, that Apollo never ravished her. (…) Trembling with sweet fire, he feared that Chalcomede also like Daphne might be in love with maidenhood, feared he might see her fleeing and chase her in vain, wasting his pains on desire unattainable like Apollo.

Both these instances, then, show a character critically re-thinking specific aspects of a mythological example that has been suggested as a precedent to the immediate situation. To highlight this tendency in the *Dionysiaca*, let us take as a case study the narrative of Dionysus and Ampelus from their first meeting (10.139 ff.) to the latter's transformation into the vine (12.291).[16] This episode, which is critical within the plot of the *Dionysiaca* as it results in the creation of the vine, sets Dionysus within the tradition of gods desiring young

15 Cf. Gerlaud 2005, 85 n. 1.

16 It is the self-consciousness and explicitness of the contrasts between the example and the present situation that seem particularly striking in the *Dionysiaca*; for subtle contrasts and problematic examples in the tradition from Homer onwards: see (e.g.) Scodel 2002, 145–147, Goldhill 1994, Fantuzzi 1995.

eromenoi and shows the god suffering a wide range of emotions from deepest grief at Ampelus' death to exultation at the latter's transformation;[17] moreover, it contains a network of recurring mythological examples that are introduced from varying perspectives at different points in the narrative and fulfil different functions at each turn.[18]

Dionysus and Ampelus

As Dionysus is growing up in Lydia, he becomes inseparable from the young and handsome Ampelus, and the two compete in games, with Dionysus willingly conceding defeat.[19] Despite the god's warning to his friend, Ampelus strays away from Dionysus and Ate deceitfully persuades him to ride a bull (11.118–154). Without fear, Ampelus approaches the bull. The Moon sends a gadfly and the bull throws Ampelus headlong onto the ground. Upon hearing the news of his death, Dionysus runs to the place of the tragedy and expresses his grief in two consecutive laments (11.255–312, 315–350).

Eros appears in the guise of a shaggy Silenus to comfort Dionysus: he advises him to turn his desire towards another youth and proceeds to tell 'a story of men of old' (11.369) about two beautiful young men, Calamus, son of the river Maeander, and Carpus (11.369–481). Like Dionysus and Ampelus, they too competed in races on the river-bank and in the water, with Calamus yielding to his friend. Carpus would have won, but a wind blowing in Carpus' face drove a great wave into his open mouth (11.422–426).[20] Calamus expresses his grief at loosing his friend in two speeches before falling into the river Maeander. The story ends with the double transformation of Calamus and Carpus into the reeds and the fruit of the earth respectively (11.478–481). Dionysus remains inconsolable until Atropos informs him that Ampelus lives and that she will change him into a lovely drink (12.145–146). Ampelus is transformed into the vine and Dionysus expresses his joy by extolling Ampelus and the vine over and against other gods and their characteristic attributes (12.193–291).

17 For mortals' transformation into plants and trees in Greek mythology, and the role of milk, tears and blood in this process see Buxton 2009, 214–228.

18 For a thorough, recent discussion of this episode and its mythological examples, see Kröll 2016, 19–37 and 65–95; Mazza 2012, 99–126. For this episode's bearing on Nonnus' poetics see Shorrock 2001, 131–137. For the Calamus-Carpus episode see Kröll (2013).

19 For Nonnus' sources and for Ampelus in the literary tradition see Chrétien 1985, 67–73.

20 Cf. Nesselrath 1992, 70.

Let us now turn to the mythological examples that recur throughout this episode. Enthralled by Ampelus' beauty, Dionysus first fears the intervention of other gods known to have loved mortal boys before (10.250–263): Zephyrus might blow again, as he did when he turned Hyacinthus' quoit and killed him (255); Zeus might suddenly appear again as a love-bird (256) carrying off Ampelus, as he did with Ganymede; and love-stricken Poseidon (260) on his flying chariot might seize Ampelus as he had previously seized Pelops (10.252–263):[21]

εἰς δύσιν ὄμμα τίταινεν ἐς ἠέρα λοξὰ δοκεύων,
μὴ ***Ζεφύρου*** πνεύσειε πάλιν *θανατηφόρος αὔρη*,
ὡς πάρος ἠβητῆρα κατέκτανε *πικρὸς ἀήτης*
δίσκον ἀκοντιστῆρα καταστρέψας Ὑακίνθου·
δείδιε, μὴ ***Κρονίδης*** ἐρασίπτερος ὄρνις Ἐρώτων
ἀπροϊδὴς ἀκίχητος ὑπὲρ Τμώλοιο φανείη
φειδομένοις ὀνύχεσσιν ἐς ἠέρα παῖδα κομίζων,
Τρώιον οἷά τε κοῦρον ἑῶν δρηστῆρα κυπέλλων·
ἔτρεμε καὶ δυσέρωτα κυβερνητῆρα θαλάσσης,
μὴ μετὰ Ταντιλίδην χρυσέων ἐπιβήτορα δίφρων
εἰς δρόμον ἠερόφοιτον ἄγων πτερόεσσαν ἀπήνην
Ἄμπελον ἁρπάξειεν ἐρωμανέων ***ἐνοσίχθων***.

[Bacchos] looked aside watchfully towards the west; for fear the death-bringing breath of Zephyros might blow again, as it did once before when the bitter blast killed a young man while it turned his hurtling quoit against Hyacinthos. He feared Cronides might suddenly appear over Tmolos as a love-bird on amorous wing unapproachable, carrying off the boy with sparing talons into the air, as once he did the Trojan boy to serve his cups. He feared also the lovestricken ruler of the sea, that after he took up Tantalides in his golden car, so now he might drive a winged wagon coursing through the air and ravishing Ampelos—the Earthshaker mad with love.

Equal attention is given to each god and his young *eromenos*. If any of these three gods repeats what he is known to have done in the past, Dionysus will suffer Ampelus' loss; but for Ampelus himself, the outcome will be drastically

21 See Hernández de la Fuente 2008, 80–86 for the tradition of mortal *eromenoi* in the *Dionysiaca* and D'Ippolito 1964, 140–146 on Nonnus' emphasis on Hyacinthus in particular.

different in each case.[22] In the version followed by Nonnus for the story of Hyacinthus, who was loved by Apollo, there is emphasis on the story's sad ending (θανατηφόρος αὔρη, 253) and on Zephyrus' jealousy (πικρὸς ἀήτης, 254), for he blows the quoit back upon Hyacinthus and fatally wounds the young man. This story is given in full in 3.153–163, when Cadmus looks at Electra's palace and the enclosure in front of it, which is replete with plants and trees that result from transformations in the mythological tradition (3.157–163):[23]

καί, φυτὸν ἡβητῆρος ἰδὼν (sc. Ἀπόλλων) δεδονημένον αὔραις,
δίσκου μνῆστιν ἔχων ἐλελίζετο, μή ποτε κούρῳ
ζηλήμων φθονέσειε καὶ ἐν πετάλοισιν ἀήτης,
εἰ ἐτεόν ποτε κεῖνον ἐπισπαίροντα κονίῃ
ὄμμασιν ἀκλαύτοισιν ἰδὼν δάκρυσεν Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ τύπος ἀνθεμόεις μορφώσατο δάκρυα Φοίβου
αἴλινον αὐτοκέλευστον ἐπιγράψας ὑακίνθῳ.

[I]f he saw the plant of the youth beaten by the breezes, he remembered the quoit, and trembled for fear the wind, so jealous once about the boy, might hate him even in a leaf, if it is true that Apollo once wept with those eyes that never wept, to see that boy writhing in the dust, and the pattern there on the flower traced its own 'alas!' on the iris, and so figured the tears of Phoibos.

On the other hand, a privileged ending is reserved for Ganymede following Zeus' intervention, for he attains immortality as wine-pourer of the gods (δρηστῆρα κυπέλλων, 259; cf. 10.315, cited below). Dionysus returns to Ganymede's lot when he asks Zeus not to desire Ampelus and directly compares the two *eromenoi* (10.314–318):[24]

22 Variation in the outcome of examples illustrating divine rape is also evident in the cases of Ganymede and Tithonus mentioned by Aphrodite to Anchises in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (202–240), with Eos having secured immortality but not eternal youth for her lover Tithonus.

23 Allusions to this story are found throughout the *Dionysiaca*, e.g. 31.106, 33.132–133, etc. See Forbes Irving 1990, 281 for ancient sources on the killing and transformation of Hyacinthus, and Cazzaniga 1958 for a detailed study of Hellenistic sources, Ovid, and Nonnus on this myth. See also Moreau 1988 on young men's accidental deaths by a discus in the mythological tradition.

24 For other references to Ganymede's role as cup bearer of the gods in the *Dionysiaca* cf. 8.92–96, 19.209–214, 27.244–249.

> Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἱλήκοις, τανυσίπτερε· μή μοι ἐνίψῃς
> Τρώιον οἰνοχοῆα τεῶν δρηστῆρα κυπέλλων,
> ὅττι φαεινοτέροιο φέρων ἀμάρυγμα προσώπου
> Ἄμπελος ἱμερόεις Γανυμήδεος εἶδος ἐλέγχει·
> *Τμώλιος Ἰδαίου πέλε φέρτερος.*

> Forgive me, Father Longwing! Don't talk to me of your Trojan winepourer, the servant of your cups. Lovely Ampelos outshines Ganymedes, he has a brilliancy in his countenance more radiant—the Tmolian beats the Idaian!

As for Pelops, the outcome of Poseidon's intervention (also motivated by desire: δυσέρωτα, 260; ἐρωμανέων ἐνοσίχθων, 263) is not given until a later point in the episode (11.271–275, cited below). Nonnus seems to be drawing on the version found in Pindar's *Olympian* 1, in a passage that has been described as "the most daring and spectacular 'homosexualisation' of myth that we have".[25] In Pindar's version, Pelops has disappeared because Poseidon, overcome by desire, has taken him in a golden chariot to Zeus' home, where Ganymede also came later on (*Ol.* 1.40–45).[26] In Pindar's version, when Pelops' beard grows, he returns to earth and asks Poseidon to help him win Hippodameia as his bride (*Ol.* 1.67–76).[27] Nonnus' brief mention of this myth here, however, does not give any hints regarding Pelops' future after he was seized by Poseidon. But after Ampelus' death, Poseidon's relationship with Pelops is recalled and Dionysus envies him for the latter's return to mortality (11.271–275):

> *Ὄλβιος Ἐννοσίγαιος*, ἐπεί τινα γείτονα πάτρης
> παιδὸς ἐμοῦ Φρύγα κοῦρον ἐφίλατο, τὸν δὲ κομίζων
> χρύσεον εἰς Διὸς οἶκον ἀνήγαγεν ἀστὸν Ὀλύμπου·
> καί οἱ, ὅτε σπεύδεσκεν ἐς ἱπποσύνην Ἀφροδίτης,
> ὤπασεν ἄβροχον ἅρμα γαμοστόλον Ἱπποδαμείης.

> Happy is Earthshaker! He loved a Phrygian boy, a neighbour to my own boy's country, and he carried him to the golden house of Zeus as a dweller

25 Dover 1978, 198.

26 Dover 1978, 198.

27 Pelops' use of Poseidon's horses in the *Dionysiaca* is also referred to in 20.157–159 and 37.308–311.

> of Olympos; and when the boy was eager for the love-race with chariots, he lent his own unsinking car to honour Hippodameia's wedding.

The fact that Dionysus thinks of these three precedents as a group (10.252–263, cited above) shows his identifying with the gods that have desired mortals, as he too is captivated by Ampelus and even fears that another god may share this desire. Yet the nature of each god's intervention differs widely from one case to another, and the outcome of Dionysus' relationship with Ampelus could, therefore, range from his securing immortality for the *eromenos* to this *eromenos*' own death.

Ampelus' Death

Ampelus' death proves to be, at first, the worst possible outcome for Dionysus, and the god experiences a great sense of loss and bereavement. In his lament, he revisits, and compares himself unfavourably to, the examples he had thought of before: he wonders whether this might be Zephyrus who has acted against Dionysus rather than Apollo (11.257);[28] but Apollo drew consolation in his bereavement from carrying the memory of his beloved one within his own name ('Atymnios'[29] here and 'Hyacinthios' in 11.329–330,[30] when Dionysus wishes he could be called 'Ampeloan'), and because the iris-flower (ὑάκινθος) is a tangible memorial to his beloved Hyacinthos (11.258–263).[31] Furthermore, Poseidon carried Pelops to Zeus' golden house and then lent him his chariot for Hippodameia's wedding (11.271–275, cited above), whereas Ampelus died before his own wedding.[32] Dionysus, finally, recalls Zeus' relationship to

28 11.257: Τίς Ζέφυρος μετὰ Φοῖβον ἐπέχραε καὶ Διονύσῳ; As Vian 1995a, 170 (n. on 11.255–263) points out, "[p]our introduire ces deux exemples mythologiques, Nonnos prête à Dionysos l'idée que le taureau a agi lui aussi par jalousie."

29 11.258–259: *Ὄλβιος* ἔπλετο Φοῖβος Ἀτύμνιος· ἠιθέου γάρ / ἔλλαχεν οὔνομα τοῦτο. Atymnius is also mentioned in a triad of examples that Ate puts forward to Ampelus to convince him that other gods have honoured their beloved ones more with means of travelling in the air (Phoebus-Atymnius, Phoebus-Abaris, Zeus-Ganymede).

30 11.329–330: αἴθε καὶ αὐτός / εἴην Ἀμπελόεις, Ὑακίνθιος ὥς περ Ἀπόλλων.

31 11.259–261: Θεραπναίου δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ / φάρμακον ἡβητῆρος ἐπώνυμον ἄνθος ἀείρει, / αἴλινον ἐν πετάλοισιν ἐπιγράψας ὑακίνθῳ.

32 11.271–275: *Ὄλβιος* Ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐπεί τινα γείτονα πάτρης / παιδὸς ἐμοῦ Φρύγα κοῦρον ἐφίλατο, τὸν δὲ κομίζων / χρύσεον εἰς Διὸς οἶκον ἀνήγαγεν ἀστὸν Ὀλύμπου· / καί οἱ, ὅτε σπεύδεσκεν ἐς ἱπποσύνην Ἀφροδίτης, / ὤπασεν ἄβροχον ἅρμα γαμοστόλον Ἱπποδαμείης.

Ganymede, when he thinks that he could have raided the latter's homeland to provide Ampelus with a horse, if that was what the young man wanted, and that Ganymede was not killed by a bull because Zeus intervened (11.290–295).[33]

On the other hand, Eros' story of Calamus and Carpus as consolation to the grieving god[34] is, unlike the previous recurring examples of unfortunate relationships between mortals and immortals, narrated in full. There are obvious correspondences between the story of Dionysus and Ampelus and that of Calamus and Carpus; the latter episode is generally seen as an abbreviation of the former,[35] and the two stories follow a similar pattern with two couples initially playing and competing in games (10.326–11.55; cf. 11.398–421), while one partner deliberately allows the other to win (10.355–364, 10.373–377, 11.54–55; cf. 11.404–405, 11.416–420), until a sudden accident kills the latter (11.215–223; cf. 11.422–426) and the bereft partner expresses his lament in two speeches, the second of which is addressed to his father, Zeus and Maeander respectively (11.255–312, 11.315–350; cf. 11.431–462, 11.468–445). A convincing case has been made for correspondences between the two pairs of speeches,[36] while verbal echoes link the two stories together.[37]

The secondary stories recalled within the main episode of Ampelus and Dionysus are also interwoven within the story of Calamus and Carpus. As Vian points out, whereas in the earlier version of the story, which is recorded in Servius' commentary to the *Eclogues*, Carpus falls into the river Maeander, Nonnus draws on the myths of Hyacinthus and Hylas for the intervention of the jealous wind and for Carpus' disappearance into the water respectively.[38] After Eros has mentioned Hyacinthus' death in his opening advice to show that one can find consolation in a new lover (11.363–365), he brings this story to the foreground first through clear hints to the jealous wind (11.424, 427), while

---

33 Dionysus here draws a comparison between Ampelus and Ganymede: ὃν (sc. Γανυμήδην) τρέφεν Ἴδη / *σοὶ δέμας ἶσον ἔχοντα*, 11.293.

34 Gigli Piccardi 2006, 788 notes a correspondence between Eros' speech of consolation to Dionysus and Pan's speech of love advice to the same god in 42.205–273.

35 See (e.g.) Collart 1930, 105. As he points out, 11.398–399 (ἄμφω δὲ συνήλικες ὑψόθεν ὄχθης / γείτονος ἑψιόωντο πολυγνάμπτου ποταμοῖο) seem to sum up 10.326–331 (ἄμφω δ' ἑψιόωντο συνήλυδες ἔνδοθι λόχμης, / … / *καί* ποτε μουνωθέντες ἐρημάδος ὑψόθεν ὄχθης, / ἐν ψαμάθοις παίζοντες ἐυκροκάλου ποταμοῖο).

36 Nizzola 2012, 64–66. Cf. also Gigli Piccardi 2006, 797.

37 Cf. (e.g.) πῇ φέρεαι, φίλε *κοῦρε*; Τί σοι τόσον εὔαδεν ὕλη; (11.74) and δηθύνεις ἔτι, *κοῦρε*; Τί σοι τόσον εὔαδεν ὕδωρ; (11.446): Collart 1930, 105; *κάμνον* ἐγὼ *καλέων* σε, *καὶ* οὐ βοόωντος ἀκούεις (11.454) and οὔατά μοι παρέασι, *καὶ* οὐ βοόωντος ἀκούω (11.319): Fayant 2012, § 24.

38 Vian 1995a, 23; cf. Vian 1995a, 19.

Calamus himself interprets what has just happened as a repetition of Zephyrus' intervention (11.435–438).[39] Later on, Calamus suggests that one of the water-Nymphs must have snatched Carpus (11.449), thus evoking Hylas' fate, which has already been brought to the foreground when Dionysus first learnt the news of Ampelus' death and ran to the body.[40]

Eros' speech as a whole is not without difficulties,[41] and I shall focus here on two points in particular: first, it is not immediately clear how the story of Calamus and Carpus illustrates Eros' opening advice to Dionysus (11.356–368) in that same speech. The advice to find a new love and forget the old one (ἄλλῳ λῦσον ἔρωτι τεῶν σπινθῆρας ἐρώτων / εἰς νέον ἡβητῆρα μετάτροπον οἶστρον ἀμείψας, / λησάμενος φθιμένοιο, 11.356–358) is supported by a gnomic statement (that new love is always a φάρμακον for old love: 11.358–360), a mythological example (Zephyrus' desire for Cyparissus following the death of Hyacinthus: 11.363–365),[42] and an observation from everyday life (that a gardener plants a new flower when he sees one lying in the dust: 11.366–368). In the story that Eros proceeds to tell, however, not only does Calamus not try to find another love, but he displays an extreme attachment to Carpus as he desires to join him even in death. Unlike other myths (such as those of Hyacinthus and Adonis), that of Calamus and Carpus does not dwell on the eternal sorrow manifest on the new form that the young boy posthumously adopts;[43] the double transformation rather puts emphasis on unity in life and death (11.470–472):

---

39 Nizzola 2012, 66, where he comments on Nonnus' use of the Hyacinthus motif: "… come ad esempio l'allusione alla vicenda mitica della morte di Giacinto (…), secondo una tendenza cui il poeta fa appello di frequente, e che gli risulta particolarmente congeniale—a tal punto da divenire una cifra distintiva dell' ἔπος nonniano—, in virtù della sua predisposizione ad arrichire la narrazione di riferimenti mitologici che fungono da *exempla*." Note also that in the cases of Hyacinthus and Carpus, the young men's deaths are inscribed in the environment for future generations to see: cf. πολλὰ Φοιβείοισι σοφοῖς ποικίλλετο φύλλοις / γράμματα δενδρήεντα φιλοκλαύτων ὑακίνθων, 3.153–154 (on the leaves of the iris-flower) and γράμμασι πενθαλέοισιν ἔπος κεχαραγμένον ἔστω, 11.475 (the epigram on the cenotaph envisaged by Calamus).

40 Vian 1995a, 21. See further Vian 1995a, 168 n. on 224–231 and the analysis in Fayant 2012.

41 Cf., e.g., Collart 1930, 105–107. This is not, of course, the only part of this episode that has raised questions; see Vian 1995a, 8–9 (on Ampelus' death) and 14–15 (on Dionysus' laments).

42 The reader will here think of Hymenaeus as another *eromenos* of Dionysus in *Dionysiaca* 29: see (esp.) 29.28 and 29.95–99.

43 Consistently in the *Dionysiaca*, the hyacinthus-flower is described as being prone to lamenting (φιλοκλαύτων ὑακίνθων, 3.154) and Apollo's song as a plaintive one: (e.g.) αἴλινον ἐν πετάλοισιν ἐπιγράψας ὑακίνθου, 11.261. On the hyacinthus-flower see Arrigues 1992.

> Καρπῷ καὶ Καλάμῳ *βιοτὴ μία*, καὶ λάχον ἄμφω
> εἴκελον οἶστρον ἔρωτος ἐπὶ χθονός· ὑδατόεις δὲ
> *εἷς μόρος* ἀμφοτέροισι καὶ ἐν προχοῇσι γενέσθω.

> Carpos and Calamos had one life, and both felt a like ardour of love on the earth: let there be one watery death for both together in the same stream.

Furthermore, Eros makes no attempt to reconcile the outcome of his story with Dionysus' own plight. By contrast, in *Dionysiaca* 45, for example, when Teiresias as a warning tells Pentheus the story of the Tyrrhenian pirates who did not recognize Dionysus' godhead, he draws a moral (καὶ σύ, τέκος, δολόεντα χόλον πεφύλαξο Λυαίου, 45.169) and rebuts a series of possible counter-arguments that Pentheus might put forward. A parallel for the use of a mythological example by a character offering consolation to another has been seen in Callimachus' fifth hymn.[44] This hymn consists of a frame (Call. *Lav.Pall.* 1–56, *Lav.Pall.* 137–142), within which is related the story of Teiresias, who unwittingly caught sight of Athena at her bath and lost his sight (*Lav.Pall.* 57–106) yet received the gift of prophecy (*Lav.Pall.* 119–136). Within this story, Athena offers to Teiresias' mother Chariclo as consolation the (future) example of Actaeon, who, like Teiresias, will see a goddess (Artemis) at her bath, but rather than losing his sight, he will die, killed by his own hounds. Actaeon's mother, Athena concludes, will thus consider Teiresias' fate preferable by comparison: ὀλβίσταν δ' ἐρέει σε καὶ εὐαίωνα γενέσθαι / ἐξ ὀρέων ἀλαὸν παῖδ' ὑποδεξαμέναν, *Lav.Pall.* 117–118.[45] Although the relationship of the example featuring Artemis and Actaeon to the narrative frame relating Teiresias' blindness is clear, commentators have been struck by the callousness of this consolation.[46] Lack of empathy could also be seen in the opening advice given by Eros, as we saw earlier, even though his speech is described as παρήγορον … φωνήν (11.355; cf. τοῖα παρηγορέων φιλίῳ μειλίξατο μύθῳ, 11.482). Moreover, as we saw earlier, Eros does not draw a moral from his story, and Dionysus remains inconsolable until he is informed about the imminent transformation (12.142–146).[47]

---

44 Duc 1990, 183–185.

45 As Bulloch 1985, 218 (n. on 107–118) puts it, "Athena's πρόνοια becomes fore-knowledge and the *exemplum* is transposed from the past into the future."

46 See (e.g.) Hadjittofi 2008, 19, Morrison 2005, 37–38, Depew 1994, 426, Haslam 1993, 123, Bulloch 1985, 220. I am grateful to Fotini Hadjittofi for drawing my attention to this point.

47 Already in 7.73–105 Zeus has predicted to Aion the invention of the vine, while the portent that warned Dionysus of Ampelus' imminent death also hinted at the creation of the wine (11.83–98).

Ampelus' Transformation

If the function of Eros' speech is to offer consolation to the grieving god, as in the case of Athena's story in Callimachus' fifth hymn, the message can only be retrospectively comprehended, for neither does Dionysus meet a new *eromenos* nor does the story of Calamus and Carpus—a story of intense attachment and unity even in death—illustrate Eros' opening advice.[48] Seen alongside the other mythological examples that have featured in this episode, Eros' story seems to offer yet another case of a bereft partner finding consolation following the death of his *eromenos*. Yet Eros' opening advice brings to the readers' mind the story of Dionysus and Ampelus through echoes from the text, for his description of the flower lying on the ground covered in dust that the gardener replaces with a new flower (ἐν δαπέδῳ γάρ / κείμενον ἀθρήσας κεκονιμένον ἄνθος ἀροτρεύς, 11.366–367) echoes the description of the dead Ampelus: καί τις ἰδὼν Σατύρων κεκονιμένον ὑψόθι γαίης / Ἄμπελον ἱμερόεντα δυσάγγελος ἤλυθε Βάκχῳ (11.224–225). Moreover, Eros' point that a new love is a φάρμακον for an old one (παλαιοτέροιο γὰρ αἰεί / φάρμακόν ἐστιν ἔρωτος ἔρως νέος, 11.358–359) is recalled at the end of the episode, when Dionysus will find a φάρμακον in the new plant that was Ampelus: προτέρας δ' ἔρριψε μερίμνας / φάρμακον ἡβητῆρος ἔχων εὔοδμον ὀπώρην, 12.290–291.[49]

Dionysus has thus replaced old cares with the new fruit with which Ampelus is now identified, and Calamus' desire to be with Carpus even after death[50] is here materialized in Dionysus' 'absorbing' of Ampelus.[51] Dionysus' unity

48 Vian 1995a, 18.

49 Eros uses the term φάρμακον to refer to the remedy of love also in 11.368: φάρμακον ὀλλυμένοιο νεώτερον ἄλλον. Note that Dionysus' sombre mood after the description of the Seasons shows him without a φάρμακον for his fallen friend: οὐδὲ Λυαίῳ / φάρμακον ἦν ἑτάροιο δεδουπότος, 12.117–118. Vian 1995a, 17: "Dionysos enviait Apollon d'avoir su trouver un φάρμακον (v. 260) après la mort d'Hyakinthos. Éros/Silène lui en propose un: remplacer un amour défunt par un nouvel amour; un exemple mythologique (v. 363–365) et une image tirée du jardinage (v. 366–358) illustrent ce precépte." Cf. also Vian 1995a, 74: "Les deux vers de clôture (v. 290–291) transcrivent la même idée en reprenant l'un des themes majeurs du ch. XI: Dionysos a enfin trouvé le *pharmakon* à ses peines d'amour."

50 See Harries 1994, 72 for Eros providing a pastoral lament with the regular *topoi* that Dionysus, by virtue of his immortality, cannot include. For the bereaved god's unattainable wish to die cf. Apollo after Hyacinthus' death in *Met.* 10.202–204 and Aphrodite following Adonis' death: φεύγεις μακρόν, Ἄδωνι, καὶ ἔρχεαι εἰς Ἀχέροντα, / πὰρ στυγνὸν βασιλῆα καὶ ἄγριον· ἁ δὲ τάλαινα / ζώω καὶ θεός ἐμμι καὶ οὐ δύναμαί σε διώκειν, Bion *Adon.* 51–53.

51 Later on, Dionysus will repeat this point more emphatically: πᾶσιν ἐμοῖς μελέεσσιν ἐγὼ σέο πῶμα κεράσσω, 12.271.

with Ampelus and the joy he draws from it are features that now distinguish him from, and make him better than, Apollo, for whom the flower that was his beloved Hyacinthus is only a sorrowful reminder of that relationship; as Atropos puts it, Apollo has now reason to be jealous when comparing the circumstances of the two gods *vis-à-vis* the afterlife of their respective *eromenoi* (12.156–166):[52]

> Φοίβῳ ζῆλον ἄγων, ὅτι πένθιμα χειρὶ τιταίνει
> αἴλινα δενδρήεντα φιλοκλαύτων ὑακίνθων,
> καὶ σὺ ποτὸν μεθέπεις, βροτέης ἄμπαυμα γενέθλης,
> νέκταρος οὐρανίου χθόνιον τύπον. Ἀνθεμόεν δέ
> παιδὸς Ἀμυκλαίοιο τεὸς νέος εὖχος ἐλέγξει·
> εἰ δὲ πόλις κείνοιο μαχήμονα χαλκὸν ἀείρει,
> καὶ σέθεν ἠιθέοιο φεραυγέα πατρὶς ἀέξει
> ὑγρὸν ἐρευθομένης ποταμηίδος ὄγκον ἐέρσης,
> χρυσῷ ὅλη κομόωσα, καὶ οὐ χαίρουσα σιδήρῳ·
> εἰ ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος ἀγάλλεται ἀμφὶ ῥεέθρῳ,
> φέρτερον Εὐρώταο πέλει Πακτώλιον ὕδωρ.

> [Y]ou shall make Phoibos jealous, that he holds out his melancholy iris with its leafy dirge. You too dispense a drink, the earthly image of heavenly nectar, the comfort of the human race, and your young friend shall eclipse the flowery glory of the Amyclaian boy: if his country produces the bronze of battle, your boy's country too increases the shining torrent of red juice like a river—she is all proud of her gold, and she likes not steel. If one boasts of a roaring river, Pactolos has better water than Eurotas.

Having inscribed himself within the tradition of gods who desired young *eromenoi*, Dionysus draws an explicit contrast with Apollo as the arch-example of this tradition,[53] highlighting the fact that Apollo cannot eat or drink his two favourite plants, namely the laurel-tree and the iris-flower, which have both been associated with the god's objects of desire (12.208–209). Delighted with the way even Moira and Hades have softened for Ampelus (12.212–216), Diony-

52 See Hadjittofi 2010, 38 for the contrast between Sparta and Lydia and its implications for the 'imaginary geography' in the *Dionysiaca*.

53 See Vian 1995b, 203–205 for Dionysus' speech and this series of *syncriseis* as an encomium of the vine, and Kröll 2014, 259 for the *syncrisis* of the grape-vine and other fruits at the end of the speech "turn[ing] into an *ekphrasis* of the conditions under which the new plant can grow."

sus applies the rhetorical technique of *syncrisis* between his newly-created plant and other plants (12.237–244),[54] before extending his *syncrisis* with Apollo (12.245–250) to that of other gods (Ares, Demeter, Athena: 245–269). Dionysus himself thus revisits yet again the story of Apollo and Hyacinthus (cf. 11.258–263; 11.329–330), and this time it is to highlight his superiority over and against Apollo (12.245–250):

> *Εἶξον ἐμοί, Κλυτότοξε,* πολυθρήνων ὅτι φύλλων
> πενθαλέῳ μίτρωσας ἀπενθέα βόστρυχα δεσμῷ·
> αἴλινα σοῖς πετάλοισι χαράσσεται· εἰ δ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ
> στέμμα φέρει Κλυτότοξος, ἐγὼ γλυκὺν οἶνον ἀφύσσω,
> καὶ στέφος ἱμερόεν περιβάλλομαι, ἡδυπότην δὲ
> ἔνδον ἐμῆς κραδίης ὅλον Ἄμπελον αὐτὸν ἀείρω.

> Yield to me, Lord of Archery, because you wreathed your unmourning hair with your mourning chaplet of dolorous petals! Alas alas is graven on those leaves of yours; and if the Lord of Archery wears his wreath in the garden, I ladle my sweet wine, I put on a lovely wreath, I absorb all Ampelos to be at home in my heart by that delicious draught.[55]

Rhetorical elements in the *Dionysiaca* have been associated with the rhetorical education of the Imperial period.[56] In the *syncrisis* that Dionysus draws here between himself and Apollo—both offspring of Zeus who experienced immense grief at the loss of their mortal *eromenoi*—he imagines Apollo

54 Note Dionysus' competitive language in 12.237: οὐ δύναται φυτὸν ἄλλο τεαῖς σταφυλῇσιν ἐρίζειν.

55 Cf. Bion *Adon.* 45–50: ἔγρεο τυτθόν, Ἄδωνι, τὸ δ' αὖ πύματόν με φίλασον· / τοσσοῦτόν με φίλασον ὅσον ζώῃ τὸ φίλαμα, / ἄχρις ἀποψύξῃς ἐς ἐμὸν στόμα, κεἰς ἐμὸν ἧπαρ / πνεῦμα τεὸν ῥεύσῃ, τὸ δέ σευ γλυκὺ φίλτρον ἀμέλξω, / ἐκ δὲ πίω τὸν ἔρωτα· φίλαμα δὲ τοῦτο φυλάξω / ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Ἄδωνιν, ἐπεὶ σύ με, δύσμορε, φεύγεις.

56 See (e.g.) Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 237–241, 264–370. Nicolaus mentions that *syncriseis* are sometimes omitted from the rest of the *progymnasmata*, on the grounds that it has been sufficiently practised in common-places and in encomia: see Felten 1913, 59. Nicolaus also offers the following definition on *syncrisis*: σύγκρισίς ἐστι παράλληλος ἐξέτασις ἀγαθῶν ἢ φαύλων ἢ προσώπων ἢ πραγμάτων, δι' ἧς πειρώμεθα ἢ ἴσα ἀλλήλοις ἀμφότερα δεικνύναι τὰ προκείμενα, ἢ τὸ ἕτερον προέχον τοῦ ἑτέρου (see Felten 1913, 60; for a recent translation cf. Kennedy 2003, 162–163). The example that Aphthonius offers for *syncrisis* (Aphth. *Progymn.* 10) is one between Achilles and Hector, covering their respective homelands, descent, education, status, and death, and emphasizing their equality throughout: see Patillon 2008, 140; Kröll 2016, 158.

wreathing his unmourning hair (ἀπενθέα βόστρυχα, 12.246) with a mournful bond of lamenting leaves (πολυθρήνων … φύλλων / πενθαλέῳ … δεσμῷ, 12.245–246) while he himself is wreathed with a charming crown (στέφος ἱμερόεν, 12.249) and has absorbed all Ampelus within his heart (12.249–250).[57]

This *syncrisis* by Dionysus in his speech presents structures and patterns also found elsewhere in the epic; Semele's declaration of her superiority over and against her mortal (Danae and Europa) and immortal (Hera and Leto) rivals for Zeus' favours is of special interest (9.208–242): although a mortal herself, she boasts that she will have a divine son, who will go to Olympus and who was begotten by Zeus himself:[58] Ἥρη, ἐσυλήθης· Σεμέλης τόκος ἐστὶν ἀρείων, 9.208 (cf. Δηώ, ἐσυλήθης μετὰ Παλλάδος, 12.254); Βάκχος Ἐνυαλίου πέλε φέρτερος, 9.212 (cf. ὑμείων γενόμην πολὺ φέρτερος, 12.259); Θήβη δ' Ὀρτυγίης κλέος ἔκρυφεν· οὐρανίη γὰρ / λάθριον Ἀπόλλωνα διωκομένη τέκε Λητώ· / Λητὼ Φοῖβον ἔτικτε, καὶ οὐκ ὤδινε Κρονίων. / (…) / Ἀμφαδίην δ' ἐμὸν υἷα πατὴρ τέκεν, 9.214–218 (cf. 12.245–250, cited above); Εἴξατέ μοι· Σεμέλη γὰρ ἑὸν πόσιν ἔλλαχε μούνη / τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρόωντα καὶ ὠδίνοντα γενέθλην. / Ὀλβίστη Σεμέλη χάριν υἱέος, 9.235–237 (cf. εἶξον ἐμοί, κλυτότοξε, 12.245; εἶξον ἐρισταφύλῳ, κορυθαιόλος, 12.251).[59]

In addition to underscoring the rhetorical context of the epic as a whole, Dionysus' *syncrisis* with other Olympian gods also points to his positioning

57 A clear contrast between Apollo and Dionysus, which also involves the story of Apollo and Hyacinthus, will become more prominent later on in Oeagrus' song in *Dionysiaca* 19, which is an explicit comparison between Apollo-Hyacinthus and Dionysus-Staphylus: Εὐχαίτην Ὑάκινθον ἀνεζώγρησεν Ἀπόλλων, / καὶ Στάφυλον Διόνυσος ἀεὶ ζώοντα τελέσσαι, 19.104–105. That *syncrisis* is a key element of the *Dionysiaca* is obvious already from the central place that is accorded to it in the second proem of the epic (25.31–252) in the comparison between Dionysus and three other sons of Zeus by mortal women (Perseus, Minos, Heracles); the comparison with Perseus in particular is a recurrent theme in the *Dionysiaca* (24.31–145, 30.264–277, 47.498–532, 47.537–566): see Hopkinson 1994a, 12 (with n. 32).

58 See Newbold 2010, 116 on competitiveness in the *Dionysiaca*.

59 Another instance in the *Dionysiaca* where a mythological example is used for comparison and contrast within a speech can be found at the end of *Dionysiaca* 7 when, following their union, Zeus announces to Semele his true identity and the triumphant future that awaits her. He compares her wedding with those of Danae and Europa: Οὔ σοι *ἐριδμαίνει* Δανάης γάμος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῆς / πατροκασιγνήτης βοέων ὑμέναιον ἐρώτων / ἔκρυφες· Εὐρώπη γὰρ ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς εὐνῇ / ἤλυθεν *ἐς Κρήτην*, Σεμέλη δ' *ἐς Ὄλυμπον* ἱκάνει. / Τί *πλέον* ἤθελες ἄλλο μετ' αἰθέρα καὶ πόλον ἄστρων; (7.355–359). Zeus then concludes by addressing her as ὀλβίη, for she will give birth to joy for men and gods, as she has conceived a son who will bring oblivion to mortal suffering (Ὀλβίη, ὅττι θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνδράσι χάρμα λοχεύσεις / υἱέα κυσαμένη βροτέης ἐπίληθον ἀνίης, 7.367–368).

among the other gods in the course of the *Dionysiaca*.[60] As Fayant has argued in her close study of the comparison between Dionysus and Heracles in the Ampelus episode, that comparison assesses Dionysus within a relative hierarchy.[61] That he can now ascertain his superiority over Apollo and Athena, among others, sets him on an equal footing with them following Ampelus' transformation, and paves the way for his final ascent to his father, σύνθρονος Ἀπόλλωνι, συνέστιος υἱέι Μαίης (48.978).

Conclusion

This study of the mythological examples that abound in the Ampelus episode has thus highlighted their use to open up uncertain outcomes for this episode, since the fates reserved for Ganymede, Pelops, and Hyacinthus range from life among the gods to premature death. Eros' embedded story of Calamus and Carpus seems to complicate the issue further, as it is not immediately clear whether it serves as a speech of consolation or as another example of a similar situation. Yet as the narrative unravels, examples are revisited as *comparanda* to define the protagonist, Dionysus himself.

The frequency and manner with which the narrator and characters within the *Dionysiaca* introduce, elaborate on, and distance themselves from, mythological narratives point to the poet's subtle use of the earlier tradition and his contemporary rhetorical education. This study of recurring mythological examples that are clustered around the critical episode of Ampelus and Dionysus in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* draws attention to the poet's creative and sophisticated use of this epic device in order to illustrate alternative paths of the story by suggesting possible outcomes in relationships between mortals and immor-

60 Kröll 2014, 258 for an analysis of Dionysus' prayer to Zeus (10.292–320), where rhetorical elements (such as genealogy, *mythos* and *syncrisis*) help the poet achieve "his own poetical objective, namely the confirmation of Dionysus as a god of the Olympic pantheon."

61 "Un bienfaiteur de l'humanité, bien supérieur à Héraclès dont les glorieux exploits n'ont pas cette portée universelle": Fayant 2012, §28. Another mythological example that is recalled through the references to the anemone (11.235–237; cf. 11.175–178, 12.238–239) is that of Adonis (discussed in a forthcoming article by Carvounis and Papaioannou). As Vian 1995a, 13 n. 1 points out, the triad Apollo-Dionysus-Heracles (and their respective *eromenoi*), all of whom can abandon their mission because of love for a young boy, is also present in an elegy on a papyrus from the 2nd c. AD: see Parsons and Bremer 1987.

tals. At the same time, the narrative highlights the dynamics among the gods, as the newly-arrived god Dionysus eventually acquires his characteristic attribute and finds his place in the pantheon.

CHAPTER 3

Nonnus' Catalogic Strategies. A Preliminary Approach to the *Dionysiaca*

Laura Miguélez-Cavero

Catalogues[1] are distinctive formal markers of the epic genre[2] and were considered a feat of poetic craftsmanship already in antiquity.[3] In Late Antiquity, lists and catalogues had become an essential element of the poetic style en vogue. Michael Roberts noted that the late antique taste for vividness and visual immediacy (ἐνάργεια) was often satisfied with the enumeration of the parts of the described entity to make the whole visible throughout: e.g. splitting up a crowd scene into separate groups generates a clearer picture, gives an impression of narrative exhaustiveness and commends the volume of the described entity.[4] The double movement of splitting a whole into parts and of reconstructing a whole by reviewing its parts is close to the generic principle of the catalogue, a component that endows the narrative with a regular outline and allows the writer to engage in a textured play of repetition and variation (the very Nonnian *poikilia*) with the individual entries, a game highly valued at the time.[5]

Catalogues are one of Nonnus' visible means to orchestrate the narrative magma of the *Dionysiaca*. Although modern editions of the poem analyze individual instances in their notes, often relating them to similar ones, we still lack a general evaluation of their structural impact. Hence, I will try to offer here a brief analysis of the programmatic passages dealing with catalogues in the *Dionysiaca* (1.), of catalogues of geographical content (2.) and of catalogues as a means to organizing time (3.).

---

1 I treat together catalogues, lists, enumerations and passages built in catalogue style because they are made of similar compositional elements: see definitions in Sammons 2010, 7–9; Edwards 1980, 103; Minchin 1996, 4. Modern critics usually consider that lists and catalogues have at least three or four elements, but since in the *Dion.* catalogue elements are often dispersed through a scene, I am flexible about it.

2 Rutherford 2001, 4–5.

3 E.g. Schol. in *Il.* 2.494–877.

4 Roberts 1989, 38–41.

5 Roberts 1989, 9–37, 44–47, 59.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_005

1 The Poets's Guide to Interpret Catalogues in the *Dionysiaca*

The proem launches the narrative with a catalogue of Dionysiac accoutrements (1.11–12, 34–44) that the poet adopts to become a Bacchante. He thus implies that becoming part of Bacchus' thiasos is only a formal matter, of wearing the appropriate disguise, not of deep religious beliefs and practices. This and other catalogues of mythical content construct the fictional, mythical world of Dionysus,[6] and illustrate the narrator's detached attitude towards mythical paradigms and epic fiction,[7] governed by falseness and disguise.

Nonnus takes Proteus as his (mythical) model and establishes a catalogue of equivalences between Proteic changing shapes and his own *poikilia*: the variations in the shape of his song point out to subsequent episodes in the narrative (1.16–33).[8] The catalogue does not present the episodes in chronological order, does not mention every single important episode of the poem and only gives a taste of what is to follow.[9] Also, the equivalences between the Proteic metamorphoses, the Bacchic theme and the episode developed in the main narrative are not always perfect: Nonnus relates Proteus as a lion with Bacchus being breast-fed by Rhea, the lion-breeding goddess (1.21), which goes unmentioned in the narrative of Dionysus' childhood with Rhea (9.159–205);[10] Proteus in the shape of a boar is related to the episode of Aura, the boar-slayer (27), though she is later described as a bear- and especially as a lion-slayer (48.251–256).[11]

---

6 For the general notion, see Sammons 2010, 19: "Catalogues, which are capable of presenting a large array of detailed information in one act of speech, are well suited to the poet's task of constructing a plausible epic world in which to situate his own story."

7 For the general notion, see Sammons 2010, 20, 23–57: catalogues, especially if mythical and repeated, highlight traditional paradigms, thus engaging (though not necessarily equating) the main narrative in the larger constructions of traditional epic fiction.

8 Serpent = victory over the Giants (1.16–18 ≈ 48.1–89), lion = childhood with Rhea (1.19–21 ≈ 9.132–205), leopard = war against the Indians (1.22–25 ≈ books 13–40), boar = passion for Aura (1.26–28 ≈ 48.238–968), water = Dionysus diving in the water in the episode of Lycurgus (1.29–30 ≈ 20.1–21.169), and plant = Icarius making wine for the first time (1.31–33 ≈ 47.1–264).

9 See Vian 1976, 8–9; Miguélez-Cavero 2008, 167–168.

10 Although it is mentioned elsewhere: 35.302, 45.98, 46.12–13, 47.621–622. See Vian 1976, p. 134, n. 21.

11 The attribute only reappears in Aura's episode, in Artemis' scornful speech to pregnant Aura: 48.765–766. Vian (1976, p. 135, n. 27) suggests that in both cases Nonnus is thinking of Atalanta in Call. *Dian.* 216.

If readers are to take this initial catalogue as a guide to interpret all the catalogues of the poem, the following conclusions emerge:

1. Despite the general impression of objectivity and completeness, Nonnus' catalogues generate only a panoramic image; they do not aim to construct a real chronologic or spatial setting.
2. The link between the initial rubric and the individual entries of the catalogue can be weak and force readers to find an awkward explanation for the inclusion of some elements. At the same time the entries of the catalogue may not be at ease with each other[12] and the connection of the individual entries with the main narrative ranges from straight-forward to vague.

We should also note that since catalogues have been said to cause the acceleration of the narrative, building up the narrative tension and raising the reader's expectations of a good story,[13] it falls to the attentive reader to judge if the subsequent narrative meets the expectations raised by the catalogue.

The introduction of the catalogue of Dionysiac troops is also programmatic (13.43–46):[14]

> Ἀλλὰ πολυσπερέων προμάχων ἡρωίδα φύτλην
> καὶ λασίων Σατύρων, Κενταυρίδος αἷμα γενέθλης,
> Σιληνῶν τε φάλαγγα, δασυκνήμοιο γενέθλης,
> καὶ στίχα Βασσαρίδων, Κορυβαντίδες, εἴπατε, Μοῦσαι.
>
> But the heroic breed of far-scattered champions, the hairy Satyrs, the blood of the Centaur tribe, the phalanx of the Seilenoi, of a shaggy-legged tribe, and the regiment of Bassarids—do sing me of these you Corybantic Muses.

Only after a careful reading of books 13 and 14 do we understand that what Nonnus means to introduce is first a catalogue of heroic troops similar to *Iliad* 2 (13.43 ≈ 13.53–565, including contingents from Greece and external contingents) and then a catalogue of semi-divine troops including masculine

12 All entries relate to the initial rubric, but not necessarily to each other: Sammons 2010, 15.
13 Minchin 1996, 16–17.
14 Greek text from Vian 1976–2006; the English translation is adapted from Rouse 1940.

(13.44–45 ≈ 14.17–202) and feminine contingents (13.46a ≈ 14.203–227).[15] This is not the only case in which the inner structure of catalogues in the *Dionysiaca* is difficult to decipher and understand: catalogues become a means to challenge the reader, who should pay attention to their inner structure and to how the entries impact in the broader context of the poem. Nonnus develops this point further (13.47–52):

> Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόσα φῦλα δέκα γλώσσῃσιν ἀείσω
> οὐδὲ δέκα στομάτεσσι χέων χαλκόθροον ἠχώ,
> ὁππόσα Βάκχος ἄγειρε δορυσσόος. Ἀλλὰ λιγαίνων
> ἡγεμόνας καὶ Ὅμηρον ἀοσσητῆρα καλέσσω,
> εὐεπίης ὅλον ὅρμον, ἐπεὶ πλωτῆρες ἀλῆται
> πλαγκτοσύνης καλέουσιν ἀρηγόνα Κυανοχαίτην.
>
> For I could not tell of so many peoples with ten tongues, not if I had ten mouths pouring a voice of brass, all those which Bacchus the brandisher of the lance gathered. But to celebrate these leaders, I will also call Homer as my helper, the perfect harbour of all beautiful poetry, since mariners lost astray call on Seabluehair to save them in their wanderings.

The take on *Il.* 2.484–493 (the beginning of the Catalogue of Ships) is obvious and Nonnus seems to have derived the metaphor of the port from the proem of Claudian's Greek *Gigantomachy* (lines 1–17).[16] Nobody seems to have noted, however, that the comparison modifies the meaning of the initial Homeric quotation: the poet is overwhelmed by the number of troops gathered by Dionysus, and needs Homer's help because he will inevitably get lost in his own meandering narrative; he can only reach a successful stylistic end if he recurs to Homer's beautiful formal features. Nonnus comments on how the entries of his catalogues are easily overflown by non-catalogic material and only retain their catalogic shape through the insertion of passages in a more Homeric catalogic style.

---

15 The division is phrased more clearly at the beginning of the second catalogue: 14.15–16: Ἀλλὰ μετὰ βροτέην προμάχων ἡρωίδα φύτλην / καὶ στρατιὴν ζαθέην με διδάξατε, Φοιβάδες αὖραι ("Now, after the heroic breed of mortal fighters, teach me as well the host divine, you breezes of Phoibos.").

16 Vian 1995a, 214–215 (n. to 51–52).

2 Spatial Catalogues

2.1 *Dionysus' Cosmos*

Nonnus never sets out explicitly to describe the structure of the cosmos inhabited by Dionysus. The spatial background of the *Dionysiaca* is presented in the first books of the poem through a series of catalogues on the cosmic turmoil caused by Typhon:

- 1.165–170 (6 lines, 4 entries) + 178–183 (6 lines, 4 entries) + 187b–202 (6 lines, 7 entries), Typhon attacks the stars: Cynosura (165–166a), Bear (166b–168a), Bootes (168b), Phosphoros (169–170); Charioteer (178), Aigoceros (179), Fishes (180), Lamb (181–183); Serpent (187b–190a), Andromeda (190b–193a), Bull (193b–195), Hyades (196–197a), Bootes (197b–198), Ophiuchos (199–200), Ariadne's crown (201–202) [anachronism: Ariadne's crown will only be catasterised in 48.969–973].
- 1.276b–283 Typhon attacks the sea, reaction of animals (8 lines, 4 entries): seals (276b), dolphins (277), octopus (278–280), lamprey (281b–283).
- 1.448b–456 (17 lines, 8 entries), Typhon promises Cadmus to establish his sheep in the sky: Aigoceros (448b–449), Charioteer (450–451), Bull (452–455), Twins (456–457), Crib (458–459), Bootes (460–461a), Bear (461b–462), Harp (462–464).[17]
- 2.32–41 (10 lines, 8 entries), 42–52 (11 lines, 6 entries), 53–68a (16 ½ lines, 4 entries), 77–93 (17 lines, 11 entries) Typhon attacks:
  - geographical features: mountain torrents (32–33), Cilicia (34–36a), Tauros (36b–37), Pamphylia (38), caverns (39a), headlands (39b–40a), hidden places (40b), shore (40c–41);
  - animals: bears (42b–44a), lions (44b–46a), snake (46b–47), birds (48–49a), eagle (49b–50), ox (51–52);
  - country-dwellers: Naiads (53–59), shepherd (60–62a), goatherd (62b–63), ploughman (64–68a);
  - plants: fruit trees (77–78a), garden (78b–79a), meadows (79b), cypresses (80–81a), iris (81b–84), pine (85), olive tree (86–87), anemone (88), rose (89–90), corn (91–92a), laurel (92b–93).
- 2.258–290 Introduction [258–259a] "Smash the house of Zeus, O my hands! Shake the foundation of the universe [πυθμένα κόσμου], and the blessed ones with it!"

---

17 Similar passages: 2.175–204, 6.58–88a, 6.233b–248, 38.222–286.

- Structure of the cosmos (259b–271): bolts of Olympos (259b–260a), pillar of Olympos (260b–271)
- [272 "Mix earth with sky, water with fire, sea with Olympos, in a litter of confusion!"]
- The four winds: 273–275a (2 ½ lines)
- Day and night: 275b–276a (1 line)
- Mix Oceanos and Olympos: 276b–280 (4 ½ lines)
- Heavenly bodies: bulls (281–285), bears (286–287), lion (288–289), snake (290).

The form of the catalogue allows Nonnus to bring together a large number of elements so as to construct a physical epic world before the eyes of the reader. In the world of the Typhonomachy, geographical accidents are inhabited by plants, animals and anonymous country-dwellers: the scheme of the catalogue subsumes the differences between the entries, but human, botanical and animal geography dominates the plainly physical one. Similarly, in the catalogues of stars the sky is populated with catasterised mythical beings who do not forget their previous lives. The absence of cities comments on the chronological location of Dionysus' birth, at the beginning of times, and the anachronistic reference to Ariadne's crown (1.201–202) contradicts the initial impression of a coherent description and acts as a genre marker: in the *Dionysiaca* Nonnus combines different versions of myths not always abiding by the strict rules of fictional verisimilitude.

2.2 *A Traveller's Geography?*

Nonnus deploys mythologically enriched micro-geographical catalogues governed by a similar principle of lack of interest in physical geography. Take Cadmos' travels in Greece (4.311–347). From the road he spots or passes through a series of towns, not described but associated with a myth, and always presented with a similar scheme (name of town + where + myth)

- Cirrha, where Apollo noticed the serpent on a hill (4.315b–318 … χῶρον ἐπόψιον, *ἧχι νοήσας* …).
- Daulis, where Thereus defiled Philomela (319–330 Δαυλίδος … *ἔνθεν ἀκούω* …).
- The city of Tityos, where Tityos attempted to rape Leto (331–333 καὶ Τιτυοῦ πόλιν εἶδεν, *ὅπῃ* …).
- [List: 334–336 καὶ ποδὸς ἴχνος ἔθηκε Ταναγραίῳ κενεῶνι, / ἐκ δὲ Κορωνείης Ἁλιάρτιον οὖδας ἀμείβων / Θεσπιέων τε πόληα βαθυκνήμους τε Πλαταιάς ("He set a footstep on the plateau of Tanagra, passing from Coroneia to the soil of Haliartos, the city of Thespiai, and Plataiai in its deep ravines")].

- Aonia, where Orion was attacked by the scorpion (337–343 Ἀονίης … ᾗχί ποτ’ Ὠρίωνα …).
- Chaeronea, where the cow's hoof became white with dust (344–347 γαίης ἐπέβη Χαιρωνίδος, ἔνθα …).

Then the cow they were following collapses and Cadmus prepares a sacrifice in the place where he will later found Thebes (348–355). This catalogue builds up the narrative tension before the construction of Thebes, which is to take precedence over the earlier-existing cities.[18] We see no interest in the physical features which constantly attract e.g. Pausanias (monuments related to ancient rites or works of art): the individual towns of the catalogue are approached as the location of a series of past myths, to which Dionysus will later contribute.[19]

Cadmus finally builds Thebes (5.51–63a). Nonnus situates Cadmus' action in the relative chronology of the *Dionysiaca*,[20] and includes a catalogue of the seven gates of the city, here dedicated to the seven planets,[21] so as to present Thebes as an earthly image of the Olympos.[22] Nonnus combines two names known by tradition and five invented, thus conjuring a pre-Classical world with only a slight connection with reality. The 'cosmicisation' of Thebes, the seat

18 A variation in the anchoring of the catalogue to the narrative transforms the catalogue into a narrative device similar to the priamel—the last item (or an external one) is given a privileged status, the other items being a foil to it: s. Sammons 2010, 59–73; Faraone 2013, 298–299, 319–321.

19 This aspect is more visible when Dionysus himself travels: e.g. 43.440–44.4.

20 5.63b–67a: Ἐπ’ ἀρρήκτοις δὲ δομαίοις / ἑπταπόρῳ πυλεῶνι περίδρομον ἄστυ χαράξας / οὐρανὸν ἑπτάζωνον ἑῇ μιμήσατο τέχνῃ, / ἐσσόμενον ναέταις Ἀμφίονι τεῖχος ἐάσσας / πυργοδόμῳ κιθάρῃ πεφυλαγμένον ("He scored the shape of a city surrounded by walls upon impregnable foundation-stones, with seven entries, imitating in his art heaven with its seven zones, but he left the walls for Amphion to build for the future inhabitants and to protect, with tower-building harp.").

21 5.67–84 (18 lines): 1. Oncaian consecrated to Selene and Athena (2.69b–73), 2. Hermaon (74–75a), 4. Electra's consecrated to Helios (75b–79), 5. Ares/Mars and 3. Aphrodite/Venus (80–82), 6. Zeus/Jupiter (83–84a), 7. Cronos/Saturn (84b). Nonnus uses two of the seven names mentioned by Aeschylus in his *Seven against Thebes* (Elektrai and Onkaiai) and makes up the names of the rest. See Symeonoglou 1985, 32–38.

22 5.65, 85–87 Τοῖον ἕδος ποίησε· καὶ ἱερὸν ἄστυ πολίσσας / Αἰγυπτίης ἐκάλεσσεν ὁμώνυμον ἄστεϊ Θήβης, / ποικίλον ἀσκήσας χθόνιον τύπον, ἶσον Ὀλύμπῳ ("Such he made this seat; and having founded the sacred city, he called it by the name of Thebes in Egypt, decking out an earthly image like to Olympos with all its adornments"). Compare Harmonia's *pinakes* (41.340–359).

of Dionysus' maternal family, is meant to elevate the status of his maternal grandfather, as if he were above the rest of the mortals.

Also of interest is Dionysus' sojourn in Tyre,[23] Cadmus' birthplace. At first Dionysus is not interested in seeing the city itself but in its textiles and he recounts the discovery of the famous purple dye (40.301–310). Second comes the description of the site, a peninsula nearly surrounded by water, poetically described as a girl surrounded by the sea (311–326). The city is then described with two combined lists of people from the land and people from the sea and their utensils (327–336), a poetical retake of a *syncrisis* of life in the land and on the sea.[24] Only then Dionysus enters the town and admires the adornments of the streets (354–355), the house of his ancestor Agenor (356–359a) and finally three ancient fountains (359b–365), the subject of a full *logos* (324–327, 429–573). The description of his visit is chaotic, when read from the perspective of a periegete or a learned tourist, but it makes more sense as a catalogue of things to say about Tyre, the entries of which do not necessarily follow a strict order of importance or are spatially related, as usual in the *Dionysiaca*.

If when reading Pausanias we can say that sights lead him to stories,[25] in Nonnus' case places lead him to catalogues and these to stories. Dionysus appropriates the places he sees by splitting them up into catalogues and relating entries in these to his personal interest or his own story. Nonnus proposes to experience Greek identity through a catalogue or sum of places inhabited by myths, not describing the archaeological park left by an extinct culture with which the viewer is culturally related.

2.3 *Catalogues of Troops*

Dionysus' major interventions in the physical world are the popularisation of the vine that transforms agriculture, and the war against the Indians. The latter is a major event and involves the displacement of troops from all over the face of the earth.[26] The catalogues of Dionysiac and Indian troops (13.53–14.227, 26.44–365),[27] both calling back to the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.494–759), are meant to illustrate the global and spatial significance of this war.

---

23 Complete analysis of this episode: Chuvin 1991, 224–250.

24 See e.g. the comparison of seafaring and farming in Libanius *Prog.* VIII.X.4 Förster (pp. 349–353).

25 Hutton 2005, 12.

26 Explicit in the introductions: 13.39–42; 14.5–7, 10–11.

27 What follows relies heavily on Chuvin 1991, 29–144, 284–312; Vian 1995a, 109–133, 255–258

The catalogue of heroic troops includes seven contingents from Greece (13.53–308, 256 lines):

1. Boeotia I (53–82): 53–55 contingent led by Actaeon; 56a introduction of army; 56b–79 twenty-five place names slightly developed in the Homeric style; 80–82 conclusion.
2. Boeotia II (83–121): 83–92 contingent led by Hymenaeus (expanded); 93 introduction of the army; 94–119 four place names (two entries are expanded: 96–103 Hyrie ἧχι Γίγας ...; 104–119 Aulis ἧχι Iphigenia ...); 120–121 conclusion. Attached to them, Phocis (122–134): 122–123a introduction; 123b–131a six place names (two expanded: 124b–126 Hyampolis ἥ ...; 128c–131a Panopea ἔπει ...).
3. Euboea (135–170): 135–157 leaders (143–145 catalogue of the names of the seven Corybants); 158 introduction of the army; 159–166 twelve place names; 167–170 conclusion.
4. Attica (171–200): 171–181 their leader is Erechtheus (expanded); 182–192 eight place names (one expanded: 188–192 Eleusis, where Triptolemos ὅς ποτε ...); 193–200 description of the army.
5. Aegina (201–211): Aeacus and the Myrmidons (no geography).
6. Crete (222–252): 222–230a Asterios is their leader (expanded); 230b–231 introduction of the army; 232–237 ten place names; 238–252 conclusion on Asterios.
7. Arcadia (253–308): 253–286a their leader is Aristaeus (expanded); 286b–287 introduction of the army; 288–297 eleven place names (two of which are expanded: 291–292 Parrhasia ὅπῃ ...; 295–297 Arcadia ὅν ποτε ...); 298–308 conclusion on Aristaeus.

And seven outer contingents (13.309–565, 257 lines):

8. Sicily (13.309–332): 309 their leader is Achates; 310 introduction of the army; 311–327 ten place names or names of tribes (four of which are expanded: 312b–315 Katane; 316–317 Kamarina ὅπῃ ...; 319b–320 Aitne ἧχι ...; 323–327 Arethusa ὅπῃ ...); 328–332 second leader, Phaunos.
9. Libya (333–392): 333–366 Cadmus (alternative version); 367–368 introduction of the army; 369–377 six place names (one expanded: 370–373 Asbystes ὅπῃ ποτὲ ...); their leader Crataigonos (378–392).

(and nn. ad loc. on book 13); Gerlaud 1994, 1–8 (and nn. ad loc. on book 14); Vian 1990, 69–96 (and nn. ad loc. on book 26).

10. Samothrace (393–431): 393–395 their king is Emathion; 396–405 seven place names (one expanded: 400–402 Zerynthos); on Electra (406–416a); 416b–427 their leader is Ogyros; 418–431 addition of Oiagros.
11. Cyprus (432–463): 432–433a their leaders; 433b–443 Cyprus and its legends; 444–463 thirteen place names (three expanded: 447c–450 Lapethos, 452b–454 Urania, 456–460 Paphos).
12. Lydia (464–510): 464a introduction of the army; 464b–498 seven place names (two expanded: 468b–470 Cerassai; 474–498 Statala ἧχι Τυφωεύς …, with alternative narrative of the death of Typhoeus); 499–500 their leaders; 501–510 description of the army.
13. Phrygia (511–545): 511 introduction of the army; 512–517 seven place names; 518–519 second contingent; 520–544a their leader is Priasos (with narrative on the deluge); 544b–545 conclusion.
14. Caria (546–565): 546–561 their leaders (with a narrative on Byblis and Caunos); 562 introduction of the army; 563–565 those living in Mycale and those close to the Maiandros.

The Iliadic Catalogue of Ships has 265 verses and includes twenty-nine entries, each of them specifying the leader(s) of the contingent, the places from which the troops are drawn and the number of ships in which they arrived in Troy (both leaders and places are subject to elaboration). Nonnus reduces the number of contingents to fourteen, gives more lines to each of them,[28] and never mentions concrete numbers.

The estrangement from the Iliadic referent is gradual: the first contingent, Boeotia I, receives an almost fully Homeric treatment, and entries 2–7 are expanded with information on their leaders.[29] In comparison with the Catalogue of Ships, Nonnus includes less genealogical information and introduces a number of references to the leaders' allegiance to Dionysus.[30] Also, the leaders take a clearer narrative precedence over the mass of troops and their towns of origin. Contingents 1–5 are the core of Classical Greece in Nonnus' time, but not in the Homeric poems: Nonnus leaves out Etolia, the islands of the Ionian sea, Locris, Thessaly and the islands of the Aegean sea, the places of origin of the main Iliadic heroes.[31] Egypt and Hera's territories (Argos) are not mentioned.

---

28 Hopkinson 1994a, 28–29: double technique of expansion and contraction. S. also Vian 1995a, 127.

29 13.83–92 Hymenaeus; 135–157 Corybants; 171–181 Erechtheus; 222–230a, 238–252 Asterios; 253–286a, 298–308 Aristaeus.

30 13.53–54, 83–85, 135–136, 227–229a. Analysis in Vian 1995a, 118–121.

31 Vian 1995a, 115–117.

This comes into contrast with the initial claims that all the earth joined Bacchus in his war, which again illustrates how Nonnus presents a profusion of catalogue entries which evoke a general picture, which is, however, incomplete.

As signalled in the initial image of Homer as the port of a meandering narrative (13.47–52), the catalogic form is sustained by micro-catalogues of geographic content:[32] a total of 92.5 lines out of 256, including 76 toponyms. The section on external contingents devotes to geographic micro-catalogues 96.5 lines out of a total of 257, and includes only 50 toponyms.[33] The percentage of lines is similar, the number of place names is significantly inferior in the second part of the catalogue, denoting a longer narrative expansion of the individual entries. Geographical elements are irreplaceable when cataloguing the core of Greece, but the interest in them wanes in the outer contingents. It virtually disappears in the entries for Caria and Thrace. We are before a bookish effort to construct a spatial image,[34] expanded with local traditions,[35] not a geographer's intent.

While in the first half of the catalogue, non-geographical lines are dedicated mostly to describing the leaders of the contingents who were bound to have a significance in the broader frame of the narrative, the second half of the catalogue is expanded with several *logoi* which complement or provide alternative versions to the main narrative.[36] Their inclusion signifies another step away from Homer, and the de-spatialisation of the catalogue, with mythology filling the gap.

In the catalogue of semi-divine troops (14.17–227, 13 contingents, 211 lines) the geographical content is negligible: the Cabeiroi come from Lemnos (14.17–22), the Dactyloi from Crete (23–35) and there is a tribe of centaurs from

32 13.56b–79 (23 ½ lines, 25 names), 94–119 (26 lines, 4 names), 123b–131a (8 lines, 6 names), 159–166 (8 lines, 12 names), 182–192 (11 lines, 8 names), 232–237 (6 lines, 10 names), 288–297 (10 lines, 11 names).

33 13.311–327 (17 lines, 10 names), 369–377 (9 lines, 6 names), 396–405 (10 lines, 7 names), 444–463 (20 lines, 13 names), 464b–498 (34 ½ lines, 7 names), 512–517 (6 lines, 7 names).

34 Chuvin 1991, 65: "La manière dont il a remanié les données de l'*Iliade* prouve qu' il n' a pas cherché non plus à reproduire une réalité géographique qu' il ignorait probablement. Il a composé de manière livresque et la cohérence sur le terrain de certaines énumérations, leur signification implicite ne tiennent qu' à sa fidélité à ses modèles dont elles permettent de retrouver certains contours."

35 Chuvin 1991, 30.

36 13.333–366 Cadmus and Harmonia's wedding in Libya (in Thebes in 5.88–189); 13.393–395 + 406–416a on Emathion and Electra, complementing book 4; 13.474–497 Typhoeus defeated by the magical words of Zeus' priest (by Zeus himself in 2.553–649); 13.522–544a the deluge (catalogue of deluges, 3.205–219).

Cyprus (193–202). The point here is that Rhea recruits semi-divine beings from different habitats: four metallurgic tribes coming from islands (Cabeiroi from Lemnos, Dactyloi from Crete), from the deeps of the sea (Telchines) and the Cyclopes associated with the mountains; Centaurs and Pans are also associated with wild nature and uncultivated land; the nymphs are related to mountains (206–207, 209b–210a) and forests (210b–212).[37] The catalogic form is maintained at the micro-level by the substitution of catalogues of place names with catalogues of anthroponyms.[38]

The autonomy of the entries within the catalogue allows the easy juxtaposition of located and unlocated troops, and the continuity in other aspects (e.g. abundance of added material, micro-catalogues) makes the transition indiscernible. The detachment from the model of the Catalogue of Ships is gradual: Nonnus starts cataloguing peoples from towns and their leaders and by the end of the second half of the catalogue is including a mix of Bacchantes and Bassarids from different backgrounds,[39] brought together by their shared Bacchic inspiration and with no leader other than Dionysus.

We have to keep reading until book 26 to see the Indian troops encamped together. The Homeric referent is not the catalogue of Trojan troops (*Il.* 2.816–877), but again the Catalogue of Ships,[40] as if Nonnus refused to produce a reduced catalogue for the forces of the enemy whose defeat will pave Dionysus' way to the Olympus.

1. Agrios and Phlogios (26.44–59): 44–47a leaders; 47b–59 seven toponyms (two expanded: 51b–54 island of Graiai; 55a–59 Gazos).
2. Palthanor (60–71): 60 introduction; 61–66a four tribes (one expanded: 6ac–4 Salangai); 66b–71 their leader was Palthanor.
3. Morrheus (72–89): 72–84 Morrheus and his father; 85 introduction of the army; 86–89 seven toponyms.

---

37 Also, the Centaurs of Cyprus were the sons of the Hyads (14.145b–147).

38 14.17–22 Cabeiroi (22 Ἄλκων Εὐρυμέδων τε); 23–35 Dactyloi (34–35, four names); 36–48 Telchines (39, three names); 49–51 Centaurs (50, two names); 52–66 Cyclopes (59–60, seven names + 61–66 Polyphemus is absent); 67–95 Pans (74–95, twelve names); 96–104 Silenus and his family (99, three sons); 105–142 Satyrs (106–113a, seventeen names); 143–152 Pheres (187–192, twelve leaders); 193–202 Centaurs of Cyprus; 203–205 Bacchantes; 206–216 Nymphs (Oreiads, Epimelides, Meliai); 217–227 Mainades, among which the Bassarids (221–227, eighteen names).

39 The only concrete geographical reference in the feminine contingents: 14.203–205: "These combatants were joined by the Bacchai, some coming from the Meionian rocks, some from the mountain above the precipitous peaks of Sipylos."

40 Vian 1990, 69–71.

4. Dyssaioi + Sabeiroi + Uatocoitai (90–100): 90–93 Dyssaioi and Sabeiroi; 94–95 Uatocoitai; 96–97 the Uatocoitai have five leaders.
5. Tectaphos (101–145): 101–142 Tectaphos; 143–145 he is the commander of the Bolingai.
6. Arachosiai + Dersaioi (146–151): 146–147 they have three leaders; 148 Arachosiai; 149–151 Dersaioi.
7. Habrathoos (152–172): 152–164 Habrathoos; 165–172 seven tribes/places (two expanded: 167c–169 those who live by the Hysporos; 170–172 Arsania).
8. Cyraioi (173–182): 173–180 Cyraioi; 181–182 they have 2 leaders.
9. Arizanteia (183–217): 183–211 Arizanteia; 215–217 two leaders.
10. Sibai + Hydarkes + Karminan (218–221): 218–219 Sibai + Hydarkes + Karminan; 120–121 two leaders.
11. Three hundred islands (222–249): 222–246a introduction; 246b–249 their leader is Rhigbasos.
12. Aretos (250–294): 250–254 Aretos; 255–257 catalogue of the names of his five sons; 259–290 their story; 291 introduction of army; 292–294 three tribes.
13. Oita (295–338): 295–332 elephants; 333–336 their leader is Pyloites; 337–338 people of Eristobareia.
14. Other contingents (339–349): 339–341a Derbices, Ethiopians, Sacai, Bactriana, Blemyes; 341b–349 trick of the Ethiopians.

The introduction of the catalogue (26.38–42) reflects Deriades' interest in internationalizing the war and in making a supreme display of force by calling all his allies. The catalogue brings together fourteen contingents, a chaotic mix from the Indus valley and the oriental areas of the Medic empire (Sogdiana, Bactriana, Arachosia, Gedrosia).[41] The entries refer to a leader, a tribe or a toponym, and the narrative regularly collapses together physical and human geography:[42] i.e. a place name may refer to a geological accident, a town or the tribe inhabiting it. At micro-narrative level, there are short catalogues of toponyms/tribes[43] and of names of leaders,[44] but these are insignificant when compared with the ethnographic material inserted.[45]

41 Vian 1990, 88. More generally on this catalogue, see Vian 1990, 78–90; Chuvin 1991, 284–312.

42 Chuvin 1991, 285.

43 26.47b–59, 61–66a, 86–89, 165–172, 339–341.

44 26.96–97, 146–147, 181–182, 215–217, 220–221, 255–257.

45 26.72–84 Morrheus and his father; 101–142 Tectaphos; 183–211 Arizanteia (honey trees, birds), 159–190 Aretus' five sons; 295–332 elephants; 241b–249 trick of the Ethiopians.

With their catalogues both Nonnus and Homer seek to give an impression of the enormous size of the army,[46] transform the war into a global affair,[47] and raise high expectations about the warlike narrative they will generate.[48] Where the *Iliad* pictures a world of Greeks, Trojans and their allies, Nonnus juxtaposes real places from a remote past and mythological troops, so that the Dionysiac world acquires a distinct unreal tincture that pervades the poem. The Homeric influence diminishes gradually in the three entities of the catalogue of the Bacchic army to nearly disappear in the catalogue of Indian troops. This evolution, from the very geographical presentation of the core of Greece to the paradoxa of India, is made possible because the micro-catalogues in Homeric style (mainly geographic, but also lists of anthroponyms) keep up the catalogic appearances. As suggested by the introduction of the first catalogue (13.47–52), Nonnus uses Homer as the haven of his epic standards.

3 Catalogues as a Means to Organize Time

3.1 *Short-Span Catalogues*

Paratactic style or 'point-by point' narrative[49] is characteristic of Homeric epic. Nonnus applies the principle exhaustively to different forms of micro-narrative, decomposing movement into minute descriptions of subsequent actions. This form of writing implies, de facto, that actions are presented as catalogues of details, at first giving the impression that the narrator is giving all the information.[50] However, a second look reveals that excess of detail transcends reality, is hyper-realistic,[51] and in Nonnus' case the re-construction

46 In the *Il.* this impression is achieved through the initial emphasis on their number, which makes the help of the Muses necessary (2.459–493, also 780–785). In the *Dion.* Pyrrhichos travels through all Europe and Asia (13.35b–42) and Rhea to the four cardinal points (14.1–11a). The singer requires the help of the Muses, Homer (13.43–52) and Apollo (14.15–16). The *Il.* states the exact number of ships of each contingent and the *Dion.* gives vague references to the high number of troops (e.g. 13.56, 120–121 …).

47 Sammons 2010, 139.

48 Minchin 1996, 18.

49 The term was used for Homer in Finkelberg 1998, 121–130.

50 Attention to detail was an important characteristic of late antique *ekphrasis* (Nicolaus 68.19–20, 69.2–3), one that is particularly relevant to late antique aesthetics (Roberts 1989, 40–43).

51 When analyzing the catalogue of fish in Ausonius' *Mosella* (an *ekphrasis* within the *ekphrasis* of the poem), Miller (1998, 128–129) noted "the hyper-realism or pictorial theatricality of his descriptions, which creates a 'reality-effect'—an illusion of reality—and suggests

of the image is further complicated by the fact that the entries of the catalogue do not necessarily relate well to each other. E.g. when Nonnus describes Aion as a suppliant to Zeus (7.22–28) he presents him spreading his hair on Zeus' knees (22), letting his beard down (24), bowing his head to the ground (25b), bending his neck and stretching his back (26), kneeling (27b) and reaching out his hand (27b). The accumulation of entries creates a sensation of dizziness (is all that possible at the same time?) and hinders the visualization of the action described, rather than enhancing it.

Also, catalogues of decomposed movement can be grouped with others of similar content. Here are a few examples:

- 5.373–380 Mourning for Actaeon; 18.327–333 mourning for Staphylos; 37.37–43 mourning for Opheltes.
- 6.145–154 weaving Persephone; 24.242–273 weaving Aphrodite—Persephone is an accomplished weaver (just as any normal [epic] maiden), Aphrodite is not.
- 10.339–372 wrestling of Dionysus and Ampelus; 37.556–609 wrestling at the funeral games of Opheltes (≈ *Il.* 23.700–739); 48.124–182 wrestling of Dionysus and Pallene—Dionysus allows Ampelus to defeat him, as Zeus had done in the past (48.373–377), but defeats Pallene to win her hand. The episode of Opheltes reminds of the Homeric precedents and highlights the differences with the amatory contests.
- 12.173–192 metamorphosis of Ampelus—frequent metamorphoses (Proteus in 1.13–33 and 43.230–252; Dionysus in 36.293–381, 40.40–60), as a complement to the aesthetics of *poikilia*.

This combination of repetition and variation allows Nonnus to display his aesthetics of ποικιλία,[52] and has several further uses: it creates semantic patterns (or narrative threads) that contribute to unify the long narrative in which they are inserted, give the impression of a unified Dionysiac world (and their repetition contributes to the fictional credibility of the poem), and define a Nonnian *maniera* or narrative style.

that such forms of representation are poetic effects rather than straightforward description … writing like this draws upon a kind of 'synaesthetic response' in the reader, who must sense something that cannot strictly or literally be seen."

52 Simon 1999, 11.

3.2 *Mid-Span Catalogues. The Indiad*

The chronological development of the war against the Indians is marked by carefully located catalogues of troops and descriptions of battles (usually catalogues of individual confrontations or of vanquished enemies). Let us begin with the catalogues of troops:

The catalogues in books 13–14 describe the troops at the beginning of the war, present Dionysus as a general capable of attracting an enormous army and act as a foil for the grandeur of Dionysus, worthy commander of so many, so courageous, so mythologically enriched troops.[53] The series of entries gives the impression that all contingents are equally relevant, but the confrontation of the catalogue with subsequent battle narratives reveals that the members of the first contingents (the Greek core) are the relevant participants in the battle.[54]

The catalogue of Indian troops (*26.44–349*) comments on the mood of the Indian troops mid war. While the entries of the first catalogue emphasized the reasons of the leaders to join Dionysus in war, the Indian leaders suffer Deriades' despotism and impiety.[55] The combined entries present India as a country peopled by exotic tribes, animals and plants (this exoticism makes the exuberant Bacchic troops appear Greeker), never a spatial alter ego of Deriades: the Indian leaders are not as impious as their king (26.65–69 Palthanor, 101–142 Tectaphos), some are close to Dionysus (26.65–69 Palthanor, 160b–164 Habratoos), and the catalogue anticipates Dionysus' generosity towards them after the war (26.68–69, 287b–290, 329–333a).

Book 37, the funeral games for Opheltes, contains numerous shorter catalogues of gifts[56] and participants. Frangoulis (1999, 73–74) confirms that the partic-

53 14.228–230a Κεκριμένον μὲν ἕκαστος ἑὸν στρατὸν ἤγαγε Βάκχῳ, / πάντων δ' ἡγεμόνευε πυρίβρομος Εἰραφιώτης / ἀστράπτων ἀρίδηλος ("Each army was brought to Bacchus by its own separate leader, but the commander-in-chief was Eiraphiotes, roaring with fire, flashing, all conspicuous"), followed by a description of the god in Dionysiac battle gear (230b–245) and of the Bacchic trail (247–268). See also 295–300, 323. The Catalogue of Ships reinforces the position of Agamemnon at the head of the army, as a balance to a narrative dominated by Achilles, the best fighter. On Agamemnon in the Catalogue, see Sammons 2010, 173–181.

54 Vian 1995a, 124.

55 Overview: Vian 1990, 77–78.

56 On catalogues of gifts, see Sammons 2010, 103 ff.

ipants (and winners) of the games belong to the contingents from central Greece with a particular pre-eminence in the war, and some with *aristeias* in the final phase: Actaeon (contingent 1), Hymenaeus (2); Melisseus, Ocythoos and Acmon (3); Erechtheus (4), Aeacus (5). Athletic prowess is preliminary to the expression of warlike prowess in the final part of the war and Dionysus' generosity in giving prizes anticipates his generosity in distributing the booty (in opposition to Agamemnon's greed in the *Iliad*). Despite all the travelling and the toiling in war, the catalogues report of an army that is essentially the same as in books 13–14, both in its athletic fitness and in its allegiance to Dionysus. The absence of catalogues on the Indian side is in itself a statement.

Brief catalogues of the end of the war:[57] the division of plunder is reduced to a minimum,[58] especially if we consider India's proverbial riches. The conclusion seems to be that venal gain is not the reason for the troops to join Dionysus. Then the Bacchic troops disperse (40.275–284a) and Dionysus continues his travels accompanied only by Satyrs and Bacchantes (40.291b–294a): the Bacchic army presented so profusely in the catalogues of book 13 is not part of Dionysus' identity as his cortège of Satyrs and Bacchantes, but the calling of the god is equally attractive for them.

The correct interpretation of the course of the war depends on keeping these catalogues in mind (itself a feat of memory) and on reading them against each other. The war is presented as the conflict between two worldviews (with that of the *Iliad* in the background): that of Dionysus, the generous, inspiring general, surrounded by handsome leaders,[59] who stand out throughout the war for their athletic prowess and unwavering allegiance, vs. that of Deriades, whose despotic command accounts for the lack of support of his direct subordinates.

Regarding battle narratives, they combine individual exploits and a welter of anonymous and ad-hoc named individuals.[60] Minchin (1996, 17) notes

---

57 The narrative of the end of the war is short when compared with its length: 40.96–100 brief celebration; 101–214 lamentation of the Indian royal women; 215–217 celebration of the Bacchantes; 218–233 Dionysus organizes the burial of the dead; 234–250 victory banquet and celebration including the defeated Indians.

58 40.256–274 jasper, sapphire, emerald, elephants, lions, panther, tiger, plants, pearl, women, riches.

59 *Il.* 2 reinforces the general notion that men self-absorbed in their own beauty are bad fighters (2.671–674, 2.872–875); in Nonn. *Dion.* 13 several leaders are commended for their youthful beauty (13.84, 90–92, 222–224).

60 First confrontations with the Indians (14.329–410; 17.70–132, 136–167, 192–289, 315–356); crossing of the Hydaspes (22.136–389, 23.3–77); confrontations after the catalogue of

that "many of Homer's lists convey the urgency of the battlefield in a way that detailed narrative cannot" and Nonnus seems to work on the same principle: catalogues of confrontations and lists of names multiply the image of individual combat efficiently to produce an impression of mass, to evoke the turmoil of the battle. Contrary to abstract descriptions of a massive attack, the reference to individuals has the advantage of giving faces and names to the image of the battle.

The *plethys* represented in these catalogues of troops and battle narratives is easily contrasted with that of the Iliadic catalogues: the troops and the individuals are linked to the commander (Dionysus) not only by political obeisance or the promise of rich booty, but also by religious allegiance and constant access to the god's plentiful storage of wine and celebration. The presence of numerous female combatants is completely alien to the atmosphere of the Homeric poems and only credible in the fictional, mythical frame of the *Dionysiaca*, to which they contribute enormously.

Competent readers should notice the mismatch between the expectations raised by the catalogues of troops (the whole world goes to war) and the deployment of war as seen in battle narratives: leaders are given *aristeiai*, some fighters die, there is blood, but nobody is as gruesomely powerful as the Iliadic heroes, not even Dionysus.

3.3 *Long-Span Catalogues. Universal Chronology*

Nonnus conveys the wider chronological frame of the poem in different forms of catalogue, such as the description of the scenes on Harmonia's *pinakes* (12.29–116), genealogic accounts[61] and catalogues of deluges (3.205–219), in which cosmic events are briefly enumerated, sometimes in order of appearance. Due to lack of space I can only offer here a brief analysis of one type of catalogue, the eleven instances of catalogues of Zeus's lovers,[62] built up on the model of the catalogue of Zeus's lovers from the episode of the deception of

Indian troops (27.150–165, 27.231–240, 28.1–30.326); further adventures (32.151–280, 36.6–107 battle of the gods); final battle (36.164b–290 the Bacchic troops enter the fray; troops after the battle in 39.228–271, 312–407).—Descriptions of battles using the same catalogue scheme: naumachy against Poseidon (43.16–358a); the farmers attack Icarius (47.116–130); battle against Perseus (47.567–666); Gigantomachy (48.32–89).

61 Cadmus tells his lineage to Electra (3.257–319); children of Cadmus and Harmonia (5.195–210) and their husbands: Aristaeus (214b–551), Echion (552–555), Athamas (556–561), Semele kept for Zeus (562 ff.).

62 5.609b–621 the narrator on Zeus seeing Persephone naked in her bath—celestial lovers—first Dionysus; 7.117–128 the narrator on the arrows in Eros' quiver—terrestrial lovers—

	5.609b–621	7.117–128	8.132–151	8.290–305	8.361–366	9.208–242	16.49–70	16.236–243	31.212–227	32.63–75	47.694–704	*Il.* 14.315–327
Semele		F	F	S F	F	S F		X	X		X	X
Danae		X	X	X	X		X	X	X			X
Europa		X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X
Hera	X		S	X		X						F
Io		X	X		X				X	X		
Leto	X		X		X	X						X
Dia		X						X	X			X
Antiope		X						X	X			
Aegina		X					X					
Alcmena		X										X
Aphrodite	X									X		
Demeter	X											X
Maia						X					X	
Dione	X											
Electra											X	
Laodameia		X										
Leda		X										
Niobe										X		
Olympia		X										
Persephone		F										
Pluto		X										
Teygete										X		
Themis	X											

second Dionysus; books 8 and 9 narrate union of Zeus and Semele and the catalogues in this section reflect the competition of Semele with other lovers of Zeus (8.132–151, 290–305, 361–366), with Semele claiming precedence in 9.208–242; book 16 Dionysus in love with Nicaea; 31.212–227 Aphrodite seeing Hera in sorrow; 32.63–75 Deception of Zeus (after *Il.* 14.315–327); 47.694–704 Hermes consoles Dionysus after Ariadne is killed by Perseus.

Zeus (*Il.* 14.315–327). The table on p. 70 shows the variation of the entries (X = mentioned, F = foil, S = speaker).

None of the catalogues features all of Zeus' lovers and none of them features in all catalogues: there is no aspiration to completeness. But Semele appears in nearly all of the catalogues, frequently as the foil, which shows how Nonnus makes use of the catalogic form to emphasize the importance of Dionysus' family in the narrative of the poem and beyond. Danae, Europa and Io probably owe their frequency to being the two main human competitors of Semele, as does Hera on the divine side. The rest have a similar function as the *plethys* of the catalogues of troops and battle narratives.

Vian (1994, 86) related the incidence of these catalogues in the *Dionysiaca* to Pisander of Laranda's *Heroic Theogamies*, and noted that "instead of composing a universal history he [Nonnus] treats a single era of the world, an era inaugurated by Zeus's union with Europa and his victory over Typhon and concluded by the apotheosis of Dionysus." I would add that because of their recurrence they provide a narrative alternative to the war (the Indiad takes most of the *Dionysiaca*), its landmarks being the unions that cause the births of children who will change the course of history. In other words, they claim the relevance of amorous feats vs. other ways of measuring power.

The protagonist here is not Zeus himself, but his son Dionysus in his three incarnations (Zagreus in book 6, Bacchus as the main topic, and Iacchus in book 48), and the recurrence of the catalogues makes it inevitable to measure the figure of Dionysus with that of Zeus, prolific lover and father. Dionysus comes inevitably second to his father's achievements in the matter:[63] his children with Nicaea (16.395–402) and Aura (48.851ff.) are the product of rape, not of seduction; he fails to win the hand of Beroe (41–43) and although he seduces Ariadne on the spot (47.265–469), their children are hardly mentioned (470–471). Dionysus' warlike and amorous' feats pass the test of the Olympus at the end of the poem (48.974–978), whatever his deficiencies, but the broader mythical narrative illuminated by the catalogues of Zeus' lovers acts as yet another reminder of the limits of his performance on earth.

4 Conclusions

Nonnus makes a broad use of the catalogic scheme to manage space in the *Dionysiaca*. The earth, the sea and the sky are geographically relevant but

63 Explicit in 20.80–98.

the catalogues of their dwellers illustrate a world populated by anonymous creatures and mythical beings. In the catalogues of troops, Nonnus' initial following of Homer wanes quickly, and the comparison with the Homeric Catalogue of Ships reveals the construction of a mythologically empowered space whose real elements are mostly antiquarian.

Regarding time, the application of catalogues to short spans of narrative has a hyper-realistic effect and serves a game of repetition and variation at the lowest narrative level. The Indiad (a mid-span narrative) evolves through a series of catalogues of troops and catalogic descriptions of battles: the former raise expectations that are not fully met by the latter. As for long spans of narrative, I have focused on the catalogues of Zeus' lovers as a mythical alternative to judge the evolution of history through war.

From a formal point of view, the frequent use of the catalogue allows the poet to structure content at all levels, while the loose inter-connection of the entries gives way to a certain narrative disarray. The catalogue as a sense unit loses ground before the impetus of the individual entries, expanded with mythological narratives and paradoxa.

Finally, to write this paper I had to read the *Dionysiaca* (not for the first time), make detailed notes of the catalogues, organize my notes and refer to the relevant passages more than once. My analysis relied on prior knowledge of the usual form of a catalogue and of how a catalogue works both in its immediate context and within the global frame of the poem. What are we supposed to imagine about Nonnus' intended readership? The *Dionysiaca* could be accessible to anyone with a minimal knowledge of the tradition and some ability to follow narrative, but its catalogues were complex enough to satisfy connoisseurs,[64] and may have been designed to attract and seduce them.

64 See Scodel 1997, 217.

CHAPTER 4

Mythographic Lists as Sources of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus

Simon Zuenelli

In his recently published book *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* Alan Cameron suggests that in the discussion of ancient literary discourse much more attention should be paid to the mythographic material, which ancient poets and their readers had at their disposition in large quantitiy.[1] In fact while scholars of the 19th century were keen—sometimes too keen—to accept the use of mythographic manuals[2] by ancient poets, modern scholars are more reluctant to accept this approach. An already brief glance at modern commentaries reveals this attitude, since in explaining certain passages under question they tend mainly to refer to literary, but not mythographic texts. An explanation for this might be the aversion of modern scholars to accept the idea that ancient *poetae docti* used humble mythographic manuals. But as the *Erotica pathemata* of Parthenius show, in the preface of which the poet explicitly points out that his patron Cornelius Gallus might use this plain compilation of stories for poetic issues, the use of mythographic manuals must nevertheless be considered to have been part of ancient literary discourse.

The discussion of the role mythographic material played in the process of literary production is especially relevant for the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, since this epic is well known for its enormous mythological erudition. It is hard to imagine that Nonnus was able to deal with such a superabundance of mythological information without turning to a more systematical treatment of the material. However, in what concerns *Quellenkritik*, modern scholars tend to focus on poetical texts as the main sources for his mythological information. But why should Nonnus have ignored the opportunity that systematically arrayed mythographic material could offer him, instead of skimming through poetical texts for hours and hours to get the required information?

1 Cameron 2004a, 238–303.

2 The term 'mythological manual' of course is a rather vague denomination. In what follows, the term will be used for non-poetic texts which deal with the subject of mythology in a systematic manner.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_006

For a better understanding of these issues I would like to give an example: At the beginning of book seven one can find a catalogue of Zeus' twelve liaisons with mortal women.[3] It is said to be an inscription on a specific quiver of Eros containing the twelve corresponding arrows. Nonnus names Io, Europa, Pluto, Danae, Semele, Aegina, Antiope, Leda, Dia, Alcmene, Laodamia and Olympias and also points out in which shape Zeus appeared to them respectively. Rudolf Keydell has argued that the source of this catalogue should be the *Heroïcae theogamiae*, a lost epic of Pisander of Laranda (third century AD) about the mythical history of the world in 60 books.[4] Of this huge poem only few fragments survived and precise knowledge of the original content is impossible. Therefore, the evidence that Nonnus used this epic as a source is *a priori* very low. Still, it seems to be the *communis opinio* that Pisander served as the main source of the catalogue of the twelve liaisons.[5] Of course there is no definite prove that Nonnus did not use Pisander as a source, but why should he have read the 60 books of the *Theogamiae* to gather the same information he could find much more easily in a mythographic manual? Indeed, all the liaisons cited by Nonnus—and many more—can be found as well in an account of the various amours of Zeus in the *Recognitationes* of Ps.-Clemens,[6] which surely stems from a mythographic manual. As a matter of fact, the existence of such systematic dealing with the love stories of Zeus in antiquity is proved by *P.Mil.Vogel* 3.126 (end of second century or beginning of third century AD). This fragment offers part of a list of the liaisons of Zeus with mortal women in a convenient alphabetical order.[7]

1 Methodological Considerations

From a methodological perspective it is very difficult to decide whether a poet has drawn his information from a mythographic manual or from his reading of the literary texts themselves. The difficulty consists in the fact that the contents of mythographic manuals and that of literary works naturally overlap to a high degree, since the former simply summarizes the latter in a system-

3 Nonn. *Dion.* 7.117–128.

4 Keydell 1935, 307–308.

5 Cf. Vian 1976, XLIV–XLV; Chuvin 1992, 75–77; Gigli Piccardi 2006, 515–516.

6 Ps.-Clem. *Recogn.* 10.21–23, 3, pp. 339–342 Rehm-Strecker.

7 Cf. in the index of Hyg. *Fab.* entry 226 *Quae mortales cum Iove concubuerunt.* Unfortunately the actual content of this chapter did not survive.

atic way.[8] In addition, the issue is made more complex by the fact that both approaches might also be combined: A poet could consult a mythographic manual and then—thanks to the information found there—turn to the literary texts themselves.[9] This leads to the conclusion that any investigation of the use of mythographic material cannot be based on issues of content only, but must mainly rest on structural parallels between the poetic text and the corresponding mythographic material. Only in this way reliable results can be achieved. On account of their specific characteristics, thematically structured mythographic 'lists' offer a good starting point for such an examination. I have chosen the vague term 'list' to summarize a broader group of different texts. In what follows, the term 'mythographic list' will be applied to any kind of non-literary text which collects mythographic data concerning a certain restricted subject in form of separate entries, which in turn are arranged according to a single and constantly repeated principle.[10] The remains of such lists are preserved on papyrus fragments: Some of them stem from large compilations and dictionaries, others from mythographic compendia assumed to contain a range of different other lists, too.[11] We can get a good idea of such compendia thanks to the manual transmitted under the name of Hyginus, where towards the end of the book many lists summarizing mythographic information under certain headings are to be found.[12]

These lists collect mythographic information on specific thematic issues (e.g. individuals made immortal, founders and first builders of temples, etc.). They are often rooted in a scholarly tradition and contain, in many cases, rather remote mythical data.[13] The single entries are usually arranged according to

8 A mythographic manual could in turn also serve as a model for a literary work, which makes the decision even more complicated.

9 Therefore, in this paper the term 'source' will be used in a wider sense. If hereafter it is said that a poet used a mythographic list 'as source', this does not imply that he took all his information necessarily from the mythographic list, but rather that the list was in some way relevant in the research process.

10 In order to obtain a more precise terminology, list-like enumeration in poetic texts will be called 'catalogues'.

11 Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 154. There also existed mythographic lists which were originally based on one certain passage or work and closely followed the contents of the poem (cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 120–121). Since they are not arranged thematically, they cannot provide further help in the examination and are therefore excluded.

12 Cf. mainly Hyg. *Fab*. 221–277. Although many of these lists have been lost during the tradition of the text, the index still allows us to get a general idea of the thematic variety of mythographic lists which the manual originally contained.

13 Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 154.

specific principles, of which alphabetical order is the most common.[14] Due to these particular characteristics it is possible to define three criteria which can help to indicate whether in composing a certain poetic passage a mythographic list has been used as a source:

(i.) The use of a mythographic list can be assumed in the case that in a given poem a catalogue can be found that deals with a restricted mythological subject, especially if there is evidence for the existence of ancient mythographic lists on this very subject.
(ii.) This assumption is further supported if the poetic catalogue deals with remote information to such a high degree that it is rather unlikely that a poet could have come across without the help of a systematically compiled manual.
(iii.) Nevertheless, real evidence for the use of a mythographic list is only provided, if the catalogue still reflects the principles of the original arrangement of alphabetical order.

Taking these criteria as a basis I would like to discuss the possible use of mythographic lists in the context of the writing of the *Dionysiaca*: Firstly, I would like to analyze, by way of example, two catalogues showing that we have generally good reason to presume the use of mythographic lists by Nonnus. Secondly, I would like to focus on one specific passage, i.e. the catalogue of transformation stories in *Dion.* 12.70–102, providing evidence that in composing these lines Nonnus used an alphabetically arranged mythographic list of metamorphoses as a source.

2 Mythological Catalogues and Mythographic Lists—Two Examples

According to these criteria, the analysis has to take as a starting point the many enumerations of mythological individuals in the *Dionysiaca*. Taking a closer look, some catalogues can be identified, for which the utilization of mythographic lists seems likely.[15] I would like to give two rather striking examples:

---

14 Cf. van Rossum-Steenbeek 1998, 155.

15 Cf. e.g. Nonn. *Dion.* 33.324–345 (women fleeing into the sea to escape the persecution by male lovers: Melis, Britomartis, Asteria); 48.392–408 (individuals killed by Artemis: Typhon, Tityus, Orion, Otus, Ephialtes, Niobe).

(a) After her death Ariadne appears in a dream to her former husband Dionysus, who is now trying to seduce the nymph Aura, and accuses him of infidelity (*Dion.* 48.550–555). In this context, she reminds him of his previous affairs with Pallene, Althaea, and Coronis.[16] This enumeration of liaisons of Dionysus matches with two of the criteria mentioned above, which makes it rather likely that Nonnus made use of a mythographic list in composing these lines:
   (i.) As regards the existence of relevant mythographic material, we have indeed evidence for the circulation of mythographic lists summarizing the liaisons of the different gods. Corroboration for the existence of such material in the particular case of Dionysus is provided by the mythographic compendium transmitted under the name of Hyginus, in which an entire chapter (now lost) was dedicated to the amours of Dionysus.[17]
   (ii.) The three love affairs to which Nonnus alludes are not well-known and represent rather recondite mythological knowledge. Whereas one can assume that Nonnus knew the story of Dionysus and Pallene quite well,[18] since he treated the myth in detail in his epic,[19] it seems rather unlikely to me that he could have come across the other two barely attested amours of Dionysus with Althaea[20] or Coronis[21] without the aid of any searching tool.

(b) In *Dion.* 41.368–384 there is a catalogue of ancient πρῶτοι εὑρηταί and their corresponding inventions, which is part of the prophetic inscriptions on the tablets in the palace of Harmonia. The catalogue enumerates no less than ten different πρῶτοι εὑρηταί: Pan (syrinx), Hermes (harp), Hyagnis (aulos), Orpheus (mystic song), Linus (eloquence), Arcas (solar circle), Endymion (lunar circle), Cadmus (writing), Solon (laws), Cecrops (monogamy). Once more the use of a mythographic list is very probable:
   (i.) The catalogue again contains a series of extremely recondite myths. Indeed, only few people might have known the person of Hyagnis, who is considered the inventor of the aulos.[22] Also the discovery of the solar circle by Arcas, for which we have no other witness except

16 Nonn. *Dion.* 48.550–555.

17 Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 230 *Quae cum Libero*.

18 Beside Nonnus only Philostr. *Ep.* 47 mentions a liaison of Dionysus and Pallene.

19 Nonn. *Dion.* 48.90–237.

20 Apollod. 1.64; Hyg. *Fab.* 129; Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* 7; Serv. *A.* 4.127.

21 Schol. Flor. Call. *Aet.* fr. 5, ll. 30–32 Pfeiffer.

22 Cf. *AP* Gr. 1.248 (Dioscurides); Ps.-Plu. *Mus.* 4.7.

Nonnus' account, constitute obscure knowledge.[23] While Endymion is well attested as the beloved of Selene, the rationalizing interpretation of his myth which makes him an astronomer is rather unfamiliar.[24] The same is true for the fact that Cecrops was the first to establish monogamy.[25]

(ii.) Nonnus' knowledge of all these abstruse accounts is easy to explain if one assumes that he had a glimpse of one of the many ancient works dealing with the specific subject of εὑρήματα.[26] Indeed, Clement of Alexandria alone mentions eight men, who wrote books about εὑρήματα. As two lists in the *Fabulae* of Hyginus show, information about this subject was available in a condensed and easily accessable format as well.

(iii.) The use of such a list is also suggested by the specific arrangement of the catalogue which possibly reflects the order of the original mythographic list used by Nonnus. The enumeration of the different πρῶτοι εὑρηταί can be divided into four semantic groups: the first three examples deal with inventions in the field of music (syrinx, harp, aulos), the following two with those in the field of literature (mystic song, eloquence). The third group contains further astronomical discoveries (solar and lunar circle), and the fourth mentions general social achievements (writing, law, monogamy). This specific arrangement could be interpreted as the influence of the mythographic list used by Nonnus. In fact, the single entries in lists about εὑρήματα were often ordered by content and it is indicative that the semantic categories employed in such lists overlap with those chosen by Nonnus. For example, the detailed list of human accomplishments in the seventh book of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, where the treatment of astronomical inventions[27] is immediately followed by the εὑρήματα in the field of music[28] and poetry,[29] shows a thematic arrangement similar to that of Nonnus.

---

23 But since Arcas was known as a cultural hero in antiquity (cf. Paus. 8.4.1), this attribution does not surprise. Perhaps it goes back to a rationalizing interpretation.

24 Cf. FHG 3 p. 149 (Mnaseas); Plin. *Nat.* 2.43; Luc. *Astr.* 18.t.2, p. 191 Jacobitz; Artem. 4.47, p. 274 Pack; *Myth. Vat.* 1.229; Fulg. *Myth.* 2.16, p. 58 Helm.

25 Schol. Ar. *Pl.* 773.

26 Cf. Kremmer 1890.

27 Plin. *Nat.* 7.203.

28 Plin. *Nat.* 7.204.

29 Plin. *Nat.* 7.205.

3 An Alphabetical List of Metamorphoses as a Source of the Catalogue of Transformation Stories in *Dion.* 12.70–102

Still, these two examples can only show that it is generally very likely that Nonnus used mythographic lists as an aid for the composition of catalogues in the *Dionysiaca*, but they do not offer conclusive evidence. At least in one case, however, the utilization of a mythographic list can be reliably demonstrated. It is the catalogue of different metamorphoses in *Dion.* 12.70–102 which will now be discussed in detail.

While delineating the mourning of Dionysus because of the death of his young favourite-satyr Ampelus, Nonnus suddenly interrupts the narrative and describes the visit that the four Seasons pay to the palace of Helios. The reason for their visit is the fact that the Season of Autumn wants to know when the vine will be originated. Therefore, Helios refers her to the four tablets of Harmonia set up in his palace: On them, the primordial deity Phanes inscribed all the prophecies concerning the world and illustrated them with pictures. In order to help the Season to discover the specific inscription regarding the origin of the vine in this universal archive, he tells her that she can find the answer on the third tablet, where the zodiac signs of Lion and Virgin are depicted. Thus the Season of Autumn learns that Ampelus will metamorphose into the vine and she happily departs together with her sisters. At this point, Nonnus continues the previous story line and narrates the predicted transformation of Ampelus.[30]

In the context of this visit of the four Seasons Nonnus gives an account of the content of the third tablet, which not only mentions the transformation of Ampelus, but also a series of other future metamorphoses (*Dion.* 12.70–102):

"Ἥρης βουκόλος Ἄργος ἐς ὄρνεον εἶδος ἀμείψει
φαιδρὸν ἔχων ⟨πολέων⟩ βλεφάρων τύπον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
Ἁρπαλύκη μετὰ λέκτρον ἀλιτροβίων ὑμεναίων
υἱέα δαιτρεύσασα θυγατρογάμῳ γενετῆρι
ἠερίην πτερόεσσαν ἐρετμώσειε πορείην
ὄρνις ἀελλήεσσα. Καὶ ἱστοπόνος Φιλομήλη
ἔσσεται αἰολόδειρος ὑποτρύζουσα χελιδών,
μαρτυρίην βοόωσα λιπογλώσσοιο σιωπῆς,
δαίδαλα φωνήεντα σοφῷ γράψασα χιτῶνι·
Καὶ Νιόβη Σιπύλοιο παρὰ σφυρὰ πέτρος ἐχέφρων
δάκρυσι λαϊνέοισιν ὀδυρομένη στίχα παίδων

30 For the discussion of the specific problems of this episode cf. Zuenelli 2013, ad loc. and Kröll 2016, 189–193.

στήσεται οἰκτρὸν ἄγαλμα. Καὶ ἔσσεται αὐτόθι γείτων
Πυρρὸς ἐρωμανέων Φρύγιος λίθος, εἰσέτι Ῥείης
οἶστρον ἔχων ἀθέμιστον ἀνυμφεύτων ὑμεναίων·
Θίσβη δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ καὶ Πύραμος, ἥλικες ἄμφω,
ἀλλήλους ποθέοντες. Ἐυστεφάνοιο δὲ κούρης
Μίλακος ἱμείρων Κρόκος ἔσσεται ἄνθος Ἐρώτων.
Καὶ γαμίην μετὰ λύσσαν ἀελλοπόδων Ὑμεναίων
καὶ Παφίης μετὰ μῆλα λεοντείην ἔτι μορφὴν
Ἄρτεμις οἰστρήσειεν ἀμειβομένην Ἀταλάντην.'
Καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα παρέστιχεν ἄστατος Ὥρη,
εἰσόκε χῶρον ἵκανεν, ὅπῃ πυρόεις Ὑπερίων
σύμβολα μαντοσύνης ἀνεμώδεϊ πέφραδε κούρῃ,
ἧχι Λέων ἐτέτυκτο σελασφόρος, ἧχι καὶ αὐτὴ
Παρθένος ἀστερόεσσα νόθῃ ποικίλλετο μορφῇ
οἴνοπα βότρυν ἔχουσα, θερειγενὲς ἄνθος ὀπώρης.
Κεῖθι Χρόνου θυγάτηρ πόδας εὔνασε, ταῦτα δ' ἀνέγνω·
'Κισσὸς ἀερσιπότης, ἐρόεις νέος, ἐς φυτὸν ἕρπων
ἔσται κισσὸς ἕλιξ καὶ ἐν ἔρνεσιν· ἠιθέου δὲ
ὄρθιος ἐκ Καλάμοιο δόναξ κυρτούμενος αὔραις
λεπτὸν ἀεξιφύτοιο φανήσεται ἔρνος ἀρούρης,
ἡμερίδων στήριγμα· καὶ εἰς φυτὸν εἶδος ἀμείψας
Ἄμπελος ἀμπελόεντι χαρίζεται οὔνομα καρπῷ.'

'Hera's cowherd Argus will change form to a bird and maintain the bright appearance of his many eyes. Harpalyce after the bed of criminal nuptials will carve up the son for her incestuous father, and paddle a winged course through the air as a stormswift bird. Philomela the busy weaver will be a twittering swallow with sheeny throat, and cry abroad the witness of her tongueless silence by writing talking words upon a skillful robe. Niobe will remain a monument of sorrow on the slopes of Sipylus, a rock endowed with sense, and mourning the line of her children with stony tears. Near her will Pyrrhus, a Phrygian stone enamoured, still be feeling the lawless lust for unjust union with Rheia. Thisbe will be moist water and so also Pyramus, both at the same age, each desiring the other. Crocus, in love with Smilax, a girl graced with beautiful garlands, will be the flower of love. And after the nuptial fury of the stormy marriage, after the Paphian's apples, Artemis will continue to drive Atalanta raging still in the form of a lioness.'

The restless Season passed over all these on one tablet, until she came to the place where fiery Hyperion indicated the signs of prophecy to the

storm-swift maiden, where the shining Lion was drawn, and where the starry Virgin was depicted in mimic shape, holding a bunch of grapes, the summer-grown flower of vintage. There the daughter of Chronus halted her feet, and this is what she read:

'Highflying Cissus, the lovely youth, will creep into a plant, and be ivy, still twisted in his branches. From Calamus will spring a reed rising straight and bended by the breeze, a delicate sprout of the fruitful soil, support for the vines. Ampelus will change form into a plant and give his name to the fruit of the vine'.[31]

The whole passage forms a catalogue of eleven transformation stories: Argus (peacock), Harpalyce (undefined bird), Philomela (swallow), Niobe (rock), Pyrrhus (rock), Pyramus/Thisbe (rivers), Crocos/Smilax (flowers), Atalanta (lion), Cissus (ivy), Calamus (reed) and Ampelus (vine). There are four reasons why it is most probable that Nonnus used a mythographic list in composing these lines:

(i.) Several of these transformation stories are recondite myths which are not, or only barely, attested elsewhere. Indeed, the metamorphoses of Pyrrhus into a rock and that of Ampelus[32] into the vine are attested only in the *Dionysiaca*.[33] The transformation of Calamus is also mentioned only once in Serv. *Ec.* 5.48[34] and that of Harpalyce into a bird only in Parth. 12 and Schol. Hom. *Il.* 14.29. Allusions to the myth of Crocus and Smilax can be found in Ov. *Met.* 4.283–284 and Plin. *Nat.* 16.153–154. Only small evidence can be provided for the metamorphoses of Pyramus and Thisbe into rivers[35] and that of Cissus into ivy,[36] but they seem at least of some importance as *exempla* in rhetorical education.

(ii.) Nonnus must have chosen these myths from a much wider series of transformation stories, which makes it even less plausible that he came across all of them without turning to a systematical treatment. This can be con-

31 The translation follows Rouse 1940.

32 The transformation of Ampelus into the star (Προ)τρυγητήρ, whose rising announces the time of vintage, is narrated in Ov. *Fast.* 3.407–414. For possible traces of the myth of the transformation of Ampelus into vine cf. Kröll 2016, 39–49.

33 The myth of Pyrrhus seems to refer to a local legend at Clazomenae (cf. Chuvin 1991, 137).

34 The account of Servius however differs in some points from the version of Nonnus.

35 Cf. Nicol. *Prog.* 1, p. 271 Walz; *Myth. Vat.* 384.21; Him. *Or.* 9.122; Ps.-Clem. *Recogn.* 10.26, pp. 344–345 Rehm-Strecker.

36 Nicol. *Prog.* 1, p. 270 Walz; *Gp.* 11.29.

cluded from the arrangement of the individual examples: the first three examples deal with metamorphoses into birds (Argus, Harpalyce, Philomela) and are all situated in the Greek motherland. They correspond with the last three instances, which mention transformations into plants (Cissus, Calamus, Ampelus) and are connected with the region of Phrygia, forming a kind of *Ringkomposition*. The rest of the metamorphoses can be grouped in pairs: The first pair (Niobe/Pyrrhus) are transformations into stones. They are both located in Phrygia as a result of a punishment related to a crime committed against a deity. The second group (Pyramus/Thisbe, Crocus/Milax) contains transformations of young couples, both situated in Cilicia. The myth of Atalanta is something of an exception, since her transformation does not correspond with any other metamorphosis mentioned on the tablet, but we might see a connection between her transformation into a lioness and the zodiac sign of the Lion illustrating the inscription. These precise correspondences imply that Nonnus selected them out of a broader group of metamorphoses and only chose the most fitting examples for his purpose. It is hard to believe that he was able to do so without the help of a mythographic list.

(iii.) The catalogue deals with a specific subject, which is treated in form of mythographic lists as well.[37] The best evidence for the existence of such lists provides *P.Mich.Inv.* 1447 (late second or early third century AD), a fragment which seems to stem from a wider collection of transformation stories.[38] The second column of this papyrus comprises a list of five stories on the metamorphoses of mythical persons. Each entry preserves the following elements in this order: 'main person', 'parentage', 'reason for the metamorphosis', 'god who made it happen', and 'source of the story'.

(iv.) It is indicative that the actual arrangement of the catalogue partially shows an alphabetical order: In fact, the transformation of Ἁρπαλύκη follows that of Ἄργος and the story of Πύραμος is situated immediately after that of Πυρρός. It might be indicative as well that the metamorphoses of Κισσός and Κάλαμος are mentioned side by side. This particular arrangement can hardly be a mere coincidence and one must look for an explanation. I think two different interpretations can be offered: either this order is a deliberate arrangement by Nonnus and aims at a certain effect or it reflects the use of an alphabetically ordered source.

37 For mythographic lists on metamorphoses cf. Guichard 2014.

38 Renner 1978.

In favour of the first explanation one can refer to the fact that in ancient poetry alphabetical allusions were indeed used as a literary technique:[39] In the *Asinaria* of Plautus, Artemona finds her husband Demaenetus most compromisingly engaged with a young girl named Philaenium. The moment she recognizes the real character of her husband, she understands as well why he went out for dinner every day:

> *Hoc ecastor est quod ille it ad cenam cottidie.*
> *Ait sese ire ad Archidemum, Chaeream, Chaerestratum,*
> *Cliniam, Chremem, Cratinum, Diniam, Demosthenem.*[40]
>
> Castor, that is the reason, why he goes out for dinner every day! He says that he goes to Archidemus, Chaerea, Chaerestratus, Clinia, Chremes, Cratinus, Dinias, Demosthenes.

The alphabetical arrangement obviously serves a dramatic purpose: On the one hand, the long list of alleged dinner invitations shows—not without a certain comic effect—how ingeniously Demaenetus always invented new excuses to meet his girl-friend without hinderance. In fact, the list already ends with D, but how long would it be, if Artemona expanded her enumeration till Z! On the other hand it sheds some light on the character of Artemona, who apparently, suspicious as she is about her husband's daily dinner invitations, seems to keep an alphabetical catalogue.

The catalogue of the Italian heroes in the *Aeneid* is another example for an alphabetically arranged catalogue.[41] It begins and ends with the most significant figures: Mezentius und Lausus stand at its very beginning and Turnus and Camilla close the enumeration. It has been observed that the other eleven warriors with the exception of Messapus are arranged in first-letter alphabetical order: Aventinus, Catillus, Coras, Caeculus, Messapus, Clausus, Halaesus, Oebalus, Ufens, Umbro, and Viterbus.[42] It might not be a simple incidence, as some scholars believe, but rather be either the reflection of an alphabetical list as a source or a conscious arrangement by Virgil—or even both. O'Hara[43] recently argued for the latter: He supposes that Virgil deliberately arranged the

39 Daly 1967, 50–59.

40 Pl. *As*. 864–866; cf. 693–694.

41 Verg. *A*. 7.647–817.

42 Cook 1919.

43 O'Hara 1989.

catalogue in an alphabetical form, in order to allude in this way to the alphabetical lists of the Alexandrian philologists, who were the first to apply this kind of order. This similarity to the working methods of Alexandrian philologists according to O'Hara underlines the general 'Alexandrian' character of the catalogue of Italian heroes.

Compared with these texts the catalogue of metamorphoses in the *Dionysiaca* differs in two ways: Firstly, while the catalogues cited above show a more or less continuous alphabetical arrangement, the alphabetical disposition in the *Dionysiaca* is selective and restricted to a few cases. Secondly, the alphabetical order in Plautus und Virgil follows certain literary purposes which are not needed in the catalogue of metamorphoses.

Thus, if we consider these differences and the fact that no further example of an alphabetical arrangement can be found in the *Dionysiaca*, we must assume that the actual arrangement reflects the use of a list of metamorphoses by Nonnus. This is further supported by the fact that we do indeed have evidence for the existence of such alphabetical arranged lists of metamorphoses. Confirmation for this comes once more from *P.Mich.Inv*. 1447, since the names of all five mythical individuals mentioned there in the second column[44] begin with *alpha* (Actaeon, Arethusa, Aethyiae, Alcyone and Ascalaphus), which leads to the conclusion that the whole collection must have been set out in first-letter alphabetical order. In contrast, the list of metamorphoses, which Nonnus used for his catalogue of metamorphoses, seems to have been arranged by—at least—second-letter alphabetical order, as we can conclude from the alphabetical correspondences of Ἁρπαλύκη/Ἄργος and Πύραμος/Πυρρός, which go beyond the first letter.[45]

4 Conclusion

The analysis carried out here allows us to draw the conclusion that it is very likely that in composing his epic Nonnus made use of mythographic lists as sources. At the same time, it offers an insight into the workshop of a late antique *poeta doctus* and his working process, which seems to have consisted in checking mythographic manuals to a large extent.

44 The text of the first column cannot be identified. Maybe 1.21–22 deal with Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops.

45 For second-letter alphabetical order as a principle of arrangement cf. Daly 1967, 30.

On the other hand, the results also raise the question of whether Nonnus might have used other material than mythographic manuals providing information in an easily accessible way. In fact, it seems to me that some of the specific features of Nonnian style at least can be explained by the existence of such manuals. Here are two examples: Perhaps the most striking characteristic for the reader of the *Dionysiaca* is their rich vocabulary and it is astonishing how Nonnus could find such a multitude of different and extravagant words and synonyms. It seems rather likely that he made use of onomastic dictionaries providing lists of synonyms for specific expressions. The *onomasticon* which is transmitted under the name of Pollux gives us an idea of the arrangement of such dictionaries and of their possible use for a poet.[46] Another striking feature of the *Dionysiaca* is Nonnus' predilection for etymological explanation of geographical names, and his profound knowledge is astonishing. But, as a matter of fact, also in this regard he might have had at his disposition a dictionary of geographical names similar to that of Stephanus of Byzantium.[47] Therefore, when we admire the—undeniably high—erudition of Nonnus, we also should be aware of a wide range of manuals circulating in Late Antiquity. This also could help to achieve a better understanding for how Nonnus was able to handle such a mass of information and produce an epic which has often been defined as a kind of mythological encyclopedia.

---

46 See String 1966, 35–36 with a striking example: *ὠρυγὴ κελάδησε λύκων, βρύχημα λεόντων*, / ἄσθμα συῶν, *μύκημα βοῶν*, σύριγμα δρακόντων, / πορδαλίων θρασὺ χάσμα, κορυσσομένων γένυς ἄρκτων, / λύσσα κυνῶν (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.253–256)—Φωναὶ ζῴων. κυνῶν μὲν ὑλακὴ (…). *λύκων δ' ὠρυγὴ* (…). *λεόντων* δὲ *βρύχημα* (…). συῶν δὲ γρυλισμὸς (…). *βοῶν* δὲ *μύκημα* (…) (Poll. 5.86–87).

47 Nonn. *Dion.* 3.368–369 [of Byzas] γείτονα γαῖαν [Byzantium] ἔδειμεν, ὅπῃ παρὰ Βόσπορον ἀκτὴν / Ἰναχίῃ δαμάλῃ πεπερημένον ἕλκεται ὕδωρ (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Βυζάντιον· ἐκτίσθη ἀπὸ Βύζαντος τοῦ Κεροέσσης τῆς Ἰοῦς θυγατρὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος); Nonn. *Dion.* 13.68–69 [regarding the settlement Harma] πέδον … / ἅρματος ὀψιγόνοιο φερώνυμον Ἀμφιαράου (cf. St. Byz. s. v. Ἅρμα· ἀπὸ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ ἅρματος); Nonn. *Dion.* 13.77 ἄστυ … εὐρυχόρου Μυκαλησσοῦ, / Εὐρυάλης [one of the Gorgons] μίμημα φερώνυμον ἀνθερεῶνος (cf. St. Byz. s. v. Μυκάλη· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἐπεὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Γοργόνες ἐπὶ τόκῳ μυκώμεναι τὴν κεφαλὴν Μεδούσης ἀνεκαλοῦντο); Nonn. *Dion.* 13.96–97 Ὑρίην / … ἐπωνυμίην Ὑριῆος (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Ὑρία· ὁ κτίσας Ὑριεύς); Nonn. *Dion.* 13.516 δάπεδον Δοίαντος ἐπώνυμον (cf. St. Byz. s. v. Δοίαντος πεδίον Φρυγίας· Ἄκμονα γὰρ καὶ Δοίαντά φασιν ἀδελφούς, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ Δοιάντειον καὶ Ἀκμόνιον ἄλση); Nonn. *Dion.* 17.393 [of Blemys] οὔνομα δῶκε πολίταις (cf. St. Byz. s. v. Βλέμυες· ἀπὸ Βλέμυος ἑνὸς τῶν Δηριάδου τριῶν ὑποστρατηγῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Διονύσῳ πολεμησάντων); Nonn. *Dion.* 18,293–294 [of Perseus] ἔφασκεν ἐπώνυμον ὠκέι ταρσῷ / ἀνδράσι πὰρ Κιλίκεσσι νεόκτιτον ἄστυ [Tarsos] χαράξαι (cf. St. Byz. s. v. Ταρσός· διὰ τὸ τὸν Πήγασον ἵππον ἐκεῖ τὸν ταρσὸν κλάσαντα καὶ Βελλεροφόντην ἐν τῷ Ἀληίῳ πεδίῳ πλανηθῆναι).

CHAPTER 5

Similes and Comparisons in the *Dionysiaca*: Imitation, Innovation, Erudition

Camille Geisz

Among the considerable poetic and literary heritage passed down by Homer to his successors, comparisons and similes are one of the most recognizable devices. Through them, the narrator invites his narratee to refer to a well-known image or theme as a parallel through which he will gain a better understanding, or a more vivid view, of the narrative itself. They also provide with an insight into the narrator's imagination, since he is the one choosing the contents of the comparisons or similes so as to be most relevant in the context where they appear.[1]

As in many other aspects of the *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus is not a simple imitator of Homer where comparisons are concerned. When compared with other epic poems, the *Dionysiaca* stand out by the originality of the subject matter of the comparative devices and similes, tapping into mythological topics offering parallels for the main narrative. The influence of Homer is noticeable both in the presence of Homeric characters as *comparanda* and in the Nonnian narrator's reworking of Homeric images, which are skillfully adapted to the new context, both to keep their Homeric flavour and to reflect the Nonnian narrator's literary skills and inventiveness.

1 I follow Coffey 1957, 113–114, in distinguishing between comparisons, a shorter device without a finite verb, and similes, which are longer and containing their own action presented through one or more finite verbs. See also Edwards 1987, 102, and De Jong 2004a, xviii and 123.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_007

1 Overview

1.1 *Number and Subject Matter of Comparisons and Similes in Epic Works since Homer*

Comparisons and similes are found in major epic works as follows:

	Total	Comparisons	Similes
Iliad[2]	342	124	218
Odyssey[3]	129	76	53
Argonautica[4]	151	60	91
Posthomerica[5]	305	79	226
Dionysiaca	260	216	44

With 260 comparisons and similes,[6] the *Dionysiaca* contain, in proportion, much fewer comparative devices than the *Iliad* or the *Posthomerica*. It is also remarkable that the *Dionysiaca* have the smallest proportion of similes; this is in keeping with the narrator's liking for very short digressions reflecting his mythological knowledge, which can be conveniently conveyed through comparisons.

1.2 *Mythological Contents of the Comparative Devices. A Nonnian Innovation*

The contents of comparisons in Homer, Apollonius, and Quintus can be classified under the following categories: natural phenomena, the vegetable world, the animal world, human beings (their relations, activities), and gods (and mythological characters in Apollonius).[7]

2 Wilkins 1920, 147 and De Jong 2004, 124.
3 Wilkins 1920, 147: 76 comparisons and 53 similes.
4 Wilkins 1921, 163: 60 comparisons and 91 similes. See also James 1969, 77 on Apollonius' similes.
5 Maciver 2012, 126: 79 comparisons and 226 similes. See also James 1969, 78 and 2004, xxv on Quintus' similes.
6 For the distinction between comparison and simile, see Coffey 1957, 113–114; also Edwards 1987, 102, and De Jong 2004a, xviii and 123.
7 Wilkins 1920 and 1920a for Homer, 1921 for Apollonius; Maciver 2012, 127–128 for Quintus.

In the *Dionysiaca*, it is noticeable that the theme of hunting, a favourite with Homer and Quintus, is absent. The most important category is that related to human beings, and within it, to mythological characters, which do not appear in Homer or Quintus, and appear in only two occurrences in Apollonius.[8] Therefore the numerous comparisons based on mythological characters appear as a Nonnian conceit. It is certainly striking that even Ovid, who also has an interest in mythography, does not really rival Nonnus where the proportion of mythological comparisons is concerned.[9] To sum up, the proportions of comparisons based on mythological characters are the following: *Argonautica*, 1,3 %; *Metamorphoses*, 3,6 % (Ovid's complete works, 8,6 %); *Dionysiaca*, 32,3 %.

This importance of mythology in the *Dionysiaca* results from the narrator expecting his audience to be well-read, and to know many myths, so as to be able to see the link created in the comparisons and similes. Indeed, among the characters thus conjured in the narrative, a number also appear in Homer, and even, in one occurrence, in Quintus.[10] The importance of mythological *comparanda* is also part of the Nonnian conception of story-telling, in which the main narrative is constantly supplemented with allusions to other myths.

Finally, the classification of Nonnian occurrences indicates that unlike the Homeric narrator,[11] the Nonnian narrator does not intend comparisons to be contrastive, to provide images taken from a peaceful, everyday-like world, to illustrate with a pathetic effect tragic and heroic scenes of battle. The preponderance of mythological *comparanda* and the fact that the classification of Nonnian occurrences also requires the creation of a section for comparative devices taken from the theme of war[12]—a theme absent from comparisons in previous epics—indicates that such is not the purpose of the Nonnian comparisons. Although he does provide glimpses of scenes from everyday life, he

---

8 Wilkins 1921, 166: the Thyiads at 1.363 and Typhon at 2.38 ff.

9 Wilkins 1932 and 1932a.

10 Iliadic characters: Diomedes, 15.165; Glaucos, 22.147; Teucros and Ajax, 28.61; Iphiclos, 28.284; Otos, 36.247; Ephialtes, 36.250. Characters from the *Posthomerica*: Achilles and Penthesileia, 35.27.

11 The characteristics of the world described in the simile are listed by M. Edwards (1987, 103): "The world depicted in the similes is different from that of the heroic narrative. The time is the present, not the legendary past; the place is not the battlefield before Troy but the Greek home or countryside (…), the people are ordinary men and women, not heroes, kings and deities, and the way of life is familiar, everyday, and humble. (…) The setting is the universal one of hills, sea, stars, rivers, storms, fires, and wild animals, and against it the lives of shepherds, plowmen, woodcutters, craftsmen, harvesters, donkeys, oxen, housewives, mothers, and children go on as they always have."

12 See *Dionysiaca* 2.375, 17.227, 20.171, 22.57, 28.116, 29.294, 32.176, 37.689, 38.73, and 39.213.

is less consistent than the Homeric narrator at recreating this contrasting parallel universe. In a considerable number of occurrences, the comparisons and similes are intended to complement the narrative by providing more mythological substance and to encourage the narratee to draw parallels between known myths.[13]

2 Homeric Inspiration

Homeric inspiration in the comparison and similes of the *Dionysiaca* is twofold: some comparative devices are directly based on Iliadic characters, and others are derived from a Homeric motif reworked by the Nonnian narrator.

2.1 *Comparisons and Similes Based on Homeric Characters and Situations*

Homeric characters provide the subject matter for comparative devices in six occurrences. At 15.165, the narrator compares Hymenaeus' brilliance to Diomedes' after he has taken the arms of Glaucos, whose costliness is underlined at *Iliad* 6.235–236. Diomedes' radiance is also made conspicuous at 5.4, where Athena is said to cause a bright fire to shine from his shield and helmet. It seems that the Nonnian narrator is merging together two striking episodes depicting Diomedes, proceeding in this case much as he composes his epic, that is, by putting together elements of myths which are most relevant together in a specific passage. Here, the comparison with Diomedes underlines Hymenaeus' worth in the battle, Diomedes being, in the *Iliad*, the best embodiment of the heroic qualities and values. As for Glaucos, he is mentioned in a comparison at 22.147, in a depiction of a Lydian warrior's shining golden armour.

At 28.61–(60), the Indian Phlogios is compared to Teucros, as he takes refuge under his brother Agraios' shield, as Teucros did under the shield of his half-brother Ajax. Teucros' method is described at *Iliad* 8.266–272. This Nonnian simile indicates that the narrator does not reserve Iliadic themes for the Dionysiac army, since the characters compared here are Indians. It also hints at how closely some of the Nonnian battle scenes are imitated from the *Iliad*. Not only does the narrator include Homeric tactical elements in his poem, but he even indicates to his narratee that he has done so—in case the narratee was not

13 This is especially visible in hypothetical speeches from characters wondering who another character is.

aware of it—through the simile: he acknowledges his debt to Homer as well as underlines his own work in adapting these Homeric themes to his own poem.

The occurrence comparing an anonymous Indian warrior to Iphiclos at 28.284–287 achieves yet another effect:

> εἰς δρόμον Ἰφίκλῳ πανομοίιος, ὅς τις ἐπείγων
> ταρσὰ ποδῶν ἀβάτοιο κατέγραφεν ἄκρα γαλήνης,
> καὶ σταχύων ἐφύπερθε μετάρσιον εἶχε πορείην,
> ἀνθερίκων πάτον ἄκρον ἀκαμπέα ποσσὶν ὁδεύων.

> … as good a runner as Iphiclos, who used to skim the untrodden calm only touching the surface with the soles of his feet, and passed over a field of corn without bending the top of the ears with his travelling footsteps.[14]

Iphiclos appears only once in the *Iliad*, at 23.636, in a speech where Nestor recounts how he had beaten Iphiclos in a race during the funeral games for king Amarynceus. In mentioning this secondary character, the Nonnian narrator shows his erudition, while ensuring originality by inserting the Homeric comparison taken from the context of sport into a passage about war. In addition, as F. Vian remarks,[15] the ability to run over the sea and over a field of corn which the Nonnian narrator lends to Iphiclos is another allusion to the *Iliad*, where these two qualities are attributed to the horses born of Erichthonios' mares and Boreas at 20.226–229. As is his custom, the Nonnian narrator imitates the contents but uses a different vocabulary: the Homeric narrator mentioned the "large back of the sea", εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, and "the top of the white waves", ἄκρον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνος ἁλὸς πολιοῖο. Rather than fields of corn, the Iliadic version speaks of the more indefinite "fertile land", ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. The two qualities are also presented in the opposite order by the Nonnian narrator—in Homer, running over the sea comes second. However, an echo is created by the use of the word ἄκρον in the last line of the comparison, referring to the top of the corn ears, while it referred to the crest of the waves in Homer.[16]

---

14 Translations of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* are by Rouse 1940.

15 Vian 1990, 329 *ad* 28.284–287.

16 Vian adds in his note that these two qualities have been reused in epic before the *Dionysiaca*. Iphiclos was able to run over ears of wheat, ἐπὶ πυραμίνων ἀθέρων according to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of women* (fr. 62 Merkelbach-West), and the Argonaut Euphemos could run over the fields according to A.R. 1.182–184, who reuses the imperfect θέεσκεν, 'to run', already used by Homer in the plural. The narrator there also plays on the Homeric ἄκρον by mentioning the tip of the toes of the runner, ἄκροις ἴχνεσι. The Nonnian narrator offers

Finally, the giant Colletes is compared to Otos at 36.247, and to Ephialtes at 36.250. They were two giant brothers known for having tried to pile up mountains so as to attack Olympus. The Nonnian narrator alludes to their attempt to take away Artemis and Athena, a lesser known episode, according to his taste for erudition, and, following the Hellenistic example, for the rarer versions of myths.[17] At 36.253–254, he mentions their capture of Ares as another hint of Colletes' strength.[18]

Thus, these comparisons and similes referring to characters of the *Iliad* exemplify how the Nonnian narrator includes and adapts elements from Homeric epic into his poem. As is his custom, he makes sure to vary the context so as to maintain the ποικιλία and the originality of his work, and by referring to rare characters or versions of myths, he shows himself off as a knowledgeable narrator who expects his narratees to understand his allusions.

2.2 *The Reworking of Homeric Motifs in Nonnian Comparative Devices*

The Nonnian narrator's Homeric inspiration also manifests itself in the adaptation of Homeric comparisons to his own poem. The subject matter of many of the Nonnian occurrences can also be found in Homer, but is transformed, varied in a number of ways indicative of the work the Nonnian narrator has done upon them. For instance, he can apply the same comparison to a different element: he underlines the radiance of a person, Tectaphos, at 26.144, by comparing it to Hesperos, which had been mentioned to qualify the radiance of an object, namely Achilles' spear, at *Iliad* 22.318. He can also produce a variation within the overall image produced by the comparison, as he does in the simile comparing wrestling men to the rafters of a house. At *Iliad* 23.711–713, Ajax and Odysseus grasp each other with their arms, like rafters in the shape of an upturned V:

> ἀγκὰς δ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν
> ὡς ὅτ' ἀμείβοντες, τούς τε κλυτὸς ἤραρε τέκτων
> δώματος ὑψηλοῖο βίας ἀνέμων ἀλεείνων.

---

a variant to this detail by referring to the soles of the feet, ταρσὰ ποδῶν. Finally, both qualities are attributed by the narrator of the *Aeneid* to the Amazon Camilla, in the Homeric order, at 7.808–811.

17 Otos and Ephialtes trying to pile up mountains: Hom. *Od.* 11.315–317, V. *Aen.* 6.682–684, Hyginus 28.2. Only Apollodorus mentions that this effort was made in order to court Artemis, and Hera, instead of Athena in Nonnus (Apollod. 1.7.4).

18 See Hom. *Il.* 5.385–386.

> And (they) grappled each other in the hook of their heavy arms, as when rafters lock, when a renowned architect has fitted them in the roof of a high house to keep out the force of the winds' spite.

In the Nonnian version at 37.590–593, Aiacos is lifting Aristaeus off the ground, holding him by the middle with his two arms, this time like rafters in the shape of a T:

> ἀγκὰς ἔχων, οὐ νῶτον ἢ ὄρθιον αὐχένα κάμπτων,
> πήχεσιν ἀμφοτέροισι μεσαίτατον ἄνδρα κομίζων,
> ἶσον ἀμειβόντεσσιν ἔχων τύπον, οὓς κάμε τέκτων
> πρηΰνων ἀνέμοιο θυελλήεσσαν ἀνάγκην.

> He held the man in his arms, bending neither back nor upright neck carrying the man with both arms by the middle, so that they were like a couple of cross-rafters which some carpenters has made to calm the stormy compulsion of the wind.

The difference echoes the outcome of the wrestling match: in the *Iliad*, both wrestlers are of the same strength and the match ends without designating a winner, whereas in the *Dionysiaca*, Aiacos wins the prize. The mention of the blowing wind underlines the equality of Ajax and Odysseus' strength, leaning against each other and forming an immovable structure in the Homeric version, and the superiority of Aiacos in the Nonnian one, carrying his adversary without wavering.

The Nonnian narrator, as can be observed from this example, never repeats a comparison or simile verbatim, but rephrases it in his own words: the comparison of the distance between two runners with that between a girl and her loom at *Iliad* 23.760 is found twice in the *Dionysiaca* in the same context, each time with different wording. The same goes for the comparison of the distance between two chariots in the race with the distance of a discus' throw, at *Dionysiaca* 27.436–438 and *Iliad* 23.431f.: both use the word αἰζηός, 'vigorous', to refer to the thrower, but it is an adjective in Homer and an substantive in Nonnus. Moreover, the Nonnian narrator transfers the stress from the idea of trying out one's youthful strength—πειρώμενος ἥβης—to that of the strength of the hand—βριαρῇ παλάμῃ.

This device of changing the focus of the comparison or simile is often used by the Nonnian narrator to present the Homeric vignette from another angle and to complement the very short narrative begun in Homer, as happens with the simile of the mother chasing a fly from her sleeping child, which is used in

the *Iliad* at 4.130 f. about Athena turning an arrow away from Menelaus and by the Nonnian narrator at 29.85–87 in the same context, but this time involving Aphrodite and Hymenaeus. The Homeric simile focuses on the sleeping child, that is to say, on the helplessness of the warrior targeted by the arrow:

> (…) ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ
> παιδὸς ἐέργῃ μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἡδέι λέξεται ὕπνῳ
>
> (…) "as when a mother
> brushes a fly away from her child who is lying in sweet sleep"—

whereas the Nonnian variant is concerned with the action of the mother:

> (…) ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ
> παιδὸς ἔτι κνώσσοντος ἀλήμονα μυῖαν ἐλάσσῃ,
> ἠρέμα φάρεος ἄκρον ἐπαιθύσσουσα προσώπῳ.
>
> (…) as when a mother drives off a vagrant fly from her sleeping child, fanning his face with a corner of her robe.

The Homeric image is complemented and the narratee is now shown how the mother chased the fly using her dress, a touching detail which adds to the everyday-like character of the scene. As is his custom, the Nonnian narrator develops the image by adding adjectives describing the fly and the child.

Following this tendency, he can also expand a Homeric short simile into a longer one. When Paion heals Ares' wound, his action is compared to that of the fig juice curdling milk at *Iliad* 5.902–904:

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν
> ὑγρὸν ἐόν, μάλα δ' ὦκα περιτρέφεται κυκόωντι,
> ὣς ἄρα καρπαλίμως ἰήσατο θοῦρον Ἄρηα.
>
> As when the juice of the fig in white milk rapidly fixes that which was fluid before and curdles quickly for one who stirs it; in such speed as this he healed violent Ares.

The Nonnian narrator proposes his own version of this simile at 29.157–161:

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς ταχυεργός, ἐπειγόμενος γάλα πῆξαι,
> χιονέης κυκόων ἀπαμείρεται ὑγρὸν ἐέρσης,

ὄφρά μιν ἐντύνειε πεπηγμένον αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ
κυκλώσας ταλάροιο τύπῳ, τροχοειδέι ταρσῷ·
ὣς ὅ γε φοίνιον ἕλκος ἀκέσσατο Φοιβάδι τέχνῃ·

As the quickworking figjuice that curdles milk in a trice, mixes with the white liquid and takes away its wet, when a goatherd prepares to compress the stuff in the shape of a cheese-basket on a round mat, so quickly he made the bleeding wound whole by Phoibos' art.

Here he gives a much more precise image, mentioning the definite character of the goatherd instead of the indefinite person of the Homeric participle, and dwelling on the process of cheese-making at a length which draws the narratee's attention further away from the narrative.[19]

Thus these examples illustrate how the Nonnian narrator adapts, rather than copies, Homeric similes as he inserts them in his own epic. A. James writes: "Whereas Nonnus has much greater genuine creativity than Quintus, he is less scrupulous about taking over phrases verbatim from Homer."[20] But rather than phrases, it is the subject matter which he borrows from Homer, before rewriting them in his own flowery style, and matching them to different characters or contexts, so as to create striking images for narratees unfamiliar with Homer, and a pleasant game of imitation and variation for those who are.

19 Incidentally, the focus on the preparation of food in this simile is reminiscent of the passage concerning the meal Brongos served to Dionysus at 17.57–58, with the following echoes: πεπηγμένον ~ νεοπηγέα, ταλάροιο ~ ταλάροις, τροχοειδέι ~ τροχόεντα. Brongos is compared to Molorchos, another mortal who served a meal to Heracles, a story told by Callimachus in book 3 of the *Aitia* (fr. 55–59 Pfeiffer). In his note to *Dionysiaca* 17.52 ff., B. Gerlaud (1994) lists similarities between the wording of the Nonnian Brongos scene and fragments of the *Aitia* and the *Hecale*, which indicate, according to him, the Nonnian narrator's wish to make conspicuous his Callimachean inspiration. Th. Gelzer (1958, 177–178) writes: "The description of Theseus' visit to Hecale was considered very successful in Late Antiquity and often imitated by other poets (…). The *Hecale* became very famous and was read, copied, paraphrased and commented on up to the thirteenth century A.D." It is likely that the Nonnian narrator is following this trend in the passages quoted above. Furthermore, the meal served by Philemon and Baucis to Jupiter and Mercury is described at length in Ov. *Met.* 8.640–678, with only a short mention of cheese at 666: *lactis massa coacti*. The Pseudo-Virgilian *Moretum* is another example poetry concerned with the preparation of a meal, although cheese appears there only as an ingredient.

20 James 1969, 78.

2.3 *Natural Elements in Nonnian Comparisons and Similes. An Innovative Inversion*

Two cases of Nonnian originality stand out in book 2. In earlier epic and in the *Dionysiaca*, most of the comparisons and similes use elements of the cosmos as parallels for the more human elements: for example in the *Iliad*, a veil shines like stars at 6.295, the spears of the sleeping warriors flash like thunderbolts at 10.154; many more examples could be given. However, in two occurrences, the Nonnian narrator creates comparisons which achieve the opposite effect, that is, they describe elements of the cosmos through a parallel with human, everyday-like items. The first is at 2.188–190:

> καὶ πυρὰ πάντοθεν ἦεν, ἐπεὶ φλόγες αἴθοπες ἄστρων
> καὶ νύχιοι λαμπτῆρες ἀκοιμήτοιο Σελήνης
> ὡς δαΐδες σελάγιζον
>
> Watchfires were all around: for the blazing flames of the stars, and the nightly lamp of unresting Selene, sparkled like torches.

The second is at 2.199 f.:

> καὶ δοκίδες μάρμαιρον ἐπήλυδες, οἷα δὲ μακροὶ
> ἠερόθεν τανύοντο δοκοὶ
>
> Stray meteors were also shining, like long rafters stretching across the sky.

By reducing stars and comets to torches and rafters, the narrator plays with the cosmic setting of the Typhonomachy. In this nightly interruption of the fight, he shows the entire world as a great house, peopled with constellations and personified stars,[21] underlining how the battle between Zeus and Typhon is shaking the whole world as it could shake a house. In addition, the comparison of the fires with torches plays with the Homeric one at *Iliad* 8.555–556, which likens the camp fires of the Achaeans to stars. The Nonnian image is reversed: the sky mirrors the earth, rather than the earth the sky.

Another similar reversal occurs at 2.371–377, where Typhon is building fortifications by piling rocks and cliffs on top of one another:

---

21 See 2.170–205.

ἦν δὲ κορυσσομένης στρατιῆς τύπος

It looked like an army preparing for battle.

This echoes *Iliad* 16.212–215, where the rank of the army close together as a man fortifies the walls of his house by lining it with rocks. The echo is underlined by the Nonnian narrator's imitation of *Iliad* 16.215:

ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ

For shield leaned on shield, helmet on helmet, man against man

at *Dion.* 2.375–376:

(…) ἀγχιφανὴς γὰρ
ῥωγάδα ῥωγὰς ἔρειδε, λόφος λόφον, αὐχένα δ' αὐχήν·

For side by side bluff pressed hard on bluff, tor upon tor, ledge upon ledge.

This Homeric echo, here too, underlines the cosmic aspect of the fight, where even natural elements are made to take part. Geological vocabulary is used instead of names of arms and men, as the Nonnian narrator recreates the effect of the Homeric passage in the context of the Typhonomachy.

3 To Conclude

This overview of the narrator-text comparisons and similes in the *Dionysiaca* shows how the Nonnian narrator appropriates the Homeric heritage from previous epic poems to create his own images and parallels. His most striking innovation in the use of comparative devices is the renewal of their purpose: instead of providing glimpses of a contrasting world, they expand the narrative with allusions to other myths and to the *Iliad*. They participate in the Nonnian cumulative style, where comparisons, like adjectives, complement the main narrative so as to create colourful vignettes. Finally, the cleverness with which Nonnus inserts Homeric references and themes in his poem gives them a new meaning in the different context. In doing so, he illustrates his narrative in a way which provides both the variety of scenes taken from a world external to that of the *Dionysiaca*, and the pleasure of recognizing elements taken from Homer and reworked in the Nonnian style.

However, not all the comparisons and similes of the *Dionysiaca* are taken from Homer. Some are drawn from the narrator's own world, as is the case of the simile likening an Indian peeping through bushes to an actor wearing a mask at 22.57–66, which, according to N. Hopkinson, "ferait allusion à une pratique de son temps, bien attestée surtout au VIème siècle: la déclamation par un récitant unique d'un monologue ou d'un dialogue."[22] The same goes for the second half of the simile at 34.255–258, in which Morrheus herds Bacchants inside the city like shepherds encircling their sheep and joining hands to regroup them, "procédé pittoresque que Nonnus a pu observer."[23] Such similes are not omnitemporal—unlike the ones referring to the brightness of the moon or the swiftness of birds—since they are best understood by a narratee who would be contemporary, so to speak, to the narrator. This underlines how, in the *Dionysiaca*, the narrator cannot be completely separated from the poet: he is rooted in a specific time period, which seeps through the narrative through devices such as comparisons and similes.

22 Hopkinson 1994b, 232 *ad* 22.60–63.

23 Gerlaud 2005, 220 *ad* 34.255–258. He adds that large herds of sheep must have been numerous in Egypt and Asia Minor in the time of Nonnus.

CHAPTER 6

What a Wonder! Looking through the Text-Internal Observer's Eyes in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*

*Berenice Verhelst**

Direct speech is—without any doubt—an essential feature of epic poetry. The high percentage of speech and the central role of long and decisive conversations in the storyline are well-known characteristics of Homer's *Iliad* (45 % of speech) and *Odyssey* (67.7 %).[1] Unique in many ways, the *Dionysiaca*, however, also differs considerably from other Greek epic poetry in this particular aspect. In no other epic poem so many different characters raise their voices.[2] With his 35.6 % speech ratio, Nonnus seems closer to the Homeric balance of speech and narrator text than Apollonius (*Argonautica* 29.4 %) or Quintus (*Posthomerica* 23.6 %), but this high percentage is only due to the great length of his fewer, but more elaborated speeches, which makes it perhaps more justified to call Nonnus the least Homeric of all Greek epicists.[3] The statistic prevalence

* I want to thank the organizers of the conference Nonnus of Panopolis in Context II, who are also the editors of this volume, for their kind invitation to present a first draft of this paper and later to contribute to the conference proceedings. When citing the *Dionysiaca* I use the Greek text as it is printed in the Budé edition (Vian et al., 1976–2006), the English translation is by the hand of Rouse (1940) and has been adapted when necessary.

1 All counts and calculations in this article are based on my own research. For a full account of statistical data on speech in Greek epic poetry, see Verhelst 2016. The percentages for Homer also correspond to those calculated by De Jong 1987 and Beck 2005. For the *Odyssey*, some scholars still use the figures of Schneidewin 1884, who does not consider the long narrative of Odysseus in Hom. *Od.* 9–12 as speech and therefore counts only 56 %.

2 The *Dionysiaca* has 124 individual speaking characters for 305 speeches on the first level of the narration (embedded speeches are not counted in the calculations in this article); most of them (84) are one-time speakers. Compared with: the *Iliad* (88 speakers, 678 speeches), *Odyssey* (66 speakers for 546 speeches), *Argonautica* (46 speakers, 143 speeches) and *Posthomerica* (70 speakers, 175 speeches).

3 In relation to the length of his work Nonnus has fewer (first level) speeches than any of his predecessors. There is a speech for every 23 lines in the *Iliad*, every 40 in the *Argonautica*, every 50 in the *Posthomerica*, but only for every 69 in the *Dionysiaca*. His speeches, on the other hand, are much longer. The average speech length in the *Iliad* is 10.4 lines, in the *Argonautica* 12 lines, in the *Posthomerica* 11.9 and in the *Dionysiaca* 24.5. The *Odyssey* is in

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_008

of monologues (often without an audience) over dialogues (with a maximum of three speeches per dialogue), moreover, characterizes the *Dionysiaca* as an epic in which the action is not driven forward by the conversations between the characters, but, by contrast, is delayed every time a long monologue is pronounced.[4]

In this article, I want to draw attention to a frequently occurring type of speech in the *Dionysiaca* and its function in the narrative: speeches by characters, who are commenting on the main storyline of the poem, rather than participating in it, and often—as was already noted by Peter Krafft—seem to be introduced in the narrative with the sole purpose of delivering their speech before disappearing again.[5] The marked presence throughout the poem of characters who are introduced to observe and comment on the events is, in my opinion, a significant indicator of the difference, with regard to the presentation of the story, between the more traditional epic narrator and the narrator of the *Dionysiaca*.

The four speeches which are selected for analysis in this article are remarkable for their similarity. Just like, in book 1, an anonymous Achaean sailor, struck by wonder at the strange sight of the abduction of Europa, tries to guess the identity of the maiden and the bull (1.93–124); so also, in book 4, an anonymous passenger of Cadmus' ship, amazed by the beauty of the ship's owner and his female companion, expresses several hypotheses for their identities (4.238–246); and, in book 7, a local naiad, in astonishment about the beauty of the nakedly bathing Semele, tries to interpret this marvellous sight (7.226–254). The fourth speech markedly differs from the other three in that not an

---

these calculations not included because the long narrative speeches of Odysseus in books 9–12 would have too big an influence on the averages.

4 78% of all (first level) speeches in the *Dionysiaca* are not part of a conversation (cf. *Iliad* 33%, *Argonautica* 24%, *Posthomerica* 43%). The longest conversations in Nonnus consist of three speeches (see also Vian 2003, 42; cf. *Iliad*: conversations of up to 13 speeches, *Argonautica* and *Posthomerica*: of up to 7). See also String 1966, 6 and Wifstrand 1933, 141–142: "Wie anders ist sonst alles bei dem Panopolitaner! Längere Gespräche kommen nirgends vor, Rede und Gegenrede selten; die meisten Reden sind pathetische Gefühlsausbrüche mit oder ohne Zuhörer, oft an Abwesende gerichtet, an die Natur, an Tiere."

5 Krafft 1973, 111–112: "Während die einen von Personen gesprochen werden, die an der Erzählhandlung direkt oder mittelbar Anteil haben, (…) fallen andere Selbstäußerungen eigens zu diesem Zweck eingeführten und sofort nach der Erfüllung dieser Sprecherrolle wieder verschwindenden Figuren zu. Dienen die Monologe der ersten Gruppe zwar nicht mehr der Handlung, aber doch der Darstellung des Affekts von Personen, (…) so sind jene der zweiten Gruppe nun vollends auf außerhalb der Erzählhandlung stehende πρόσωπα verlagert und somit schon aufgrund ihrer Sprecher aus dieser herausgelöst."

anonymous character, but Dionysus, the poem's protagonist, is now adopting the observer's perspective. Dionysus in 47.275–294 is puzzled at the sight of Ariadne sleeping and tries to identify her, uttering several hypotheses.

The analysis of these four speeches will also lead to a discussion of the role of these observing and commenting characters as mediators between the story of the *Dionysiaca* and its recipient, the reader, who is made to look at the beautiful characters of the mythological world through the eyes of the text-internal observer.

The Voice of the Text-Internal Observer in Nonnus

In his article "Erzählung und Psychagogie in Nonnos' Dionysiaka", Peter Krafft made an interesting distinction between the speeches of the main characters of the *Dionysiaca* and the speeches of minor characters, often also anonymous figures (soldiers, nymphs and satyrs).[6] Krafft argues that, generally, the monologues ("Selbstäußerungen") of the main characters in the *Dionysiaca* are a means of characterization, illustrating the character's ethos, for which he refers to the rhetorical practice of writing ethopoeae,[7] and subsequently pronounces his doubt whether the monologues of minor characters, who disappear immediately after their speech, can also be connected to this aim of characterization.[8] After a brief discussion of a number of examples in Nonnus, Krafft concludes with the hypothesis that these speeches are, above all, means to characterize the scene and the feelings it has to provoke:

---

6 Krafft 1973, 109–132.

7 Krafft 1973, 112 states that the many monologues of the main characters (he uses Dionysus' own amorous complaints in books 16, 42 and 48 as an example), have their "Eigeninteresse" of a "zum Selbstzweck gewordenen rhetorischen Ethopoiie". They help to characterize the protagonists of the poem: "Wie der Rhetor das ἦθος einer Person oder eines Menschentypus (…) in einer bestimmten Situation, so will der Epiker mit solchen Monologen die Empfindungen *einer durch ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Handlung interessierenden Person* in einem bestimmte Moment dieser Handlung porträtieren" (my emphasis). On ethopoeae in Nonnus and the broader context of late antique hexametric poetry, see also Agosti 2005 and Miguélez Cavero 2008, 316–340.

8 Krafft 1973, 112: "Ob jedoch die gänzlich außerhalb des Geschehens stehenden Sprecherrollen, denen Nonnos nicht wenige Monologe zuweist, bedeutend genug sind, um eine Darstellung ihres èthos nicht in einer Situation, sondern allenfalls bei deren Anblick mit Hilfe einer Selbstäußerung zu rechtfertigen, erscheint hingegen fraglich."

> Dienen somit für die erzählte Handlung funktionslose, auf die handelnden Personen nicht einwirkende Szenen und Aussprüche—sei es exponierend, sei es ausmalend—der Färbung, Stimmung, Bedeutung, d.h. im weiteren Sinne dem ἦθος der jeweils erzählten Begebenheit, so dürfte die Hypothese erlaubt sein, daß auch längere 'Selbstäußerungen' in den *Dionysiaka*—sofern sie ad hoc eingeführten Sprecherrollen statt am Geschehen Beteiligten übertragen sind—weniger der Expektoration des an sich und für die Handlung bedeutungslosen Sprechenden als vielmehr der Charakterisierung einer Situation wegen entworfen wurden.[9]

Whereas Krafft only provides a few examples to support his theory,[10] it is possible to take his observations as a starting point for a broader survey. Three main types of observing and commenting characters could be discerned, although the boundaries between the categories are sometimes very thin.

(1.) Anonymous characters (ἀορίστων προσώπων)
(2.) Named characters (ὡρισμένων προσώπων)
 (a.) Mythological characters
 (b.) Deities

Regarding the first group, it is important to know that there is a large group (27 in total) of anonymous speaking characters in the *Dionysiaca*. These can be roughly divided into two subgroups. Either they speak as representatives of a larger crowd which, as a crowd, takes part in the action. Their speeches can in this case best be compared with the Homeric τις-speeches as described by Irene de Jong, representing the opinion of the masses.[11] Or, which is more interesting

9 Krafft 1973, 123.

10 Krafft mentions the speech of Nicaea in the Aura-episode (48.814–826), Semele's comments after her apotheosis (9.208–242, 10.129–136), Aphrodite's reaction to the Chalcomede episode (35.164–183), various speeches by suddenly appearing nymphs (2.98–108, 2.113–162, 7.226–254, 22.90–113, 22.392–401, 42.100–107, 48.522–526) and the speech of Hera commenting on Zeus' metamorphosis in a bull (1.326–343).

11 Of the 28 anonymous speaking characters, six are soldiers in the Indian or Bacchic army (14.419–437, 23.79–103, 28.144–149, 29.52–67, 34.236–246 and 35.37–77), one is part of the group of Indian women in the city under siege (24.201–212) and one is part of the group of Attic farmers in the company of Icarius (47.78–103). There are, however, some important differences between the Homeric τις-speeches as described by De Jong 1987a and the more elaborate anonymous speeches in Nonnus, in which the speaking character is much more individualized.

for my approach, they speak as outsiders and do not participate in the story in which they suddenly appear in order to deliver a speech which has no influence on the plot. I have found thirteen such examples in Nonnus.[12]

The second category of speakers differs from the first in that the speakers are named. When following the distinction made by Hermogenes (*Progymnasmata* 20.19–21.5) for ethopoeae, the speeches from the first category can be compared to ἠθοποιίαι ἀορίστων προσώπων (ethopoeae of indefinite characters or type-characters) and the speeches from the second category consequently can be compared to ἠθοποιίαι ὡρισμένων προσώπων (ethopoeae of historical or mythological characters).

Mythological characters such as Galatea (6.319–324), Alpheus (6.346–365) and Niobe (14.274–282) appear without any introduction in the story and react to the situations from their personal perspective and mythological background—which is the most important difference between their speeches and the speeches of anonymous outsiders. I have counted six such examples.[13]

The developments in the plot are not only commented upon by humans, nymphs and satyrs, but also by a number of divinities. Their position in the sky or on the Olympus gives them an overview of all things happening on earth. They are not outsiders, but actively participating characters who however, for the time being, merely observe. They mockingly comment on the misfortune of their adversaries and boast of the successes of their favourites without intervening. Six examples can be counted.[14]

---

12 These are: 1.93–124 (Achaean sailor), 2.98–108 (Hamadryad), 2.113–162 (Hamadryad), 3.103–122 (Crow), 4.238–246 (Passenger), 7.226–254 (Naiad), 10.280–286 (Satyr), 16.312–319 (Satyr), 22.392–401 (Naiad), 36.259–270 (someone watching the battle), 42.100–107 (Naiad), 47.498–532 (inhabitant of Argos) and 48.522–526 (Hamadryad). Very similar in several ways is also the speech by an anonymous Hamadryad to Dionysus (22.90–113), but her speech (a.) is also actually heard by Dionysus and (b.) has a clear influence on the plot. Therefore her speech is not included in my count.

13 These are: 6.302–317 (Pan), 6.319–324 (Galatea), 6.346–365 (Alpheus), 14.274–282 (Niobe), 16.231–243 (Melie) and 16.321–338 (Pan). Only the speech by Melie, an otherwise unknown nymph (see Gerlaud 2003, 95), does not refer to any mythological story connected to the character. She could just as well be left anonymous. Very similar is also the speech by Psamathe (43.361–371), a suddenly appearing nymph, popping up out of the sea. However, (a.) she is heard by Zeus and (b.) her request is granted, with a clear influence on the plot. Therefore her speech is not included in my count.

14 These are: 1.326–343 (Hera), 4.216–225 (Selene), 9.208–242 (Semele), 10.129–136 (Semele), 35.164–183 (Aphrodite) and 39.273–291 (Poseidon). The speech of Poseidon is the odd one out in this list. He is not watching from above, but bursts out of the water with his trident, accompanied by Nereids.

Parallels can, of course, be found in the poems of Nonnus' epic predecessors, but are much rarer. A good example of the category of the anonymous observers is the by-passing sailor in *Posthomerica* 13.409–414, watching and commenting on the fires of the fallen city of Troy.[15] The *Argonautica* counts two instances, both of which are closely imitated by Nonnus. The mocking advice to Jason by a crow in *Argonautica* 3.932–937 is paralleled in Nonn. *Dion.* 3.103–122; the gloating of Selene in *Argonautica* 4.57–65 is imitated in Nonn. *Dion.* 4.216–225.[16] In the case of the divine observers, there is, indeed, also the example of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in which the gods are repeatedly mentioned to watch the battle on earth below. As argued by Helen Lovatt, their viewing presence has even got a structural function in the transition between episodes. "Following the gaze of the gods", the epic narrative "turns away from one object to another".[17] However, the Homeric gods rarely raise their voices without intervening, which is in contrast with the divine observers in Nonnus.[18]

Common to all examples is that there is no contact between the observing characters and the protagonists of the episode on which they comment, although the protagonists are often addressed with apostrophes.[19] In most examples the only audience of the speech is, therefore, the narratee or reader of the poem. In other cases there is a pair or a group of observing characters, who mutually interact and converse.[20]

In my lecture of 2013, I have suggested to call this distinctive type of speeches in Nonnus "ecphrastic ethopoeae", because of the emphasis on sensory—espe-

---

15 This speech could be regarded as a parallel for the speech of the sailor in the Europa episode in Nonnus (1.93–124, see below). See also Whitby 1994, 114: "Three of the four cases in which he (Quintus) diverges markedly (metrically) from Homer occur in a single speech by an anonymous sailor which foreshadows the ethopoeitic type of speech already observed in Nonnus' treatment of the Europa story."

16 See also Chuvin 1976, 6–8 and 43–44; Vian 2008, 302–307.

17 Lovatt 2013, 29. For a complete discussion of the "divine gaze" in epic poetry see Lovatt 2013, 29–77.

18 I have found only one example in the *Iliad* in which the gods observe and discuss the situation below without intervening in one or another way: the conversation between Zeus (18.357–359) and Hera in book 18 (18.361–367).

19 Sometimes it is not entirely clear whether the addressed protagonist can actually hear the speech, but the narrator in any case does not mention any reaction.

20 On three occasions there is a short dialogue between two commenting characters: two Hamadryads (2.98–108 and 2.113–162), Pan and Galatea (6.302–317 and 6.319–324), Satyr and Pan (16.312–319 and 16.321–338). Elsewhere, the presence of an interlocutor is mentioned, but there is no reaction in direct speech: Alpheus addresses Pyramus and Nile (36.346–365); Aphrodite addresses Ares (35.164–183).

cially visual—perception, which is most often present in these speeches.[21] With the term "ecphrastic" I also want to point out the connection with the rhetorical theory on *ekphrasis*, on which I will draw in my analysis. Whereas 'ethopoea', of course, refers to the practice of speechwriting 'in character', as it was taught to the students in rhetorical schools, I also want to use the term to discuss the function of these speeches in the epic narrative of Nonnus. They could be seen as breaks in the narrative sequence, spoken by characters who are introduced at that point of the narrative only to deliver their speech. But are they merely rhetorical exercises?

In some cases the break in the narrative, brought about by the insertion of such a speech, can be seen as a device to create suspense. In the case of the speech of Aphrodite in 35.164–183, for example, the finale of the Morrheus and Chalcomede episode (books 33–35) is delayed. Krafft's observation that these speeches contribute to the characterization of the situation to which they react, reveals, in my opinion, also an important factor. They offer an outsider's perspective on the events in the poem and could be seen as an invitation to the reader to react and interpret the events in his turn.

Observing Known Characters through Ignorant Eyes

A common factor in the four speeches selected for closer analysis in this article is the strong emphasis on visual perception, both in the speeches themselves and in their immediate context. Strictly speaking, only the first three, however, belong to the type of speech described, and are, more specifically, pronounced by anonymous characters, who only appear in the poem a few lines before the start of their speech and disappear immediately afterwards.

a *On Europa (1.93–124)*

The story of Zeus and Europa, in the opening section of the *Dionysiaca*, immediately reveals a clear focus on the perspective of the text-internal observer. After a short description of the abduction (1.45–57) the focus shifts from Zeus, Europa and Eros to the onlookers of their sea voyage. We are told about the amazement of Poseidon and Nereus (1.60, 64), the musical reply of Triton to Zeus' bellowing (1.61–63), the jealousy of Boreas (1.69–71) and the righteous

21 There is a reference to a visual impulse in the introductory lines of the speech in 1.90, 1.324, 2.112, 4.213, 4.237, 6.300, 6.344, 7.224, 10.126, 10.278, 14.273, 16.311, 35.161 and 42.98.

indignation of Pallas (1.183–185).[22] This elaboration of the viewer's perspective reaches its culmination in the long speech of wonder of the anonymous Achaean sailor (1.93–124) looking in amazement at the strange tableau and trying to guess the identities of both the girl and the bull. In the second part of the story of Europa (1.321–361),[23] the speech by the sailor, finally, is given a counterpart in the sarcastic comments of Hera (1.326–343, an example of a divine comment), who sees her unfaithful husband from afar in his bovine disguise and vents her spleen.

Both the subject of Nonnus' opening section and its presentation largely through the eyes of spectators bring to mind the opening section of Achilles Tatius' novel *Leucippe and Clitophon* in which an elaborate *ekphrasis* is given of a painting of the same story.[24] Whereas in Achilles Tatius the narrator describes a painting of Europa and the bull, the observing characters in Nonnus are part of the seascape and see the real Europa and Zeus. And whereas in Achilles Tatius the narrator right from the start defines the painting as one of Europa (1.1.2: Εὐρώπης ἡ γραφή) and interprets it accordingly, the Achaean sailor in Nonnus has no idea who he is looking at, but reveals himself as an industrious interpreter of what he sees.[25]

22 A parallel for such a multitude of onlookers in Nonnus can be found in 39.251–272, preceding a spectator's speech by Poseidon (39.273–291). In both cases the onlookers are (mainly) marine deities.

23 From 1.137 to 1.320 the first part of the Typhonomachy is related.

24 Details of the description in both authors indicate that Nonnus must have used *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Robert Shorrock (2001, 34) has even raised the idea that Nonnus does not coincidently start off his narrative with the Europa story, but that Europa, with reference to both Achilles Tatius 1.1 and Herodotus 1.1, appropriately marks a beginning. See also Vian 1976, 16: "Pour orner sa composition, Nonnos a sûrement utilisé Moschos et Achille Tatios, peut-être aussi Lucien." Detailed references are listed in Vian's notes (1976, 137–142); especially the comparison of the bull with a boat (at Nonn. *Dion.* 1.66 ~ Ach. Tat. 1.1.12) is a convincing detail. See also the notes ad loc. in Gigli Piccardi 2003, 128–138. For the role of the Europa *ekphrasis* in Achilles Tatius, see Reeves 2007.

25 Compare also 1.57–59 (Ἰδὼν δέ μιν ἢ τάχα φαίης / ἢ Θέτιν ἢ Γαλάτειαν ἢ εὐνέτιν Ἐννοσιγαίου / ἢ λοφιῇ Τρίτωνος ἐφεζομένην Ἀφροδίτην. "If you saw her you would think it was Thetis perhaps, or Galateia, or Earthshaker's bedfellow, or Aphrodite seated on a Triton's neck"), a series of possible identifications for Europa, put in the mouth of a person addressed by the narrator in the second person singular. For an interpretation of these lines (and similar examples) as an address to the narratee of the *Dionysiaca*, see Geisz 2013, 137–167, especially 150–153. Camille Geisz compares these lines to the speech of the sailor and concludes that the

“Ὀφθαλμοί, τί τὸ θαῦμα; πόθεν ποσὶ κύματα τέμνων	
νήχεται ἀτρυγέτοιο δι’ ὕδατος ἀγρονόμος βοῦς;	
Μὴ πλωτὴν Κρονίδης τελέει χθόνα; Μὴ διὰ πόντου	
ὑγρὸς ἁλιβρέκτοιο χαράσσεται ὁλκὸς ἁμάξης;—	
Παπταίνω κατὰ κῦμα νόθον πλόον. Ἦ ῥα Σελήνη	*– Selene?*
ἄζυγα ταῦρον ἔχουσα μετ’ αἰθέρα πόντον ὁδεύει;	but: single bull, no yoke, sea
Ἀλλὰ Θέτις βυθίη διερὸν δρόμον ἡνιοχεύει;	*– Thetis?*
Οὐ βοΐ χερσαίῳ τύπον εἴκελον εἰνάλιος βοῦς	but: no sea-bull but land-bull
ἔλλαχεν—ἰχθυόεν γὰρ ἔχει δέμας—, ἀντὶ δὲ γυμνῆς	but: not naked, long robe
ἀλλοφανὴς ἀχάλινον ἐν ὕδασι πεζὸν ὁδίτην	
Νηρεΐς ἑλκεσίπεπλος ἀήθεα ταῦρον ἐλαύνει.	
Εἰ πέλε Δημήτηρ σταχυηκόμος, ὑγροπόρῳ δὲ	*– Demeter?*
γλαυκὰ διασχίζει βοέῳ ποδὶ νῶτα θαλάσσης,	but: ploughing sea instead of land
καὶ σὺ βυθοῦ μετὰ κῦμα, Ποσειδάων, μετανάστης	
γαίης δίψια νῶτα μετέρχεο πεζὸς ἀροτρεύς,	
νηὶ θαλασσαίῃ Δημήτερος αὔλακα τέμνων,	
χερσαίοις ἀνέμοισι βατὸν πλόον ἐν χθονὶ τεύχων.—	
(110–117: on the paradoxical nature of the scene)	
Ἀλλὰ πόθεν μεθέπεις τινὰ παρθένον; Ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτοὶ	
ταῦροι ἐρωμανέοντες ἀφαρπάζουσι γυναῖκας;	
Ἦ ῥα Ποσειδάων ἀπατήλιος ἥρπασε κούρην	*– Poseidon?*
ταυρείην κερόεσσαν ἔχων ποταμηίδα μορφήν;	
μὴ δόλον ἄλλον ὕφαινε πάλιν μετὰ δέμνια Τυροῦς,	
ὡς καὶ χθιζὰ τέλεσσεν, ὅθ’ ὑδατόεις παρακοίτης	
χεύμασι μιμηλοῖσι νόθος κελάρυζεν Ἐνιπεύς;”	

‘O my eyes, what’s this miracle? How comes it that he cuts the waves with his legs, and swims over the barren sea, this land-pasturing bull? Navigable earth—is that the new creation of Cronides? Shall the farmer’s wain trace a watery rut through the brine-sprent deep? That’s a bastard voyage I descry upon the waves! Surely Selene has gotten an unruly bull, and

character of the sailor can be seen as “the equivalent, on the level of the diegesis, to what the narratee is on the level of the enunciation” (2013, 152). He is “a character version of the narratee” (2013, 153).

> leaves the sky to traipse over the high seas! Or no—deepwater Thetis drives a coach on a floating racecourse! A sea-bull does, however, not resemble a land-bull, for it has a fishlike shape; This Nereïd with other looks, not naked now, but in long flowing robes, drives this unaccustomed bull unbridled to march afoot on the waters![26] If it is Demeter wheaten-haired, cleaving the gray back of the sea with waterfaring oxhoof, then thou, Poseidon, must have turned landlubber and migrated to the thirsty back of earth, afoot behind the plow, and cut Demeter's furrow with thy sea-vessel, blown by land-winds, tramping a voyage on the soil! (…) But how came you to have dealings with a maid? Do bulls also go mad with love, and ravish women? Has Poseidon played a trick, and ravished a girl under the shape of a horned bull like a river-god? Has he woven another plot to follow the bedding of Tyro, just as he did the other day, when the watery paramour came trickling up with counterfeit ripples like a bastard Enipeus?'

The sailor's first three hypotheses primarily try to explain the identity of the girl on the bull's back. His first guess, identifying Europa as Selene, is not very much elaborated upon. Possible counterarguments undermining the probability of the identification are already encompassed in the question introducing the hypothesis, for an identification would presume that Selene has exchanged her chariot driven by a team of oxen for a single bull (98a: ἄζυγα ταῦρον ἔχουσα) and has left the heavens for the sea (98b: μετ' αἰθέρα πόντον ὁδεύει). Following the associative logic of the speech, one can assume that the idea that Selene does not belong to the sea may have led to the second hypothesis, identifying Europa as Thetis, who is properly a sea goddess (99: βυθίη). The second hypothesis, however, brings new problems. Thetis is regularly portrayed to be riding a sea creature, but our bull is a land-bull and has no fishy tail (100–101: οὐ βοΐ χερσαίῳ τύπον εἴκελον εἰνάλιος βοῦς / ἔλλαχεν—ἰχθυόεν γὰρ ἔχει δέμας—).[27]

26 The translation by Rouse (1940) here reads "This sea-bull is a creature very different from the land-bull, has a fishlike shape; must be a Nereïd with other looks, not naked now, but in long flowing robes, driving this bull unbridled to march afoot on the waters, a new fashion that!" However, I agree with the different interpretation of these lines given in the translations by Vian (1976, 50) and Gigli Piccardi (2003, 136) and therefore I have adapted the English translation.

27 A high number of visual representations (on vases, mosaics and the like) of Nereids riding sea creatures has survived from antiquity, among which also some are riding a fish-tailed bull. See Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 1992: fine examples are the artefacts cited as numbers 30, 39, 55 and 58.

Moreover, Europa's long dress (103: ἑλκεσίπεπλος) is considered not to be fitting for a Nereid, who would be expected to be naked (101–102: ἀντὶ δὲ γυμνῆς / ἀλλοφανής).[28]

While the first two hypotheses were introduced with a question (Is it "x"? Is it "y"?), the sailor's third hypothesis is introduced in a conditional clause (if it is "z", then …). If Demeter uses the bull to plough the sea (104–105), then Poseidon must take her place on land with his νηὶ θαλασσαίῃ (108). Again, following the associative logic of the speech, one could conclude that the problem of incongruity between the Nereid and the land-bull is solved in the next hypothesis, figuring Demeter, who is associated with the (land-)bull in its agricultural function. This new interpretation, however, also raises a new problem, because Demeter and her bull belong to the land and not to the sea. Its paradoxical presence at sea is, therefore, the starting point for an elaboration contrasting agriculture and seamanship.

The emphasis on the figure of the bull in 110–117, then, finally leads to a fourth hypothesis in the final lines of the sailor's speech, now focussing on the identity of the bull, whereas Europa is—correctly—interpreted to be an abducted beauty. The sailor guesses that the bull is a metamorphosed god, but argues that it might be Poseidon because of his tauriform disguise, with a reference to his former disguise as the—equally tauriform—river god Enipeus in order to seduce Tyro.

With this fourth hypothesis the sailor comes very close to the truth, which he simply cannot know at the very moment Europa is being abducted. He looks at the event like an interpreter would look at a painting of an unknown scene, taking the identifiable elements as clues for his interpretation: decisive elements are the setting (sea, rather than sky or earth), the bull (not a sea-bull, not a team of bulls) and the clothing of the characters (Europa's long dress).

b *On Cadmus and Harmonia* (*4.238–246*)

A second, very similar example is the speech by a passenger of Cadmus' ship when he leaves Samothrace with his bride Harmonia. Cadmus, when boarding his ship, takes the precautionary action of giving his bride a place close to him

28 The same argument about the iconography of nymphs and certain goddesses as nudes is also used in the speech of Dionysus (see below). Vian judges this argument to be "(une) antithèse purement rhétorique. Europé a été figurée pendant longtemps vêtue d'une longue tunique (cf. encore Ach. Tat. 1.1.10); mais l'art tardif tend à la dénuder plus ou moins complètement. Les Néréides ont subi la même évolution." See also Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 1992 (on the Nereids) and Robertson 1988 (on Europa), from which it is clear that even this chronological distinction is difficult to make.

on the boat, because he has seen (235: ἰδών) his crew taking paying passengers aboard, which serves as an introduction for the presence of a σύμπλοος ἀνήρ (236), who, on his turn, sees the young couple (237: ὁρόων) and speaks out (4.238–246):

"Αὐτὸς Ἔρως πέλεν οὗτος ὁ ναυτίλος· οὐ νέμεσις γὰρ	*– Eros?*
υἷα τεκεῖν πλωτῆρα θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην·	yes: connection with sea
ἀλλὰ βέλος καὶ τόξον ἔχει καὶ πυρσὸν ἀείρει	but: missing attributes
βαιὸς Ἔρως πτερύγεσσι κεκασμένος· εἰσορόω δὲ	but: wings, size
ὁλκάδα Σιδονίην· δολόεις τάχα φώριος Ἄρης	*– Ares and Aphrodite?*
ἕζεται ἐν πρύμνῃσιν ἔσω Λιβάνοιο κομίζων	yes: Sidon
Ἀσσυρίην πλώουσαν ἀπὸ Θρῄκης Ἀφροδίτην.	
Ἵλαθι, μῆτερ Ἔρωτος, ἀκυμάντῳ δὲ γαλήνῃ	
πέμπε μοι ἴκμενον οὖρον ἀχείμονι μητρὶ θαλάσσῃ."	

'That sailor looks like Love himself! And no wonder that Aphrodite of the sea has a mariner son. But Eros carries bow and arrow and lifts a firebrand, he's a little one with wings on him; and this I see is a Sidonian ketch. Perhaps that is the cunning old thief Ares sitting on the poop, and carrying the Assyrian Aphrodite from Thrace into Libanos.[29] Be gracious, mother of Love! Send me a following wind in a waveless calm over your mother sea stormless!'

Just like the speech of the sailor, the speech of the passenger of Cadmus' ship is presented as an expression of wonder/θαῦμα (1.93: τί τὸ θαῦμα; cf. introductory line 4.237: ἐκεράσσατο θαύματι φωνήν). However, in this case, the situation itself—a young couple on a boat—is not miraculous; the wonder only refers to the exceptional beauty of the two protagonists, which leads the passenger to assume that they are divinities. The interpretative logic of the passenger is similar to that of the sailor. His first guess is presented as a spontaneous exclamation: "It must be Eros", after which he first argues why this is plausible (138: οὐ νέμεσις). Cadmus could be identified as Eros, for Eros is linked to the sea because of his sea-born mother Aphrodite. However, as the passenger realizes immediately afterwards, the absence of Eros' attributes (240: bow and

29 The English translation by Rouse (1940) reads: "and carrying Aphrodite into Libanos, from Thrace, whence he sailed last night." In the edition of Chuvin (1976) the reading "ἑσπερίην" (at 244) has, however been replaced by "Ἀσσυρίην", which fits better into the context. As I follow the Budé edition of the text, I have also adapted the translation here.

arrows) and physical characteristics (241: small—βαιός—and winged) plead against this identification.

Interestingly, the passenger then looks for a new visual clue (241: εἰσορόω δέ). The origin of the boat on which they are sailing is Sidon (242: ὁλκάδα Σιδονίην). As is observed by Pierre Chuvin, this can be an argument for the identification of the couple as Ares and Aphrodite, in which case the gods must have travelled from the Assyrian port of Sidon—Aphrodite's territory[30]—to Ares' territory of Samothrace,[31] and are now heading back.[32] This second hypothesis seems conclusive to the passenger, for he ends his speech with a short prayer to Aphrodite.

Although this is a less elaborate example than the speech of the sailor in book 1, the same interpretative techniques are used by the speaker to identify the visual object. The passenger mentions elements of the setting (sea, Samothrace and a boat from Sidon), attributes (absence of bow and arrow) and now also physical characteristics—for Cadmus is not young enough to be Eros. His arguments are learned but far-fetched—which leads Chuvin to describe the argumentation as "gratuit et compliqué".[33]

c *On Semele* (*7.226–254*)

The third example is again embedded in a context in which the spectator's gaze has a very central position, for Zeus' love for Semele is in book 7 first triggered by sight, as he voyeuristically observes a bathing scene. The references to sight and the insatiable pleasure of watching Semele in 7.190–221 are manifold.[34] Semele is in this passage, however, not physically described in any way. Her astonishing beauty can only be deduced from the obvious admiration of the watching Zeus. The only clue about the girl's looks is Zeus' implicit comparison with Europa (205–206: μή σχεδὸν ὄχθης / Εὐρώπην ἐνόησε τὸ δεύτερον), with whom Semele

30 See also Nonn. *Dion.* 41.97–128, in which the story of Aphrodite's birth is told with the Assyrian city of Beirut as the location of her arrival on land, explicitly opposing to the tradition in which this honour is preserved for Cyprus or Byblos. The 'true' explanation, however, for the presence of a Sidonian boat, is, of course, that Assyria is also Cadmus' fatherland (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 40.298–580: Tyre as Dionysus' ancestral city).

31 See also Nonn. *Dion.* 3.186 Θρήισσαν (…) Σάμον, Ἄρεος ἕδρην: "Samothrace, the seat of Ares".

32 See Chuvin 1976, 159.

33 *Ibidem.*

34 An overview: 7.190: ὄμμα πανόψιον, 191: κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, 193: πατρὸς ὀπιπευτῆρος Ἔρως ἀντώπιος ἔστη, 203: ἄστατον ὄμμα, 205: ὀρόων, 214: ὀπωπῆς, 217: οὐ γὰρ ἰδεῖν μενέαινεν ἀπόπροθεν, 220: ὀφθαλμὸν περίμετρον 220–221: ὅλου θηήτορα κόσμου / ἄρκιον οὐ δοκέεσκεν ἰδεῖν μίαν ἄζυγα κούρην. On the voyeuristic gaze in Nonnus' bathing scenes, see also Winkler 1974, 1–70.

shares the same radiance (209: αἴγλη) as a family likeness (Europa is Semele's aunt, cf. 209: πατροκασιγνήτης). At 224 (ὀπιπεύουσα δὲ νύμφην), however, a second observer is announced who is briefly identified as a Naiad and immediately starts to speak. The introduction to her speech of wonder clearly recalls that of the passenger of Cadmus' ship (cf. 7.225: ἀνήρυγε θαύματι φωνήν, and 4.237: ἐκεράσσατο θαύματι φωνήν). Again, the wonder in the speaker's voice concerns the beauty of the person seen rather than the miraculous nature of the situation.

"Τίς προτέρην μετὰ Κύπριν ἀμερσιγάμῳ Κρόνος ἅρπῃ	
μήδεα πατρὸς ἔτεμνεν, ἕως πάλιν ἀφρὸς ἐχέφρων	
εἰς τόκον αὐτοτέλεστον ἄγων μορφούμενον ὕδωρ	
ὁπλοτέρην ὤδινε θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην;	*– new Aphrodite*
Μὴ ποταμὸς μετὰ πόντον ὁμοζήλοισι λοχείαις	but: river instead of sea
κύματος αὐτογόνοιο λεχώιον ὁλκὸν ἑλίσσων	
ἄλλην Κύπριν ἔτικτε, καὶ οὐχ ὑπόειξε θαλάσσῃ;	
Μὴ μία Μουσάων τις ἐμὸν πατρώιον ὕδωρ	*– one of the Muses*
γείτονος ἐξ Ἑλικῶνος ἐδύσατο; Καὶ τίνι πηγῆς	yes: vicinity
Πηγασίδος προλέλοιπε μελισταγὲς ἵππιον ὕδωρ	but: why leave the Helicon?
ἢ ῥόον Ὀλμειοῖο; Τιταινομένην δὲ ῥεέθροις	
παρθένον ἀργυρόπεζαν ἔσω ποταμοῖο δοκεύω·	
πείθομαι, ὡς ἐθέλουσα μολεῖν ἐπὶ Λάτμιον εὐνὴν	*– Selene*
εἰς λέχος Ἐνδυμίωνος, ἀκοιμήτοιο νομῆος,	yes: ἀργῠρόπεζα
λούεται Ἀονίῃσιν ἐνὶ προχοῇσι Σελήνη;	
Εἰ δὲ δέμας φαίδρυνε χάριν γλυκεροῖο νομῆος,	but: not bathing in Ocean
τί χρέος Ἀσωποῖο μετὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο;	
Εἰ δὲ καὶ αἰθερίην μεθέπει χιονώδεα μορφήν,	yes: snow-white and divine looks
Μήνης ποῖον ἔχει σημήιον; Ἀστομίων γάρ	but: team of mules instead of bulls
οὐρήων ζυγόδεσμα καὶ ἀργυρόκυκλος ἀπήνη	
αἰγιαλῷ παρέασιν, ὑποζεῦξαι δὲ λεπάδνῳ	
ἡμιόνους οὐκ οἶδε βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη.	
Εἰ δέ τις οὐρανίη θεὸς ἤλυθε—παρθενικῆς γάρ	*– Athena*
γλαυκὰ γαληναίων βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα λεύσσω—,	yes: γλαυκῶπις
καὶ τάχα Τειρεσίαο παλαιοτέρην μετὰ νείκην	but: history of Teiresias
λούσατο δέρμα βαλοῦσα πάλιν γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.	
Κούρη μὲν ῥοδόπηχυς ἔχει θεοειδέα μορφήν·	
εἰ δέ μιν ἀγλαόφορτος ἐπιχθονίη τέκε γαστήρ,	*– mortal?*
αἰθερίων Κρονίωνος ἐπάξιος ἔπλετο λέκτρων."	

> ‘Which Cronos, after the first Cypris, has now again cut his father’s loins with unmanning sickle,[35] until the foam got a mind and made the water shape itself into a selfperfected birth, delivered a younger Aphrodite from the sea? Can it be that the river has rivalled the deep with a childbirth, and rolled a torrent of self-pregnant waves to bring forth another Cypris, not to be outdone by the sea? Can it be that one of the Muses has dived from neighbouring Helicon into my native water, and left another to take the honeydripping water of Pegasos the horse, or the stream of Olmeios! I spy a silverfooted maiden stretched under the streams of my river! Can I believe Selene bathes in the Aonian waves on her way to Endymion’s bed on Latmos, the bed of a sleepless shepherd?[36] But if she has prinked herself out for her sweet shepherd, what’s the use of Asopos after the Ocean stream? And if she has a body white as the snows of heaven, what mark of the Moon has she? A team of mules unbridled and a mule-cart with silver wheels are there on the beach, but Selene knows not how to put mules to her yokestrap—she drives a team of bulls! Or if it is a goddess come down from heaven—I see a maiden’s bright eyes sparkling under the quiet eyelids, and it must be Athena Brighteyes, who throws off her cloak again to go bathing, even after her old quarrel with Teiresias.[37] This girl looks like a divine being with her rosy arms; but if she was the glorious burden of a mortal womb, she is worthy of the heavenly bed of Cronion.’

The nymph’s first hypothesis is that Semele is a second Aphrodite, which would then require a new Cronus to cut off his father’s loins to provoke a new birth (226–229). Within the speech of the nymph, however, not the highly unlikely conditions for her birth, but the setting of the scene—in a river rather than at sea—is considered an obstacle for this interpretation (230–232). The vicinity of mount Helicon (situated in Boeotia, not too far from Thebes) then leads her to the second hypothesis, identifying Semele as one the Muses (233–234). The

35 The translation by Rouse (1940) here reads: “Can it be that Cronos, after the first Cypris, again cut his father’s loins”, corresponding to “Μή προτέρην” in the Loeb edition, instead of “Τίς προτέρην” (Chuvin 1992) in line 226. I have, therefore, slightly adapted Rouse’s translation.

36 The translation of Rouse (1940) is here slightly adapted to the different punctuation (; instead of ·) in Chuvin’s edition (1992).

37 I have adapted the translation of Rouse (1940) to the different interpretation given to these lines in Chuvin 1992 and Gigli Piccardi 2003. The original English translation reads: “and it must be Athena Brighteyes bathing, when she threw the skin back at him after the old victory over Teiresias.”

question here however is why (or to whom) she has left the springs available on the Helicon itself (234–236).

Interestingly, at 236–237, the Naiad finds a new visual clue, as she suddenly sees (237: δοκεύω) the silver feet of Semele under the water. The epithet ἀργυρόπεζα is usually associated with Thetis,[38] but here it is interpreted as a clue leading to the identification with Selene. Also the identification as Selene, however, raises several objections. The first is, again, related to the setting. Just like Aphrodite, Selene would be expected to take her bath in the sea (241–242). In 243–247, an argument for and an argument against identification with Selene are contrasted. On the one hand the girl has the pale beauty of the moon goddess (243: αἰθερίην […] χιονώδεα μορφήν), on the other hand the girl's mode of transport—a team of mules—contradicts her identification as Semele, who would have arrived with a bovine team. Finally, the grey eyes of Semele (249: γλαυκὰ γαληναίων βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα) lead to a hypothetical identification with Athena (251: γλαυκῶπις), supposing, however, that she would risk it again to go bathing nakedly after her encounter with Teiresias.

The speech ends with the consideration that Semele might just as well be a mortal girl and because of her exceptional beauty a potential beloved of Zeus (253–254). Without knowing, the Naiad judges the situation remarkably well.[39] Her lucky guess could be seen as a wink to the reader, who, of course, knows what is going to happen, both from the preceding narrative, identifying the girl as Semele and describing Zeus' longing for her, and from his prior knowledge of mythology.

After this speech, the voyeuristic bathing scene is concluded with an erotic climax, when Zeus watches Semele's naked body and lets his eyes travel from one body part to another (256–265),[40] only to discreetly avert his gaze (265: ἀθηήτοιο δὲ μούνου) at the point when he is about to see the "secrets of her lap" (266: ὄργια κόλπου). Pierre Chuvin describes the function of the Naiad's speech as an artifice to postpone this scene: "L'evocation physique de Sémélé, qui forme le thème principal du passage, est retardée par l'intervention d'une

38 The epithet appears 13 times in Homer for Thetis. The nymph's 'failure' to read the obvious clue pointing at Thetis could in fact be part of a narrative strategy of Nonnus to play with the expectations of the learned reader, who is challenged to correct the nymph's interpretation. Nonnus also elsewhere (for example in 1.385–387 and 23.231–233) appeals to the reader's knowledge of epithets specifically connected to certain characters in literature.

39 See also Chuvin 1992, 81: "La conclusion est prophétique".

40 Also in these lines there is an abundance of references to viewing: 256: πάπταινε, 258: κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, 259: ὀπιπεύων, 262: σκοπίαζεν, 263: ὄπωπε, 265: πάντα δόκευεν.

Naïade anonyme."[41] By postponing the voyeuristic climax, the speech of the Naiad indeed creates tension in the narrative, although the constituents of the story are well-known to the reader.

d *On Ariadne* (*47.275–294*)

As mentioned in the introduction, my final example is an exception, even an odd one out. It is a speech by the protagonist of the *Dionysiaca*, who, upon arrival on Naxos, adopts the perspective of an amazed text-internal observer when confronted with the sleeping beauty of Ariadne.[42] The moment Dionysus sees the girl (47.272: ἀθρήσας), he feels both wonder and love (273: θαύματι μῖξεν ἔρωτα) and immediately pronounces this wonder (274: γλώσσῃ θαμβαλέῃ) in a speech to his entourage of Bacchantes, careful not to wake her up.

In her analysis of this passage, Marie-Christine Fayant refers to the iconography of the arrival of Dionysus on Naxus as a possible source of inspiration for Nonnus.[43] On paintings and mosaics, Ariadne is often portrayed asleep, when Dionysus and his attendants find her.[44] The closest literary parallel for this passage in Nonnus is, moreover, closely related to the iconography of the visual arts. Philostratus' *Imagines* 1.15 describes a painting of Ariadne, sleeping on the island, with the arrival of Dionysus and his entourage of Bacchantes and Satyrs, who are not using their usual musical instruments, in order not to wake up the sleeping girl.[45] Especially this last detail—the silence of the instruments—is a striking parallel for the Ariadne passage in Nonnus, as Dionysus in his speech repeatedly urges his companions to keep quiet.[46] Also after his speech, Diony-

---

41 Chuvin 1992, 80.

42 See also Fayant 2000, 44: "un peu comme si, momentanément, Dionysos renonçait à être propagateur de culte pour être simplement homme."

43 Fayant (2000, 53) gives the example of a painting in Athens, described by Pausanias (1.20.3), but concludes that the similarities with the iconography of the story cannot prove that Nonnus used a visual representation as a model.

44 See Daszewski and Bernhard 1986, 1060–1064, for a general overview of the iconography of this famous scene. See also Elsner 2007 for the Ariadne iconography in Roman wall paintings (compared to Catullus 64).

45 The similarity was already noticed by Keydell (1932, 196–197), who raised the hypothesis that Nonnus in this passage is influenced by the genre of *ekphrasis*. See also Fayant (2000, 53), who does not agree with Keydell because of the scarcity of descriptive details in Nonnus' version of the story ("on ne peut guère parler de description").

46 Compare 47.275–276 and 291–292 with Philostratus, *Imagines* 1.15.2: καὶ οὐδὲ κυμβάλοις αἱ Βάκχαι χρῶνται νῦν οὐδὲ οἱ Σάτυροι αὐλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Πὰν κατέχει τὸ σκίρτημα, ὡς μὴ διαλύσειε τὸν ὕπνον τῆς κόρης, "and the Bacchantes are not clashing their cymbals now, nor

sus maintains his role as an observing character: he only makes his presence known after Ariadne's lamenting monologue (47.275–294).

"Βασσαρίδες, μὴ ῥόπτρα τινάξατε, μὴ κτύπος ἔστω	
ἢ ποδὸς ἢ σύριγγος· ἐάσσατε Κύπριν ἰαύειν.—	*– Aphrodite?*
Ἀλλ' οὐ κεστὸν ἔχει σημάντορα Κυπρογενείης.	but: no cestus
Πείθομαι, ὡς δολόεντι Χάρις νυμφεύεται Ὕπνῳ·	*– Pasithea?*
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἔλαμψε καὶ ἐγγύθι φαίνεται Ἠώς,	
Πασιθέην εὕδουσαν ἐγείρατε. Τίς παρὰ Νάξῳ,	but: not naked
τίς Χάριν ἐχλαίνωσεν ἀνείμονα;—Μὴ πέλεν Ἥβη;	*– Hebe?*
Ἀλλὰ δέπας μακάρων τίνι κάλλιπε;—Μὴ παρὰ πόντῳ	but: no cup
κέκλιται αἰγλήεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη;	*– Selene?*
καὶ πόθεν Ἐνδυμίωνος ἐθήμονος ἐκτὸς ἰαύει;—	but: no Endymion
Μὴ Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖσι δοκεύω;	*– Thetis?*
Ἀλλ' οὐ γυμνὸν ἔχει ῥοδόεν δέμας.—Εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν,	but: not naked
Ναξιὰς Ἰοχέαιρα πόνων ἀμπαύεται ἄγρης,	*– Artemis?*
θηροφόνους ἱδρῶτας ἀποσμήξασα θαλάσσῃ·	yes: sleep after hunt
τίκτει γὰρ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀεὶ πόνος. Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ λόχμῃ	
Ἄρτεμιν ἑλκεχίτωνα τίς ἔδρακε;—Μίμνετε, Βάκχαι·	but: long robe
στῆθι, Μάρων· μὴ δεῦρο χορεύσατε· λῆγε λιγαίνων,	
Πὰν φίλε, μὴ σκεδάσειας ἑώιον ὕπνον Ἀθήνης.	*– Athena?*
Καὶ τίνι Παλλὰς ἔλειπεν ἑὸν δόρυ; καὶ τίς ἀείρει	but: no Aegis or helmet
χαλκείην τρυφάλειαν ἢ αἰγίδα Τριτογενείης;"	

'Bassarids, shake not your tambours, let there be no sound of pipes or feet. Let Cypris rest!—But she has not the cestus which marks the Cyprian. I believe it is the Grace that wedded Hypnos, cunning creature! But since dawn is bright and morning seems near, awaken sleeping Pasithea. But who has given a dress to the naked Grace in Naxos, who? Is it Hebe? But to whom has she left the goblet of the Blessed? Can this be Selene, that bright driver of cattle, lying on the seashore? Then how can she be sleeping apart from her inseparable Endymion? Is it silverfoot Thetis I see on the strand? No, it is not naked, that rosy form. If I may dare to say so, it is the Archeress resting here in Naxos from her labours of the hunt, now she has wiped off in the sea the sweat of hunting and slaying. For hard work always brings sweet sleep. But who has seen Artemis in the woods in long robes? Stay, Bacchants—stand still, Maron, dance not this way, stop singing, dear Pan

are the Satyrs playing the flute, nay, even Pan checks his wild dance that he may not disturb the maiden's sleep." Text and translation: Fairbanks 1931 (Loeb).

> that you may not disturb the morning sleep of Athena. No—with whom did Pallas leave her spear? And who bears the bronze helmet or aegis of Tritogeneia?'

Dionysus' speech is the example with the longest catalogue of different hypotheses. Ariadne is identified with no less than seven beautiful deities and each time the identification is refuted, either because of the absence of attributes (the cases of Aphrodite, Hebe and Athena; in the case of Semele the absence of her lover Endymion is decisive) or because of her clothing (in the cases of Pasithea, Thetis and Artemis).[47] Dionysus seems not to reach a conclusion, as also the last hypothesis is refuted.

Immediately after the speech, Ariadne wakes up and realizes that she is abandoned by Theseus. A remarkable detail is that even Eros, who is also watching the scene, believes to see Aphrodite in tears (312–313: αὐτὸς Ἔρως θάμβησεν, ἀπενθήτῳ δ' ἐνὶ Νάξῳ / εἰσιδέειν ἐδόκησεν ὀδυρομένην Ἀφροδίτην). The name "Ariadne" is mentioned several times in the narrator text (272, 315), but for the text-internal audience of Eros and Dionysus, her name is only revealed in her desperate monologue (she names herself for the first time in line 323).[48]

How to Interpret a Scene? The Text-Internal Observer as Art Critic

In each of the four speeches analyzed, the speaker attempts to identify another character on sight. In his commentary on the Europa passage, Francis Vian refers to Pindar (Pi. *P.* 4.87–92) and Euripides (E. *IT* 267–274) for examples of the same rhetorical procedure,[49] and Marie-Christine Fayant adds to this the famous example of Odysseus' speech to Nausicaa (Hom. *Od.* 6.149–157).[50] An even more elaborate parallel can be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*

47 Fayant (2000, 44) notes that the divinities seem to be chosen because they are appropriate to the situation: Aphrodite, Pasithea and Hebe because they are known for their exceptional beauty; Pasithea, Selene and Artemis because of their association with sleep; Selene and Thetis because of their association with solitary places.

48 Dionysus' encounter with Ariadne was, however, already prophetically announced to him by Eros in 43.426.

49 Vian 1976, 140. In both, Pindar and Euripides, one or more anonymous speakers (τις) give an amazed reaction upon seeing one of the main characters in the poem (Pelias in Pindar, Orestes and Pylades in Euripides) and assumes they are gods, after which several possible hypotheses of identification are mentioned.

50 Fayant 2000, 44.

(5): in Anchises' address to Aphrodite (91–106) he successively assumes she is Artemis, Leto, Aphrodite (!), Themis, Athena, one of the Graces, a Hamadryad, and a Naiad.[51] In different types of speech (not by observing characters) more parallels for this same interpretative strategy can also be found within the *Dionysiaca* (esp. 4.36–63: Aphrodite to Harmonia in order to persuade her to marry the handsome stranger Cadmus; and 10.196–216: Dionysus flattering his beloved Ampelus).[52]

The examples from the *Dionysiaca*, however, differ from the earlier examples, not only in their unprecedented number, but also in their emphasis on argumentation. Each new hypothesis in these four speeches is motivated, either by refutation of an earlier argument (especially so in the cases of Europa and Ariadne) or by taking into account new visual clues (especially so in the cases of Cadmus and Harmonia, and Semele). The speaking characters interpret an exceptional sight as if they were art critics interpreting a painting of a scene that cannot be immediately recognized.

Philostratus' *Imagines*, therefore, are not only in the case of Ariadne an interesting source for comparison, because he not only describes paintings, but in doing so also demonstrates the art of the interpreter, or, to quote Jaś Elsner: "What one could learn from Philostratus was how cultured people looked at paintings. The *Imagines* are strategies of how to view; they are, in effect, a culturally acceptable ideology of viewing."[53]

The art critic in the *Imagines* sometimes even gives explicit guidelines for interpretation. The first instruction he gives to his text-internal audience of youths (*Imagines* 1.1) is to look away from the painting (συμβάλωμεν οὖν ὅ τι νοεῖ, σὺ δὲ ἀπόβλεψον αὐτῶν, ὅσον ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ γραφή) to the literary events on which it is based, in order to interpret it correctly, and not to be lost in wonder (θαῦμα ἡγούμενος).[54] In the *ekphrasis* of the painting of Ariadne (*Imagines* 1.15), the art critic, interestingly, also comments on the elements in the painting that allow identification, and on how the painter has chosen not

51 See also Faulkner 2008, 173 for an analysis of this passage.

52 A frequently occurring variant in Nonnus of this rhetorical procedure in which one hypothesis follows the other serves not to identify a beauty on sight but to determine who is guilty. A few examples: 8.216–263, 11. 315–350, 11.431–463, 31.212–227, 33.28–40, 33.118–139 and 48.392–413.

53 Elsner 1995, 29.

54 See also Elsner 1995, 30: "The cultural beholder cannot be 'lost in wonder' but must always have recourse to a contextualising hermeneutic tool." Newby 2009, 330–331, mentions an example from Pausanius (5.17–19) in which he interprets the images on the Chest of Cypselus with Homer as a hermeneutic tool, and states that it was "a tendency shared

the easiest way to represent identifiable characters (Ariadne and Theseus by their beauty and Dionysus by his attributes) as less skilled painters would do, but by the expressions of emotion on their faces.

Similarly, the substantiated interpretations 'on sight' in these four speeches could also be read as reflections on the art of interpretation—of visual representations of myths, but also of poetry—and, therefore, be interpreted as an invitation to the reader to reflect on his own readership, on his interpretation and visualization of the events in the poem. The text-internal observer is an eye-witness and thus privileged in comparison with the reader, who is, on the one hand, better informed—for the characters are identified by the narrator—but can, on the other hand, only visualize with the help of the clues revealed in the narrative. Therefore, the emotional reaction of the text-internal observer is a key element in the perception of the images by the reader. He or she acts as an intermediate between the story and its recipient.

The fact that the text-internal observers do not (and cannot) know the events they witness from mythology, in a way also makes their astonishment more authentic. The reader, through their eyes, is forced to look at the events as if it was his first encounter with these famous mythological stories. An interesting parallel for the speech of the sailor to Europa in this respect is, therefore, the dialogue in Lucian's *Dialogi Marini* (11) in which Zephyrus, an eye-witness, relates the Europa story to Notus as if it were the latest bit of gossip.[55]

The viewer's θαῦμα, moreover, also adds ἐνάργεια to the narrative. In her book on the ancient theory on *ekphrasis*, Ruth Webb gives two examples from rhetorical theory (Sopater, *On the division of questions* 224) and practice (Aelius Aristides, fragment in Hermogenes *Peri Ideon* 244–245) to illustrate the function in *ekphrasis* of what I have called the text-internal observer. Both are examples of descriptions of storms in which the storm itself, "a familiar enough event from both life and literature", is only described in a few details, but in both cases the impact of the description is due to the added detail of the effect of the storm on the persons present.[56]

---

by Roman viewers" to search in the first place for a Homeric interpretation of images, whether correct or not.

55 This dialogue is also mentioned by Vian (1976, 16) and Gigli Piccardi (2003, 129–131) as a parallel and possible source for Nonnus' Europa episode.

56 Webb 2009, 147–148: "In both Sopatros' example and Aristeides' lost speech, the impact of the phenomenon described upon a human perceiver was all important: the audience were not just to 'see' the event, but were supposed to 'feel' as the speaker did. The focalization of description through a viewer, emphasized by the repeated verbs of seeing in the *ekphrasis* (horōn, theōmenos), was therefore important to this type of rhetorical *ekphrasis*."

Physical details, on the other hand, are in our four speeches (and in the entire episodes surrounding them) rather scarce. As Gisèle Chrétien notes, Nonnus rarely gives concrete details on the appearance of his characters. She mentions a few rare cases in which we are informed about the colour of hair of the characters.[57] The insatiable gaze of the observer and the many comparisons with beautiful deities only hint indirectly at the exceptional beauty of the characters—and, when looking at the limited number of deities they are compared or confused with, one could assume that all beauties in the *Dionysiaca* look almost exactly alike. Female beauties are almost always compared to the goddesses Selene and Aphrodite.[58]

References to these mythological figures, however, must have triggered in the mind of Nonnus' educated readers a whole range of images, as we can presume that Nonnus and his readers must have shared a similar experience-based knowledge of classical iconography. This is the compound of "cultural competence" Ruth Webb refers to in her discussion of the functioning of *ekphrasis*. "The orator uses his own visual resources to call up images which already exist in the audience's mind."[59] If speaker/author and audience/reader do not share the same mental images, the *ekphrasis* fails.[60] She furthermore argues that, with a public of rhetorically educated readers in mind, this repertoire of available mental images was rather predictable. "In fact, one of the most important functions of rhetorical education itself was to ensure that this was so."[61]

57 Chrétien 1985, 142 mentions: 4.134 on Cadmus, 10.174 and 30.253 on Dionysus, 11.465 on Calamus and 16.81 on Nicaea.

58 In the four speeches, four deities appear more than once: Selene (3 ×), Aphrodite (3 ×), Thetis (2 ×) and Athena (2 ×). Beautiful people in the *Dionysiaca* are also elsewhere, both by narrator and characters, compared to these deities. A few examples: comparisons with Aphrodite with regard to beauty (1.59, 15.210, 15.286, 16.135, 33.20, 33.171, 34.57, 34.119, 41.232, 42.460, 47.313, 48.230, 48.352) and with Selene (4.136, 10.192, 15.243, 15.284, 16.18, 16.48, 34.42, 38.124, 41.257, 48.322).

59 Webb 2009, 210. Also "Such details would no doubt have been so loaded, so telling, for Roman readers like Quintilian that they might not themselves have been fully aware of the amount of decoding involved in their response. This example reveals the extent to which what must have been immediate, practically unconscious, associations for the original audience were in fact culturally specific and demanded a degree of what one might call 'cultural competence' from both speaker and audience if they were to be fully successful."

60 Webb 2009, 225–226. A speaking example of this procedure within the fiction of the *Dionysiaca* is 4.102–105. Aphrodite in the guise of Peisinoe here tries to persuade Harmonia of Cadmus' divine looks and claims to recognize him as Apollo because of his resemblance to a statue she has seen in Delphi.

61 Webb 2009, 120.

CHAPTER 7

The Tablets of Harmonia and the Role of Poet and Reader in the *Dionysiaca*

Joshua Fincher

Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is a poem about traditions, whether literary, mythological, or religious. In places, Nonnus defines himself as a participant within the canons of the literary past. More frequently, however, we find Nonnus, like his hero Dionysus, moving beyond or violating tradition and declaring his willingness to transcend and transgress the literary past.[1] In this paper, I examine two scenes that are linked by the presence of the Tablets of Harmonia in which Nonnus symbolically expresses his role, as he sees it, as interpreter of literary history and his reader's role in approaching his unique poetics.[2] In the process, Nonnus ultimately demonstrates the poet's position as arbiter of knowledge and exhibits the most desirable attitudes with which a reader should approach the *Dionysiaca*.

Although Viktor Stegemann's study of the Tablets of Harmonia, which is the most detailed treatment of the two episodes in books 12 and 41, fails to establish that the *Dionysiaca*'s overarching structure is based on the cosmic world year, Stegemann was nonetheless right to note the metapoetic importance of these two scenes.[3] It has been noted that these two scenes were composed as doublets,[4] and by reading them as a pair, we can grasp the nature of a coded narrative that points to Nonnus' conception of the relationship between reader, poet, and literary history. The metapoetic symbolism which I shall demonstrate in these scenes is as follows. The reader is represented by the characters who

1 Lovatt 2013, 353. Lovatt's discussion about Perseus and the boundaries of epic is particularly interesting on this point. She remarks "Dionysus and the *Dionysiaca* literally outgrow the boundaries of epic poetry." Shorrock 2011 also discusses Nonnus' fascination with transcending boundaries, not just of epic but of totalizing discourse.

2 This paper comprises a section of one of the chapters of my dissertation (titled "Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and the Redefinition of Epic Poetry and the Heroic Code"), in which I explore Nonnus' metaliterary dialogue with the reader, particularly with regards to the metaphor of the heroic code in the poem.

3 Stegemann 1930. For criticism of Stegemann, see Shorrock 2001, 14 n. 21.

4 Vian 1995a, 55–56.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_009

consult the tablets and each display a different mode of reading, Autumn in book 12 and Aphrodite in book 41, while models of the author are represented by Helios and Harmonia, who guide the readers Autumn and Aphrodite to the answers to their queries in the text of the tablets. In the interactions between questioner and guide, we can see how Nonnus conceives of the link between reader and author.

The tablets themselves have a double meaning. On the one hand, they represent the world of the literary tradition, which the author manipulates and condenses for the reader. On the other hand, they represent the *Dionysiaca* itself as the capstone to the literary history of Greece, a universal history that is presented through a Dionysiac lens.[5] As a universalizing text, the *Dionysiaca* integrates and reformulates the entire literary past into a completely transformed narrative. In the *Dionysiaca*, the incorporating narrative of Dionysus and his mystical transformation of the universe converts the narratives that it absorbs to fit a Dionysiac worldview. My interpretation allows the importance of the tablets to be fully expressed as a significant metapoetic sequence within the *Dionysiaca*.

The *Dionysiaca* and its cosmological elements are no stranger to the kind of metapoetic analysis I pursue in this article. Shorrock 2001 establishes the reading of cosmological imagery, characters, and the narrative progression of the *Dionysiaca* itself as an extended meditation on poetics, composition, and the anxieties of poet and reader.[6] My focus on depictions of creative/authority figures, reading, and artistic/textual representations as metapoetic symbols for writing, interacting with literary history, the reading process, and the poem itself draws its precedents from analyses of the *Odyssey*'s Demodocus, Aeneas' reading of temple decorations, and shield *ekphrases*.[7] Poetic renditions of textuality, creation, and reading activate the reader's metapoetic senses. Although there are, of course, many possible readings of the images that I discuss, on the levels of plot, philosophy, or cosmology, a metapoetic analysis is not out of place for these sections of the *Dionysiaca*, a poem saturated with polyvalency and multiple interpretative possibilities.

---

5 The identification of the tablets with the *Dionysiaca* as an encompassing poetic project has been observed by Shorrock 2011, 120–121.

6 Such as Shorrock 2001, ch. 3, and esp. 51–55, 121–123. The preface to the poem invites the reader to examine mythic and cosmological figures as metapoetic symbols, Shorrock 2001, 113–121 and Fincher 2015.

7 Rinon 2006, Fowler 1991, Barchiesi 1997, and Becker 1995.

The Tablets

The tablets themselves are the most complex of the three symbolic elements in the triangular scheme of reader, author, and text, and are a primary focus of my interpretation. In book 12.31–35, we are told that the tablets were written by Phanes, who was viewed in Orphic literature as the first born of the gods, the first principle comprehensible to the senses, and the first god who constructed the universe and created humans.[8] Phanes is also a composite god, combining male and female genders, and aspects of all types of animals. Thus, he is conceived of as a god who embodies both genders and all things, and created the universe. The ascription to Phanes is appropriate for a discussion of the literary history of Greece, a tradition that depends on the material of the world that Phanes conceptually set in order and encompasses all aspects of human and animal experiences. It also evokes the importance of literature in expressing and comprehending the world, which is the function of Phanes as the first comprehensible principle. As a composite god who brings diverse physical forms into a unity, we can take him as an image of the varying personas that have contributed to the literary tradition through different ages unified by Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca*. The epic operates within the confines of the literary world constructed by earlier poets and writers, in effect a constructed literary world that parallels the physical world constructed by Phanes.

The composite and multi-vocal nature of the tablets is reinforced by their description as ἑτερόζυγας at 12.32, an adjective that on the surface refers to their physical linkage as diptychs or combined texts and images. On a metapoetic level, this adjective can imply a diverse association, since it means literally 'unevenly yoked' or refers to pairs of diverse elements, emphasizing a disparity between parts of a set.[9] This might refer, like the composite nature of Phanes himself, to the diversity of the literary tradition and how the literary world is

8 Vian 1995a, 56 n. 4; Vian 1993, 43; Gigli Piccardi 2009. Gigli Piccardi's paper which offers an identification of the tablets and Phanes with God and scripture reinforces the view of the tablets as an authoritative, divine metatext. For the Tablets of Harmonia in book 12 see also Kröll 2016, 187–197 and 218–226.

9 LSJ s.v. ἑτερόζυγος; see Vian 1995a, 57–59 who also discusses the thorny issue of the diptychs. The word ἑτερόζυγος is used in the *Dionysiaca* nine times. In Nonnian usage, its semantic range extends to opposing battle lines (14.329), a tambourine made of jointed metal pieces (46.121), and a swarm of heroes in battle (29.282). When applied to motion, it suggests some kind of serpentine coiling or swimming (5.148, 18.259, 33.192, 37.592). In Nonnus' usage, the term, when applied to objects, indicates a series of singular, distinct elements, whether metal or human, gathered into a group. Thus, as both a descriptor of humans and objects, the term implies a unity fashioned from diverse elements that share a commonality.

composed of many different points of view and authors, who are nonetheless part of a grand narrative family, just as the twelve different tablets form a unified set. The tablets described in book 41 are, on the other hand, ascribed to Ophion, an orphic deity who ruled after Phanes.[10] Between the two presentations of the tablets, then, there is a shift in chronology. Furthermore, the quotations of the earlier set of tablets tend to focus on earlier events, while the latter set focuses on later history. The ascription to Ophion in 41, rather than to Phanes, harmonizes with this shift in chronology between the tablets' narratives.

Nonnus describes the tablets' narrative with vocabulary that has programmatic relevance within the *Dionysiaca*, particularly compounds that employ the ποικιλ- stem. In 12.35, for example, the decoration of the tablets with astrological symbols is described with the verb ποικίλλω, which activates a metapoetic register for the reader of the *Dionysiaca*. The description that accompanies Autumn's perusal of tablet three (12.66–68) brings up a series of significant phrases:

> … μόρσιμα παπταίνουσα πολύτροπα θέσφατα κόσμου,
> γράμματα φοινίσσοντα, σοφῇ κεχαραγμένα μίλτῳ,
> ὁππόσα ποικιλόμυθος ἐπέγραφεν ἀρχέγονος φρήν.
>
> … the circling maiden stood gazing at the manifold oracles of the world's fate, / in letters of glowing color engraved with the artist's vermillion, / all that elaborate story which the primeval mind had inscribed.
>
> transl. ROUSE 1940

The word πολύτροπα recalls the opening of the *Odyssey* where it is so famously employed to describe the many sufferings and the many narratives and mental abilities of Odysseus.[11] Within the *Dionysiaca*, the word is commonly associated with clever or skillful composition and multiple interpretive possibilities, whether it is the poet's own work, which takes Πρωτῆα πολύτροπον as its metaphorical example, the crafted shield of Dionysus, the mimetic dance of Maron, or the design of Actaeon's tomb.[12] Hence, this word refers to Nonnian *poikilia* and the multiplicity of points of view. Similarly, the adjective ποικιλόμυθος, which refers to various types of discourse, is another poetically charged

10 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.352; Vian 1995a, 93 n. 4.
11 Hom. *Od.* 1.1; Pucci 1982; Clay 1997, 25–34.
12 Nonn. *Dion.* 1.14, 25.563, 19.219, 5.527.

word.[13] The adjective directly recalls stylistic *poikilia* and describes Phanes in his role as creator of the tablets at 12.68, a god who, as we have seen, encompasses a wide range of forms and material.[14] Thus the narrative of the tablets is characterized by complexity, variation, and polyphony, a characterization that suits both the literary tradition and the *Dionysiaca*'s multiple narrative layers.

Nonnus' presentation of the information that the tablets provide Autumn and Aphrodite varies between books 12 and 41.[15] This variation allows us to see both the breadth of the literary tradition and Nonnus' desire to encompass this tradition within the scope of the *Dionysiaca*.[16] The difference in the tablets' narratives also fits neatly into the poem's description of Dionysus' progress. When the tablets' content is described in book 12, the narrative deals with archaic stories that are the subject matter of cosmogonic poetry, like the deeds of Cronus, the birth of Aphrodite, and the flood.[17] These references activate the beginnings of Greek literary and historical memory as expressed in the *Theogony*. The narrative continues, chronologically, to a series of metamorphoses. In the symbolic reading that I propose here, this list of metamorphoses represents a large part of the world of mythology narrated by previous authors, such as the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, that bridge the myth-historical narrative between *Theogony* and the *Iliad*.[18] This poetic style that structures mythology around metamorphosis is a significant device used to continue the narrative of mythology after dealing with the more structurally straightforward cosmogo-

13 Nonn. *Dion*. 19.200.

14 The word has associations with Hermes (Nonn. *Dion*. 3.423, Orph. *H*. 28.8), a divinity famous for his ability to 'spin' narrative and who has been interpreted as a symbol of Nonnian *poikilia*, Fayant 1998.

15 Chuvin and Fayant, 2006, 26 n. 1 remark: "le ch. 12 relate l'histoire du monde, le ch. 41 les progress de l'ordre social."

16 My discussion of myth/history and its expression in the literary tradition is indebted to Graziosi and Haubold 2005 and their analysis of the epic cycle as a coordinated narrative of history and mythic origins.

17 Nonn. *Dion*. 12.41–55.

18 Collections of metamorphoses, such as those of Parthenius, Antoninus Liberalis, or Ovid become one of the prime structural modes of narrating mythological history from the early period described in Hesiod to the later legends in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Cf. Forbes Irving 1990. For significant metamorphoses in the *Catalogue*, see Mestra (fr. 43 M-W) and Periclymenus (frr. 33–35 M-W). Given the narratives found in the *Catalogue*, metamorphosis would be a prime motif in this poem and may form the basis of other poems dealing with this period of myth-history. See Ziogas 2013.

nic upheavals of the *Theogony*.[19] The stories seem to alternate between the well-known and the obscure, with Harpalyce, Pyrrhus, and Crocus and Smilax being the more obscure pairings with Philomela, Niobe, and Pyramus and Thisbe. These stories are also significant in that they form part of the system of references used by Nonnus in other contexts.[20] All these stories represent the world of mythological literature, and their inclusion in other passages as elements of Nonnus' reference system demonstrates their incorporation into his universal poem. Thus, the tablets' contents simultaneously represent the breadth of literary possibilities and the *Dionysiaca* as the incorporator of these traditions.

The narrative describing the second set of tablets in 41.368–384 picks up where the metamorphic list ends within mythological chronology with a list of high cultural *protoi heuretai*. The stories contained in the list are Pan and the syrinx, Hermes and the lyre, Hyagnis and pipes, Orpheus and mystic music, Linus and speech, Arcas and calendars, Endymion and moon cycles, Cadmus and eloquence, Solon and laws, and Cecrops and marriage. This list is particularly focused on poetic and intellectual discoveries rather than the discovery of natural processes.[21] Six of these are related to music, song, and writing, all necessary components of the poet's craft and thus alert the reader to keep an eye out for metapoetic content. These inventors represent the tradition, as they are the founders and compilers of the components of literature, literary transmission, and legal writing.[22] The instruments and songs represented are all symbolic of different genres; the syrinx of pastoral, the lyre of lyric, Orpheus of mystic and orphic song, and Linus as the inventor of εὐεπίη.[23] This last element, εὐεπίη or εὐέπεια, is used twice in the *Dionysiaca* to characterize the poetry of

19 Consider how metamorphosis as a resolution to myths does not appear frequently in archaic generational mythological narratives. For the most part, metamorphic myths occur during the reign of Zeus and not before.

20 Argus (Nonn. *Dion.* 1.342), Philomela (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.131, 4.330, 47.30, 44.267), Niobe (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.159, 14.271, 15.375, 48.407), Pyramus and Thisbe (Nonn. *Dion.* 6.355), Crocus and Smilax (Nonn. *Dion.* 15.354), and Atalanta (Nonn. *Dion.* 48.182).

21 Elsewhere in the *Dionysiaca*, Aristaeus' discoveries are emphasized (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.212–280). His noteworthy omission from this list concentrates the focus on poetic discoveries rather than natural ones. Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 26 note how the inventions are categorized.

22 The passage is also full of stylistic buzzwords such as ἁβρός (Hermog. *Prog.* 2.5), νόμιος (which recalls the *nomos* of music), and χεύματα μολπῆς that recalls the metaphor of the stream of song (ps-Longin. *Sub.* 13.1).

23 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.376. Of course, Linus is also associated with the 'linus-song' and that is certainly also meant by his inclusion in the list.

Homer, and is elsewhere specifically connected to epic poetry;[24] thus, Linus likely represents the epic tradition. Cadmus' contribution, the ἐυγλώσσοιο ὄργια φωνῆς, could stand in for oratory, since εὔγλωσσος is used to describe oratorical eloquence as well as the sound of Attic Greek, but it also represents the alphabet, the method by which ideas and concepts, as well as the ability to pronounce words correctly, are preserved.[25] The astronomical and calendrical contributions could represent the genre of scientific writing and didactic poetry since astronomy and the calendar are well-known topics of didactic poetry, while Solon's and Cecrops' developments embody the legal genres. Much of the Greek literary tradition as allegorized by their founders is displayed directly on the tablets. The capstone to this is the inclusion of Beirut and the Battle of Actium at 41.389–398 on a different tablet that Aphrodite decides to consult. The description of the language as Ἑλλάδι Μούσῃ (41.388) rather than μαντιπόλοις ἐπέεσσιν (41.372) indicates the greater historicity of this episode and perhaps a move from poetry to prose historiography. With this historical reference we see the full range of the mythical/historical past of Greece and Rome represented on the tablets, starting from cosmic beginnings to the mythic age to the age of early humans and finally concluding with Roman Imperial history. Additionally, Nonnus evokes the literature from Hesiod and Homer to the Roman and Imperial writers responsible for recording and narrating that history in all their varying genres.

The discussion of Actium is particularly noteworthy. Nonnus' passage seems to alter the traditional presentation of this event. Although he mentions Augustus as a chronological indicator (Αὔγουστος ὅτε ἡνιοχεύσει 41.389), Nonnus seems to elide Augustus' role as leader in the war against Cleopatra. It is Beirut that replaces Augustus and Rome as the creator of peace in the world.[26] Although Augustus possesses the sovereignty, Beirut is given the reins of law, an

---

24 Nonn. *Dion.* 13.51, 25.262. It is also used in reference to Homeric and Hesiodic poetry in Plut. *de Pyth.Or.* 396d3, and Diodorus Siculus uses it to refer to the skill of Calliope, the muse of epic poetry (D.S. 4.7.4). The term is closely connected with Homeric poetry in Nonnus' period, as Christodorus (fr. 1) and Dioscorus (fr. 20) show; Gregory of Nazianzus also connects it with mythological poetry (1257.3).

25 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.382. *AP* 9.188.1, an anonymous epigram on philosophy and literature, employs it in reference to Attic. D.H. *Comp.* 1 uses it in a more general sense to refer to speech. It seems to be a particular *Lieblingswort* of Euripides; perhaps tragedy is referenced with this marked word here. In the *Dionysiaca*, it is used in conjunction with Cadmus in the phrase Κάδμος ἐυγλώσσοιο at 3.321 and here. Cf. *Paraphrase* 4.165.

26 This is undoubtedly a reflection of the "wider late-antique reconfiguration of the imaginary geography of the world, in which a previously central Greece is relegated to a

intellectual power. It is Beirut rather than Augustus who is depicted as defeating Cleopatra in this passage, and she is even personified as a warrior with the phrase θωρηχθεῖσα ἐπὶ νηῶν (41.392). By this shift in focus, Nonnus indicates that what is more important than Cleopatra's military defeat is the rule of law, the protection that it offers cities, and the way it nourishes civilian life and ends the strife caused by Cleopatra. The phrase γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον (41.397) is transferred exactly from the *Odyssey* where it is used as a formula to describe the coming of night, and it might be connected to the calm that night brings in the Homeric passages being compared to the peace that law brings.[27] Given its position in a text discussing Rome, it might also remind readers of the Roman formula *terra marique*, which has its origins in the Greek phrase κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν,[28] but which can be found on Greek translations of Roman inscriptions, such as Augustus' own *Res Gestae*.[29] It is found in Cassius Dio's description of the fortifications at Actium, a passage that resonates with the discussion of fortification and Actium here.[30] In Nonnus, instead of Augustus or the Romans waging war on land and sea, it is Beirut who with her metaphorical fortifications of law is creating peace on land and sea, a Greek city in a Roman system. Similarly, the phrase μία πτόλις [πυργώσασα] ἄστεα κόσμου (41.398) is reminiscent of discourse on the centrality of Rome and the metonymical role of Rome in defending and embodying the empire.[31] Here, it is Beirut performing the actions of Rome, not with military force or actual fortifications, but with law and peace. Thus, the language of Roman military domination has been appropriated by Beirut to describe the works of peace and law rather than militarism.

The presentation of Actium allows us to see how Nonnus incorporates narratives into the *Dionysiaca*. Rather than following traditional military portrayals, he chooses to highlight the constructive qualities of law in establishing peace. The importance of this theme in this passage is reinforced by the catalogue of inventors: just as they underline the role of effort in attaining *kleos*, they also highlight the possibility of non-violent means for expressing heroism and ability. It is this privileging of intelligence, cleverness, and fostering peace over war, of construction over destruction, that is a characteristic of the Dionysiac style

marginal role" (Hadjittofi 2011, 30). In this article, Hadjittofi particularly notes how Beroe is situated in relation to Greek cities but not Rome.

27 Hom. *Od.* 5.294, 9.69, 12.315, Q. S. 3.707.

28 Amela Valverde 2004.

29 Aug. *R.G.* 1.25, 2.43; Livy 1.19.3 uses *terra marique* specifically in reference to Actium.

30 D. C. 50.12.5.2.

31 Edwards and Woolf 2003, 1–20.

of heroism as presented by Nonnus. This passage is exemplary of how traditionally established narratives can be incorporated and altered within the *Dionysiaca* through the lens of Dionysiac values. The world of Dionysus has room for the legacy of classical literature and history, but its interpretation and presentation within the poem look to Dionysiac values rather than more traditional epic, historiographic, or political ideologies. In essence, Nonnus graphically represents his process of approaching, appropriating, and adapting narratives found in previous authors within his poetic unity.

The difference in subject matter between the tablets' narratives in 12 and 41 offers an important parallel to the development of Dionysus throughout the poem. Metamorphoses appear in book 12, while book 41 focuses on mostly human discoveries. In 12, Dionysus has not been tested, and is dependent on the gods for the allotment of a suitable *timē*. Ampelus' metamorphosis provides the basis for Dionysus to develop into a god with a suitable sphere of influence, a metamorphosis reflected in the metamorphic narrative on the tablets. These transformations are not the product of work or discovery, but are bestowed on mortals by divine forces. In the scheme of Dionysus' development as a god, book 12 occurs at a time in his maturation when it is the decisions and actions of the gods that influence Dionysus, just as the gods' influence and will, rather than effort, trigger metamorphosis. In book 41, on the contrary, Dionysus has earned a place through his exploits in the Indian War, his own work and creation, and the deeds he has personally performed. The tablets in 41 highlight not so much dependence on divine will, but ingenuity, craft, and effort, which mirror the hard work of Dionysus in discovering and perpetuating the vine across the world. The inventors and the city of Beirut are the producers and products of human creativity and *kleos*. Thus, by reading the two tablets' narratives together, we can see a reflection of Dionysus' evolution from child of the gods to divine peer.

In addition to the constructed poetic world and the writers who built it, the all-encompassing nature of the tablets and their 'variegated' composition refer to the encyclopedic nature of the *Dionysiaca* that combines the literatures of the past into a single poetic narrative.[32] This is referred to by the repetition of the phrase in book 12, εἰν ἑνὶ θέσφατα πάντα (12.33), εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα φέρουσαν (12.44), and εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα (12.90). The focus on εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα, the condensation of everything into one text, seems to reflect Nonnus' desire to lay down a history of the world through Dionysiac poetics and experience, a reconfiguration of the metatext that makes up literary history. Interpreted this way, the metaphor

32 See n. 5 for a reference to Shorrock's discussion of this.

makes the poem the capstone to the world of literature, an encompassing of all that has come before in one teleological work. The multiplicity of voices and genres reflects this encyclopedism; it not only encompasses narratives but even the voices and personalities of various authors and genres under an umbrella theme. This encyclopedia, simultaneously literary history and the *Dionysiaca*, is what makes the poem so problematic for the author and reader. Below, I will look at how Nonnus sees both author and reader responding to universal texts and tradition.

Helios and Harmonia

Helios in book 12 and Harmonia in book 41 serve as celestial guides through the tablets. Their cosmic aspects reflect the role of the author as a figure who looks upon the constructed, literary universe and shapes the narrative and the readers' experience of the past. Helios has a universal, almost omniscient gaze as the divinity who watches the surface of the world from his flying sun chariot, a function similar to the poet's broad view of the world's past through the world of letters.[33] Helios is always figured as a god who has an especially detailed knowledge and understanding of the worlds' events precisely because he can look on them from above, illuminating and processing them at a distance.[34] His palace at 12.6–21 is filled with the Horai that personify the twelve months, the totality of the year. Harmonia is also characterized as a cosmic goddess with an encompassing view.[35] Her circular palace is shaped like the universe itself (τύπῳ τετράζυγι κόσμου, 41.278; περίτροχον εἰκόνα κόσμου, 41.281) with entrances and guards at the four cardinal points. The guardians at the gates are representatives of the directions of the earth. She is depicted at her loom weaving a cosmic tapestry that depicts the earth with its rivers, sky, and ocean.[36] Helios' palace emphasizes the temporal elements of the cosmos, a representation that

33 Plb. 1.4. A passage discussing the sun's journey with metapoetic resonances can be found at Manilius 2.136–144.

34 At *h.Cer.* 62 he is called θεῶν σκοπὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. See also Hom. *Il.* 3.280, *Od.* 12.323; Pl. *R.* 508a–c; Ov. *Met.* 7.96. Helios particularly puts his overarching gaze to use at *Od.* 8.271 and *h.Cer.* 62–74. The gaze of Helios as a symbol of geographic composition, knowledge, and scientific inquiry is discussed in Connors 2011. Perhaps, the identification of Helios with universal knowledge because of his gaze and his understanding of the world and its geography is one of the reasons Nonnus includes him as a symbol of the author.

35 Vian 1993, 41–43 discusses Harmonia's uniquely cosmic construction in Nonnus.

36 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.294–302. The connection between poetic composition and tapestry weav-

is suitable to the arrival of Autumn, a personified time of the year, who has come to inquire about a temporal issue.[37] Harmonia and her tapestry are representative of the entire cosmic geography, which is appropriate for Aphrodite's query about the very physical city of Beirut. While Harmonia is literally inhabiting and creating a model of the physical cosmos, Helios is symbolic of the aspect of time, the process of change and movement that affects the physical world. These both are apt habitations for metapoetic depictions of the poet as the constructor of a universe.[38] The poet needs both time and place to construct his poem. Harmonia's geography is the physical world and its laws and elements in which the poem's plot is enacted. Helios' temporality is the momentum of the plot, its action and events. Read together, these two divinities and their palaces emerge as constructors and embodiments of two necessary aspects of a literary world and a complete composition.

Additionally, one might interpret the dual gods and their palaces as representative of two tensions within the *Dionysica*. Time represents the forward momentum of the poem and its teleology. Book 12 is one of the defining books of the poem that propels Dionysus forward on his quest and emphasizes movement and transition. Geography, on the other hand, can be read as delay and *ekphrasis*. Geographical excurses are exemplary of the ecphrastic impulse in

---

ing has been thoroughly established. See, for example, Snyder 1981, Hillis Miller 1995, and, in reference to Aphrodite, Kröll 2011 and Zuenelli 2016.

37 This is very briefly noted by Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 27, but not explored. The variation between the tablets' ordering system by the zodiac in 12 and the planets in 41 might further enhance the distinction I am drawing. The zodiac serves an important function in determining time and the sun's course. The planets, however, do not function as temporal markers.

38 There is a marked similarity between the tapestry of Harmonia and the shield of Achilles, as noted briefly in Chuvin and Fayant 2006, 167. The shield has been traditionally seen as an embodiment of the epic world, the *Iliad* in microcosm, or the world of peace against which the martial world of Homer functions (Taplin 1980 provides a useful discussion of relevant points). In any case, both are circular, cosmic representations of the world surrounded by the embrace of Ocean. While the shield emphasizes human activities, the tapestry mentions only the composite river gods as anthropomorphic elements in contrast to the physical features of the earth, sea, and sky. Thus, the importance of variegated gods and their possible metapoetic symbolism is amplified by the emphasis. Becker 1995 emphasizes the importance of the shield as a representation both of poetic crafting and the reader's experience from a detached perspective. Thus, it parallels the use of the tapestry of Harmonia here as a symbol of poetics and the literary world. Here, however, because there is no internal audience to appreciate the tapestry, our focus remains on Harmonia as the *artifex*, reinforcing my identification of her with the author.

epic poetry, and the advancement of the plot pauses when the poet begins an *ekphrasis*. This is appropriate for book 41, which is, in some sense, a delay to the momentum of the *Dionysiaca* in the narrative of the birth and youth of Beroe. The poet, like Helios and Harmonia, must balance these two tensions to create an effective and varied narrative, and both are required elements of epic poetry.

Variation also emerges in the tapestry of Harmonia. The resonances of weaving and poetic composition are particularly strong here. The fact that she is weaving a representation of the universe is a clear indication of her connection to poetic and cosmic composition. Harmonia, like Helios, has a view from above, and her tapestry represents her ability to take in the whole of the universe at a glance from an omniscient vantage point. In particular, one of the activities she is performing, embroidering the anthropomorphic images of rivers, brings up Nonnus' buzzword, *poikilia*, referring to his own style and composition (καὶ ποταμοὺς ποίκιλλεν, ἐπ' ἀνδρομέῳ δὲ μετώπῳ / ταυροφυὴς μορφοῦτο κερασφόρος ἔγχλοος εἰκών, 41.299–300). The highlighting of composite creatures as the subject of the embroidery (the rivers that have human faces and horns) is perhaps a reference to the composite and juxtapositional nature and style of the *Dionysiaca*, as we have already seen with Phanes.[39] It might also refer to the tension I have read between the two gods, and the need for the poet to combine them together into a composite and variegated whole. In both cases, the world appears to them as a text or a map of the physical and temporal universe of which they can conceive only because of their unique position in relation to the world below. Helios and Harmonia both emerge as shapers and appreciators of the world of literature. Helios passively appreciates the geography and events of the world from his distant gaze, but it is through the light that he provides and the temporal framework his daily journey constructs that that geography is made meaningful and serves as the stage for events. Harmonia, while she lives within a house that represents the cosmos and has a conception of the geography of the world, is also an active participant in its creation

39 The use of composite creatures as metapoetic symbols can be found in Hor. *Ars* 1–18 (see Brink 1971, 85–104). In that case it is used disparagingly of stylistic disunity, but certainly is representative of different elements of poetic composition in unpracticed hands. Similarly, Lucian uses the centaur in *Zeuxis* as a symbol of merely novel poetic composition, and at *Prom*.5–6, he uses the composite centaur as a symbol for the combination of different genres. Thus, the focus on composite rivers may be part of the use of composite creatures as literary critical metaphors. Here, Nonnus would be employing it for positive effect, claiming that a composite text like the *Dionysiaca* can balance two types of tensions.

as shown by her active weaving of the world and her embroidery of details. Thus, both have an active and passive participation in the world, just as the poet has an active role in writing poetry and shaping the literary world as well as a passive role in understanding that world as it has been established by the tradition.

Both figures serve as cosmic 'librarians', guiding Autumn and Aphrodite through the complexity of the universal metatext and directing their reading and processing of the text. In their function as cosmic divinities, they naturally have a measure of control over the understanding of the universe and the ability to manipulate events. Helios in *Odyssey* 8.271, for instance, uses the knowledge of Aphrodite's affair acquired from his universal gaze to spur on Hephaestus' revenge on the lovers, and in the *Hymn to Demeter* 62–74 he tells Demeter which god seized Persephone. In book 12, Helios tells Autumn to look on the third tablet for the origin of wine which is Ampelus' metamorphosis and the fourth tablet which reveals the identity of the god of wine (12.37–40). The function of Helios as the guide through the text of this prophecy, a natural function given his cosmic knowledge and the astrological nature of the tablets, reinforces the role of the tablets as symbolic of the literary world of the past. As I noted, Helios and Harmonia serve to illustrate the role of the poet in shaping and understanding the literary past. Regarding the reader, they serve as a representation of the poet who is editing, controlling, and developing the reader's experience with the world of literature, a function that Helios demonstrates by directing Autumn toward the Dionysiac information in the complex welter of the tablet's narrative. Autumn processes the text only insofar as Helios directs her gaze. Helios also expresses the knowledge of the poet who has access to a literature which describes the origin of the world to its end, a prophetic knowledge of universal history via poetry, and who can orient a reader and construct a connected narrative by picking through disparate parts of literature.[40] Thus, the god serves as the arbiter of knowledge and his role is both to know all information and to present that very information in an accessible format to Autumn, the reader. Helios is infused with the power to direct reading and manipulate the understanding of the past and future. Harmonia as well directs Aphrodite to the tablet of Cronus, for the information about the oldest city of the world, providing a directed narrative for the goddess of love similar to that which Helios provides. As we shall see below, Aphrodite does not completely rely on Harmonia's instruction and thus subverts the

40 Since he tells her to look in two separate tablets for the connection of wine and Dionysus, he combines separate parts of the literary world to establish a connected narrative.

goddess' attempted control of her reading. In this we can see how Nonnus conceptualizes his authorial position as twofold. First, Nonnus possesses a universal gaze. He stands above and apart from the world of literature, able to gaze on the entirety of the universe as constructed by earlier writers throughout time and he sees himself as an active participant in creating and developing the world of literature. Secondly, he serves as a controller of how the reader processes that information by synthesizing and packaging an experience of that world in a particular format.

The Readers

In my symbolic reading, Autumn and Aphrodite represent readers of the *Dionysiaca*, but their responses are different. We might label these types of responses as two modes of reading, the Autumnic and the Aphroditic mode.[41] The Autumnic mode simulates a reader who struggles with apparent textual delay in the earlier half of the poem. By contrast, the Aphroditic mode represents a reader who has developed an understanding and appreciation for the poem and its style. In book 12, as Autumn reads the tablets, Nonnus quotes the actual text of the tablet as we follow the point of view of Autumn as she reads; the reader is made to read along with the season.[42] Merging the perspectives of Autumn, the intradiegetic reader, and the extradiegetic reader together as they read the same text is a move that makes the link between the two and their mental states strikingly clear. As she/we read, Autumn becomes restless as she searches for what she wants among the long list of metamorphoses: καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα παρέστιχεν ἄστατος Ὥρη (12.90). This detail ἄστατος is significant in this context; although this word can imply uncertainty and constant motion, when applied to vision in Nonnus it refers to a constantly shifting gaze that is coupled with frustration and anxiety.[43] Like Autumn, we are unsure about how

41 Nonnus might also contrast Aphrodite with Autumn as a symbol of the seasons. In some places, Aphrodite is associated with the spring (Ov. *Fast.* 4.125–132). Perhaps Aphrodite, the mature reader, might represent the reader who begins in Autumn, has difficulty in the poem's 'winter', and finally is reborn as an ideal Nonnian reader in spring. Similarly, autumn is the season of the grape harvest, while the spring month of Elaphebolion hosted the City Dionysia at Athens, two very significant Dionysiac events. The symbolism would certainly respond to Nonnus' fascination with calendars and seasonal symbolism elsewhere.

42 Nonn. *Dion.* 12.70–89.

43 LSJ s.v. ἄστατος, Nonn. *Dion.* 3.156, 7.203. The sense of urgency, anxiety, and impatience is

long this metamorphic catalogue, this encyclopedic εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα, will continue. While she may enjoy reading the metamorphic history of the world to some extent, Autumn is looking for something more specific, the information about the vine and Dionysus. Metapoetically, this restlessness can represent two things. First it characterizes the reader's response to the weight of tradition. There is an expressed impatience and aggravation with rehashing again and again the well-worn stories of mythology and metamorphosis in the same way; the reader is looking for something new and specific like Autumn. Simply redeploying the same metamorphoses in the same way that others have is not enough to prevent the reader from becoming ἄστατος. As I noted earlier, the catalogue of metamorphoses principally represents the world of earlier mythological narratives, since metamorphosis was such a significant ordering scheme for ancient mythographical poets.[44] The answer to this frustration is Nonnus and the *Dionysiaca*, a work which, though it incorporates references to literature, distinguishes itself from the same old tradition of poetry. Nonnian *poikilia* and poetics strive to present familiar mythological information and interpret the literary tradition in an unconventional and novel way to curtail the reader's impatience.

Conversely, Autumn's restlessness can be conceived as a response to the digressive and seemingly obscure nature of the *Dionysiaca*. Within the poem, the reader may grow frustrated with the lost thread of Dionysus and his narrative among the digressions, *ekphrases*, and narratives from different mythological cycles, emphasizing the tension between delay and teleology which is presented in the description of Harmonia and Helios. However, Nonnus assures the reader here that Dionysus is always lurking in the background of the poem no matter how much other information intervenes. The digressive catalogue of metamorphoses ends, and the sought-for information, i.e. the poem's teleological thrust, returns, indicating the *poikilia* of the poet in balancing digression and action. The Autumnic reader must continue to look to Dionysus as the focus of the poem and the mythological world represented in the *Dionysiaca*. When Autumn does arrive at the passage which contains the information about the metamorphosis of Ampelus, it is directly coupled with the metamorphosis of Calamus.[45] The story of Calamus is narrated by Eros at 11.369–481 to console the distraught Dionysus and seems to embody just the type of delay and digression that frustrates Autumn as she is reading the tablets. Yet the value

established at 11.484–521. In line 485 we find ἀσταθέος and 520–521 emphasize the Season's anticipation and haste.

44 See n. 18 above.

45 Nonn. *Dion.* 12.98–102.

of this digression on Calamus is demonstrated by the information the tablets offer in the prophecy, that Calamus' reeds will support the vine, which is not found in Eros' discussion (11.480, 12.101). Nonnus shows that what first appeared as a digression that does not contribute to the development of the poem can actually become an integral part of the plot when contextualized and understood as the action advances. As the reed can support the vine, so *ekphrasis* can support teleology. Just as the reader must understand the poet's need to combine action and delay to construct a whole, the poet must stay aware of the confusion this *poikilia* may engender in the reader. Autumn's reading of the tablets emphasizes the poet's understanding of his readership, as well as awareness of potential problems in reading the poem and possible criticism. Nonnus asks the reader to 'bear with' him and his digressions because, as in the case of Calamus, they will eventually return to Dionysus and the poem's overarching themes.

Aphrodite, on the other hand, is far more leisurely in her appreciation of the tablets in book 41 and less obedient to Harmonia's instructions. After she discovers the answer to her question on the tablet towards which Harmonia directs her, she soon transitions to the second to read the catalogue of *protoi heuretai* and then moves to the fourth to learn the prophecy about the Battle of Actium. Aphrodite, unlike Autumn, expresses no frustration at extraneous mythological and historical information but allows herself to peruse the text and even seeks out chances to read more seemingly digressive material. It is precisely because she embraces the digressions and tries to look at other passages that she uncovers prophetic information about Beroe that might not have occurred to her if she had adhered to Harmonia's instructions to just look at the Tablet of Cronus. The digressive catalogue of inventors is described as πάντα πολύτροπα δαίδαλα Μούσης (41.385). Again, we see words that activate the metapoetic resonances of this passage; πολύτροπα has been seen in reference to the tablet's narrative in book 12, but here δαίδαλα Μούσης is marked. While it seems that *daidala* refers to the inventions she has read about, the addition of the Muse encourages a reading of the text that describes them as simultaneously impressive technical achievements and wondrous works of poetic narrative. Aphrodite gains more knowledge because she is willing to appreciate the attractions of the text rather than looking only for specific information and following a direct line of reading. Thus, Aphrodite represents a reader who has become familiar with Nonnus' style and knows how to welcome digression and understand its value.[46]

46 Shorrock 2001, 168–170 interprets Aphrodite as a failed poet who is as unable to success-

Although a reader like Autumn at the beginning of the poem might just want or expect a simple narrative of Dionysus' deeds, the reader later in the poem, represented by Aphrodite, has a curiosity and a willingness to delay, to enjoy other data, even if the relevance may be obscure, because he has learned from Autumn's example that digression is far from irrelevant in the world of the *Dionysiaca*. The fact that Aphrodite chooses to go beyond Harmonia's instructions is significant. Perhaps Nonnus is acknowledging the importance of a reader's own response, in which the reader who approaches his poem operates outside of his (Nonnus') power and has the ability to create connections between digressions and narratives of which the poet has not even conceived. Although this would represent a rather radical understanding on the poet's part, Nonnus' own complex poetics, systems of reference, and parallelism, coupled with the process of late antique and Christian reinterpretation of the classical past, might have opened up the possibility of his acknowledgment and support of interpretation beyond intention.[47]

In both of these scenes the role of guide and reader is striking. Whether the poet is Helios riding over the world in his chariot or Harmonia working on her schematic view of the universe, the poet's gaze is a bird's eye view over the entire world. Their protection of and access to the tablets, the ancient mythic metatext that records universal history, reflect the poet's access to the entire literary corpus of ancient and more recent knowledge. The poet, like Helios and Harmonia serves as a leader, a caretaker, and a composer of how that text is used and where the reader directs their gaze. The text of the tablets that incorporates all the diverse thoughts and personalities of the past serves simultaneously as a metaphor for the literary tradition and the *Dionysiaca* with its encyclopedic aspirations. The reader, represented first by Autumn, is

fully wield the tools of epic as she is unable to successfully weave. Here, I might say that the aspects of Aphrodite which cause her to fail as a poet might contribute to her success as a reader. The fact that her thread is a "monster", is thick, and swells so much that it breaks the distaff (Nonn. *Dion.* 24.257–258) indicates that her attempted poem might have included too much material, taken on too large a theme, and become swollen with obscuring detail (for rhetorical meanings behind thickness and swollenness, cf. Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.18). The wandering gaze that Aphrodite exhibits here shows a love of digression; while her poem may have collapsed under the weight of so much material or stylistic richness, as a reader of the *Dionysiaca*, she is less inclined to insist on a spare narration and is more willing to appreciate the fullness and digression that Nonnus offers.

47 A detailed discussion of late antique modes of composition and reception can be found in Shorrock 2011, esp. 116–131. His argument that Nonnus seeks to transcend traditional categories of interpretation, especially of totalizing discourse, makes it possible to assume that he might have welcomed interpretations of the *Dionysiaca* beyond his intention.

initially frustrated in seeking a direct narrative. As the reader's familiarity with Nonnus' style develops, s/he becomes more like Aphrodite with the ability to learn to appreciate and understand Nonnus' system of organization that unlocks the text's potential. The reader is never seeking just one thing, but tries to take in as much as s/he can and even move beyond the author's guidance. This is what Nonnus is looking for in a reader and why the *Dionysiaca* presents itself as εἰν ἑνὶ πάντα.

PART 2

The Poetry of the Paraphrasis

CHAPTER 8

In the Beginning was the Voice

Jane L. Lightfoot

My subject is Nonnus' depiction of inspiration and inspired prophecy, the vocabulary and figurative language applied to it, and the conceptions that underpin it. It continues the theme of my earlier study of Nonnian oracles.[1] The focus this time is on the *Paraphrasis*, and the starting-point is the observation that it apparently has a lot in common with the *Dionysiaca*, certainly in terms of shared vocabulary. My question is how similar the two poems really are in this respect, and which, if any, of the models which have been used to explain the areas where each poem seems to give ground to the 'rival' system—syncretism, the deliberate seeking-out of common ground,[2] the deliberate construction of paganism as a precursor of Christianity, or, conversely, the competitive appropriation by Christianity of pagan elements—might be applicable in this case.

At the outset it is worth noting that the correspondence, even on a purely linguistic level, is not perfect. For instance, pagan, but apparently not Judaeo-Christian, prophecy can be denoted by the μαντ- root. So, while it is ubiquitous in the *Dionysiaca*, its one and only occurrence in the *Paraphrasis* is in connection with the Samaritan woman whom Jesus meets at the well[3]—the Samaritans perhaps being sufficiently different from the Jews to be differentiable by pagan language.

Nevertheless, the areas of overlap remain very striking. Both place a high premium on the notion of inspiration, which is connected with a rich vocabulary, partly neo-Platonic in inspiration, for sentience, inspiritedness, and animation (ἔμφρων, ἐχέφρων, νοήμων, νοερός[4]). In Nonn. *Dion.* passages containing these

1 Lightfoot 2014.

2 For the *Dionysiaca*, see e.g. Gigli Piccardi 1984, 255: "L'utilizzazione di spunti cristiani … può essere vista o come intenzione di presentare il dionisismo come un'alternativa credibile al cristianesimo, oppure come volontà di muoversi in un campo in cui le due religioni hanno dei punti in commune".

3 4.122 (~ *John* 4.25) μαντώδεϊ φωνῇ, an addition to the original to bring out the inspired quality of the woman's words in speaking to Christ of the Messiah (see Caprara ad loc., 2005, 234).

4 Caprara 2005, 182–183, and 198–199 (on Nonn. *Par.* 4.67 νοερός), 252 (on Nonn. *Par.* 4.150 νοήμων), 266 (on Nonn. *Par.* 4.166 ἐχέφρων); Franchi 2013, 424–425. For Neoplatonic language

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_010

motifs tend to be marvellous or paradoxical (for example, they refer to animals endowed with intelligence, or humans in animal form[5]), whereas in Nonn. *Par.* they refer to things of the spirit.[6] If paradoxical animals figure at all, they are metaphorical—a human flock (21.89 ἔμφρονας ἄρνας), the lamb of God (1.134 λάλος ἀμνός). Both favour the conceit of the animated corpse, but in Nonn. *Dion.* the effect is (merely) paradoxical, whereas in Nonn. *Par.* it pertains to the resurrection, of Lazarus or of Christ.[7] Still, there is a certain overlap in the conception of the inspired priest, prophet, or poet. For example, the priest of Lydian Zeus who overcomes Typho through his mental or spiritual endowments in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.494 does so with 'mental fire' (νοερῷ πυρί),[8] with which might be compared Nonn. *Par.* 17.57 νοεραῖς ἀκτῖσι, where Jesus prays for spiritual illumination for his disciples 'with rays of the mind' (the original, *John* 17.17, said nothing about light).

Related is the idea of the seer or prophet, or rather of his words, as *pregnant* with inspiration. The pagan background is readily documented, though the origin, or at any rate the earliest occurrence, of this formulation[9] seems to be in Plato, who, in *Symp.* 209 B, applies the notion of spiritual pregnancy, not to prophets, but to poets, creative craftsmen (*demiourgoi*), and those committed to σωφροσύνη and δικαιοσύνη. The idea is found once in the *Dionysiaca*,[10] and it

see further Golega 1930, 55 n. 2, 101–102; Gigli Piccardi 1985, 211–245; De Stefani 2002, 122–123, and 225, index s.v. 'neoplatonismo'; Agosti 2003, 501.

5 Sentient animals: Nonn. *Dion.* 1.312, 3.174, 7.124, 13.442, 26.202, 40.530, 48.913; humans in animal form: 5.333, 5.414, 5.418, 36.72, 44.90. On the application of epithets like λάλος and ἔμφρων to animals in Nonn. *Par.*, see Smolak 1984, 7–8; there and in Nonn. *Dion.*, the effect, in the context of a belief in animals' non-rationality, is one of paradox.

6 Compare and contrast the uses of νοεροὺς σπινθῆρας in Nonn. *Dion.* 30.256, where Athena (in an elaboration of Hom. *Il.* 1.197–200, where her eyes shine) breathes them upon Dionysus, and Nonn. *Par.* 5.135, of John the Baptist as the true light.

7 ἔμπνοος: Nonn. *Dion.* 2.631, 46.260, cf. 25.542; Nonn. *Par.* 12.41 (Lazarus); ἔμφρων: Nonn. *Dion.* 17.26; ἐχέφρων: Nonn. *Dion.* 26.104, Nonn. *Par.* 20.55 (Jesus).

8 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 25.270, where Nonnus himself aspires to narrate the second half of his poem endowed with the νοερῷ δορί of Homer's verse.

9 Norden on Virgil *Aen.* 6.77–80 (1903, 145–146) traces it back to the idea that the seer or seeress is the beloved of the god. It recalls the supposedly Virgilian *plena deo* (Sen. *Suas.* 3.7), appropriate to the Sibyl, but not in fact a phrase used by Virgil; Norden further compares ps.-Longin. 13.2, where the Pythia is ἐγκύμονα τῆς δαιμονίου δυνάμεως, and Serv. on *Aen.* 6.2, reporting a derivation of *Cumae* from ἔγκυος.

10 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.263 νοήμονος ἔγκυος ὀμφῆς, of Aphrodite, though also implied at 14.90 μαντιπόλου ... θεηγόρον ἔμπλεον ὀμφῆς, of the prophet Agreus (particularly recalling the pseudo-Virgilian *plena deo*).

occurs in the *Paraphrasis* four times, in very similar formulations, which apply to Jesus in particular, to 'the prophet', and to the words, knowledge, and object of prophetic insight.[11]

One aspect of this liking for the idea of sentience is the notion of inspired waters, which plays a role in both poems. I will say more about this later. Another is that both emphasize the notion of the *voice* in prophecy,[12] and a considerable amount of shared vocabulary encourages further reflection on the consonances and dissonances between way the pagan and Christian systems are presented in their respective poems. One obvious difference is that in the pagan poem Delphi is strongly associated with literal sound, being envisaged as an animate, resonant landscape,[13] whereas sound words in Nonn. *Par.* betoken not so much noise levels as meaning and the quality of inspiration.[14] However, what both poems have in common is that they conceive of inspired writings and *viva voce* prophecy alike in terms of voice. The notion of inspired writings is far from absent in the *Dionysiaca*, but its proliferation in the *Paraphrasis* has elicited a wider variety of rhetorical conceits for presenting the relationship between scripture and speech. This may be in terms of contrast and complementarity (e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 5.179–182, where the contrast is already drawn in *John* 5.47), or self-conscious and paradoxical combination (e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 6.218 ἀσιγήτων ἀπὸ βίβλων; 7.55 ἔγγραφον αὐδήν), or happy assimilation (e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 10.127 γραφικῆς βίβλοιο … ὀμφή, 15.103 νόμου γραφικοῖο τόπερ φάτο θέσκελος ὀμφή).

With all this in mind, let us look further at their presentations of the notion of voice.

11 Nonn. *Par.* 1.93 θεοδινέος ἔγκυος ὀμφῆς ~ *John* 1.25 ('the prophet'); Nonn. *Par.* 5.127 θεοδέγμονος ἔγκυον ὀμφῆς ~ *John* 5.33 (applied to John by Jesus); Nonn. *Par.* 3.53 ἐτήτυμον ἔγκυον ὀμφῆς ~ *John* 3.11 (Jesus' knowledge); Nonn. *Par.* 16.55 μῦθον … ἔσω φρενὸς ἔγκυον αὐδῆς ~ *John* 16.17 (Jesus' words).

12 For 'voice' in pagan prophecy, see an oracle cited by Porphyry, 349 F. (ap. Euseb. *PE* 5.8.11); according to this, a stream of light flows from Phoebus through the air, falling on the head of the recipient and filling his garments; then, having entered his innerds, bubbles up and re-emerges as φωνή, as it were through a human *aulos* (Gigli Piccardi 1985, 110). For the concept of 'voice' in the *Paraphrasis*, see Rotondo 2008, though the main direction of her article is not a comparative one.

13 Nonn. *Dion.* 4.289–292, 307–310; 9.270; 13.132–134.

14 Compare and contrast Nonn. *Dion.* 4.290 ἀσιγήτοιο … ἄξονα Πυθοῦς, 13.133 ἀσιγήτοιο δὲ πηγῆς, both of the literal resonance of Delphi (consider the number of sound words in 132–134), and Nonn. *Par.* 6.218 ἀσιγήτων ἀπὸ βίβλων, of knowledge derived from prophetic books.

(i) ὀμφή is common to both. The meaning 'divine voice' goes back to Homer, and the association with Apollo at least to Theognis; it is then found in tragedy, the Sibyllina, and late antique oracles quoted by Porphyry.[15] Both poems stress its marvellous and supernatural quality: ἔνθεος (three times in each poem), θέσκελος.[16] What is striking about Nonnus' use of the word is his willingness to apply it to all kinds of inspiration, including written prophecies and scriptures, and his uninhibitedness about rendering the latter in terms of books, of voice, and sometimes of both together.[17] Scriptural references of course proliferate in Nonn. *Par.*, but Nonn. *Dion.* is not fundamentally different. Consider Nonn. *Dion.* 12.107, where one of the inscribed tablets of Harmonia is described as τετράζυγος ὀμφή (and compare 12.42 ὀμφαίῳ παρὰ τοίχῳ, of the wall on which they are inscribed), and similarly 41.399, where the very similarly inscribed tablets of Ophion are collectively called Ὀφιονίην … ὀμφήν.[18]

---

15 Theogn. 807; Soph. *OC* 102; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.19.1; Porphyry, 322 F.; Or. Sib. 11.323 (the only occurrence of the word in the Sibylline corpus, precisely at the point where the Sibyl seems to be taking up a stand vis-à-vis Delphi); for neoplatonising Christianity, see Synesius, *Hymn* 1.111–112, 1.642, 4.31, 9.48.

16 ἔνθεον ὀμφήν: Nonn. *Par.* 11.83, 12.166 ~ *John* 12.41 (of Isaiah), 14.11; Nonn. *Dion.* 7.161, of Teiresias, 12.141, of Atropos, and 25.380, of a communication from Cybele. θέσκελος/ν ὀμφή(ν): Nonn. *Par.* 3.49, 5.106, 8.139, 15.103, cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 9.60. It is also interesting to consider what epithets of ὀμφή the two poems do *not* share. Unique to Nonn. *Dion.* is ἄτρεπτος (3.200; a point hardly worth making in the Gospel where the thought of frustrating scriptural writ is inconceivable), μαντῷος (6.103; the root is never used in connection with Judaeo-Christian prophecy), χθόνιος (13.68; ruled out by the Christian context of Nonn. *Par.*), and νοήμων (41.263; Nonn. *Par.* is not otherwise averse to this epithet). Unique to Nonn. *Par.* are (in alphabetical order) ἀειλιβής, δόχμιος (in an allusion to parables), ἐτήτυμος, θεηγόρος (although cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 14.90), θεοδέγμων, θεοδινής, θεσπέσιος (but very close to e.g. θέσκελος, cf. *Dion.*), (οὐ) παλίλλυτος, προώριος, πρωτόθροος, ὑποκάρδιος. None of this range is incompatible with the interests in Nonn. *Dion.*, but additional emphasis is placed upon truth, divine origin and inspiration, priority in time, spiritual turbulence (-δινής) and flow (-λιβής).

17 For references to scripture rendered in terms of the spoken word, see Nonn. *Par.* 7.162 οὐ τοῦτο θεηγόρος ἔννεπεν ὀμφή (~ *John* 7.42 οὐχὶ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν), Nonn. *Par.* 12.152 Ἠσαΐας τόπερ εἶπε χέων πρωτόθροον ὀμφήν (~ *John* 12.38); cf. Nonn. *Par.* 7.146 (~ *John* 7.38), Nonn. *Par.* 19.189 (~ *John* 19.37); in terms of both spoken and written word, see Nonn. *Par.* 10.127–128 ~ *John* 10.35, Nonn. *Par.* 12.163–166 ~ *John* 12.41, Nonn. *Par.* 15.103 ~ *John* 15.25.

18 So too letters in general, whether inspired or not, can have sound and sense; this is the basic conceit in the passage describing Cadmus' invention of the alphabet at Nonn. *Dion.* 4.259–263, esp. φωνήεντα καὶ ἔμφρονα δῶρα, γλώσσης ὄργανα … ὁμόθροα, γραπτὸν ἀσιγήτοιο τύπον … σιγῆς.

(ii) Various epithets of inspired/prophetic speech are shared as well, including:

a. θεηγόρος. This too, is shared by both poems. In Nonn. *Dion.* it is applied above all to seers and to sources of revelation,[19] and in one case to Zeus himself, not *ipso facto* because he is a god, but because on this occasion he is delivering an oracle (7.71). In Nonn. *Par.* it is often used in formulaic or quasi-formulaic phrases, and particularly introductions to solemn declarations by Jesus.[20] Nonn. *Dion.* is less formulaic, though both poems share the phrase θεηγόρον ἴαχε φωνήν (Nonn. *Dion.* 7.71 and Nonn. *Par.* 21.83), and Nonn. *Dion.* 13.132 θεηγόρος ἔκλαγε πέτρη (of Delphi) is of similar shape.

b. ποικιλόμυθος. This epithet is applied by Nicodemus to Jesus in Nonn. *Par.* 3.9 (~ *John* 3.2) and to prophets in general by the Pharisees at 7.193 (~ *John* 7.52); to Hermes in a speech which is semi-prophetic at Nonn. *Dion.* 3.423, and to Phanes, author of the oracles on the tablets of Harmonia in 12.68. These associations with (a) ancient deities and (b) Hermes are confirmed, respectively, by Orph. *H.* 13.5 and 28.8, though the epithet is also used with non-prophetic connotations in Nonn. *Dion.* 19.200 and 42.362.

c. More characteristic of Nonn. *Par.* are the -θροος compounds, several of which are Nonnian coinages—ἀντίθροος, διδυμόθροος, ἐτυμόθροος, ὁμόθροος, πρωτόθροος (πολύθροος is already in Aesch. *Suppl.* 820 and ἀλλόθρουν in *Ag.* 1200). The most important of these is πρωτόθροος, used of predictive or pre-emptive pronouncements by Moses, Isaiah, John, and Jesus himself in the sense 'you heard it here first'.[21] Nonn. *Dion.* has little to match, but it does describe the underground resonance at Delphi as an ἀλλόθροον ἠχώ (9.270).

(iii) Both have a pronounced liking for (ἀν)ερεύγομαι, literally 'vomit', of speech. Perhaps we should not make too much of this, since the weakened use of this verb, as applied to emphatic speech and sometimes merely to

19 The rock in Delphi (13.132) and Delphic Apollo himself (27.252); various seers and prophets: Teiresias (7.159, 44.82), Agreus (14.90), a seer consulted by Aretos (26.279), Idmon (38.70), Orpheus (41.375); also of the rites of Hera in Argos (3.263).

20 Jesus' words: Nonn. *Par.* 6.141 ~ *John* 6.35; Nonn. *Par.* 8.47 ~ *John* 8.23; Nonn. *Par.* 8.67 ~ *John* 8.28; Nonn. *Par.* 13.33 ~ *John* 13.7; Nonn. *Par.* 13.127 ~ *John* 13.31; Nonn. *Par.* 18.160 ~ *John* 18.34; Nonn. *Par.* 21.83 ~ *John* 21.15; epithet of Jesus in Nonn. *Par.* 11.229 ~ *John* 11.56.

21 Nonn. *Par.* 5.175 ~ *John* 5.45 (Moses); Nonn. *Par.* 12.152 ~ *John* 12.38 (Isaiah); Nonn. *Par.* 13.88 ~ *John* 13.19 (Jesus); in Nonn. *Par.* 3.130 the mere vocative ῥαββί in *John* 3.26 is expanded to ῥαββίν, ἀλεξικάκων ὑδάτων πρωτόθροε [γρ. πρωτόθρονος] κῆρυξ.

speech in general, is now well documented.[22] Yet it is still worth noting that the *Paraphrasis* uses it especially for prophetic/significant speech.[23] The *Dionysiaca* has more instances of its application to emphatic than specifically prophetic speech, but there are several examples of the latter.[24] Perhaps Nonnus' 'prophetic' use of the verb ultimately harks back to scripture (for example LXX *Ps.* 44.2 (MT 45.1) ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον[25]); a good parallel is a fulfilment-citation in Matthew which cites a Psalm expressly as a prophetic utterance, a revelation of matter hidden since the beginning of the world (Matth. 13.35 ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ~ LXX *Ps.* 77.2 φθέγξομαι προβλήματα / MT *Ps.* 78.2). The self-same formula is applied to the oracle of Heracles Astrochiton (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.442) and Christ's marvellous words to Nathanael (Nonn. *Par.* 1.194). One wonders whether the 'prophetic' uses of the verb in Nonn. *Dion.* might suggest that Nonnus was already influenced by the Judaeo-Christian idiom in the lexicon of the pagan poem?

Towards an Evaluation of the Data

The presentation of prophecy and inspiration in the *Paraphrasis* reinforces general tendencies within the Christian tradition. It displays the typical Christian orientation of prophecy towards prediction rather than ethical teaching.[26] It places a high degree of emphasis on futurity. In order to foreground this notion, Nonnus makes liberal use of the future participle ἐσσόμενος, the verb (προ)θεσπίζειν, and the noun θέσφατα, all underscoring the prophetic quality of scripture and of Jesus' pronouncements. Indeed, the use of similar language for the prophets and for Jesus (both, for example, receiving the epithet πρωτόθροος, with Jesus' spoken word complementing Moses' written one[27]) reinforces

22 Gigli Piccardi 1985, 106–107; De Stefani 2002, 227–228; Livrea 2000, 276–277; Agosti 2003, 513.

23 Simplex: Nonn. *Par.* 2.94 ~ *John* 2.19; Nonn. *Par.* 5.144 ~ *John* 5.36; Nonn. *Par.* 7.55 ~ *John* 7.15; Nonn. *Par.* 7.58 ~ *John* 7.16; Nonn. *Par.* 13.97 ~ *John* 13.21; Nonn. *Par.* 14.40 ~ *John* 14.10. Compound: Nonn. *Par.* 1.194 ~ *John* 1.49; Nonn. *Par.* 3.49 ~ *John* 3.10; Nonn. *Par.* 6.142 ~ *John* 6.35.

24 Nonn. *Dion.* 6.89 (Astraios' oracle), 12.141 (Atropos), 38.57 (Idmon), 40.442 and 501 (Heracles Astrochiton); all use the compound verb.

25 Smolak 1984, 8–9; cf. also LXX *Ps.* 18.3 (MT 19.2) ἡμέρα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐρεύγεται ῥῆμα.

26 Barton 1986, esp. 152, 179–213.

27 Compare Moses' scriptural ἰωή in Nonn. *Par.* 9.144–145 (~ *John* 9.28) and Jesus' unwritten one in Nonn. *Par.* 5.182 (~ *John* 5.47).

their parallelism and patterning, and the suggestion of the latter as the culmination of the former.

That prophecy is conceived in a particularly animated way. At least one element in the complex prehistory of this conception is the idea of the 'living God' (an Old Testament notion not particularly prominent in *John's Gospel* itself, though attested *passim* throughout the New Testament, and very prominent in the *Paraphrasis*). In turn it is connected with the rich vocabulary for life, the sustaining of life, and salvation, on the one hand, and animation and inspiration on the other. My present focus is on a few particular ideas—powerful, resonating voice, inspired waters, occasionally to the notion of something welling up from the depths[28]—and especially how we evaluate the overlap between Nonnus' two extant poems in this regard.

In general, various models have been proposed to understand the presence of 'paganising' elements in Nonn. *Par.* and of motifs in Nonn. *Dion.* that seem to anticipate or to resonate with Christianity. In turn they may imply different understandings of the audience(s) for which Nonnus composed his poems and the purpose(s) he intended them to serve. Perhaps the most familiar model is that of syncretism or convergence, that the poems together constitute a cultural mélange reflecting the lack of segregation between the two systems in Late Antiquity. Thraede, who wrote explicitly of syncretism, also wrote of a "Parallelisierung oder Konkurrenzdeutung von Dionysosreligion und Christentum",[29] but perhaps with slightly different implications, for parallelism and accommodationism imply, if not a mélange, then an act of bridge-building between two cultural systems, an attempt to find common ground. *St John's Gospel*, with its shadings of Greek philosophy, was the very ground on which to erect such a bridge, and to shore it up through the use of the Neoplatonic language which also permeates the *Dionysiaca*.[30] A second idea, proposed by Enrico Livrea, is that the *Dionysiaca* was constructed in much the same spirit as the compiler of the Tübingen Theosophy interpreted the pagan oracles which he collected as testimonia to the intimations of Christianity among the pagan Greeks: it was intended to demonstrate that the cult of Dionysus anticipated what would finally be realized in the Christianity that superseded it.[31] And, finally, the notion of *Kontrastimitation* presents almost a mirror image of this

28 4.67 νοεροῖο βυθοῦ ~ *John* 4.14. For the abyss, see Caprara on Nonn. *Par.* 67 (2005, 185–186) and Gruber and Strohm on Synesius, *Hymn* 1.189 (1991, 155).

29 E.g. Thraede 1962, 1002, 1003.

30 Volpe 1979–1980, 48–49, cf. Agosti 2001, 98: "non si sottolineerà mai abbastanza che Nonno ha scelto proprio il quarto evangelo, il più 'greco'." For Neoplatonic language, see n. 4.

31 Livrea 2000, 39–76, esp. 71–76.

thesis:[32] it is not that paganism anticipates so much as that Christianity purloins. It appropriates pagan themes and motifs in a challenge to the discredited elderly system.

So what of the *Paraphrasis*? Has it been embroidered with certain pagan ideas—those at least that remain on this side of acceptability for Christians? Is it an exercise in outreach, in palatability to pagans, or is it an attempt to steal the ground from under them? Is it a virtuosic exercise in expressing one system in another idiom? Is it a *natural* way of expressing oneself when one had been brought up in classical rhetorical schools? But the prior question is the extent to which there *is* in fact an accommodation between the two world-views, and it is this question to which we now turn.

Let us begin with the notion of voice, and especially ὀμφή. The word seems so decidedly pagan that its presence in the *Paraphrasis* looks as if it might be intended as a paganising item. But a closer inspection reveals that the two poems—while some *tournures* and formulas are common to both works—use it according to their own independent systems, which may occasionally overlap, though there is no sign that Nonnus has deliberately tried to assimilate them. In the *Dionysiaca*, it is used of: the voice of a god, in the form of a particular oracle or divine command;[33] of emanations from particular oracle centres (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.292, Ammon; 13.68, Amphiaraeus); occasionally of specific oracles (Nonn. *Dion.* 12.107); of the inspired utterances of particular seers (Nonn. *Dion.* 6.103, Astraeus; 7.161, Teiresias); and sometimes of the notion of inspiration itself (Nonn. *Dion.* 14.90, 41.263). The *Paraphrasis* uses it of inspired scripture in general (Nonn. *Par.* 10.127 ~ *John* 10.35); of particular prophets (Nonn. *Par.* 1.92–93 ~ *John* 1.25, Elijah and 'the prophet'), or utterances in scripture (Micah in Nonn. *Par.* 7.162 ~ *John* 7.42; Isaiah in Nonn. *Par.* 12.152, 166 ~ *John* 12.38, 41; Psalms in Nonn. *Par.* 15.103 ~ *John* 15.25); of Jesus' prophetic pronouncements, and of the inspired quality of Jesus' speech.[34] Where they overlap is that in both cases the word is tagged to the notions of futurity and of inspiration (associated mainly with the spoken word, though also with written material); they also share certain figures of speech, when they combine

32 van der Laan 1993, 152; Agosti 2003, 89, 94.

33 Nonn. *Dion.* 3.200 Διὸς ὀμφῇ; 4.249 Φοιβάδος ὀμφῆς; 12.141 ἔνθεον ὀμφήν (Atropos); 25.380 μητρῴην … ὀμφήν (Rhea); 41.399 Ὀφιονίην … ὀμφήν.

34 Prediction: Nonn. *Par.* 5.106 ~ *John* 5.28; Nonn. *Par.* 6.58 ~ *John* 6.15; Nonn. *Par.* 13.87–88 ~ *John* 13.19; Nonn. *Par.* 13.94 ~ *John* 13.21; Nonn. *Par.* 14.116 ~ *John* 14.29. Inspiration: Nonn. *Par.* 1.193–194 ~ *John* 1.49; Nonn. *Par.* 3.53 ~ *John* 3.11; Nonn. *Par.* 3.163–164 ~ *John* 3.34; Nonn. *Par.* 5.127 ~ *John* 5.33; Nonn. *Par.* 5.141 ~ *John* 5.36; Nonn. *Par.* 6.195–196 ~ *John* 6.63.

ὀμφή with water imagery and with ἐρεύγομαι.[35] But how helpful is it if, say, the same phrase introduces a colonisation oracle of a characteristically pagan type (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.442) and a wonder-statement by Jesus (Nonn. *Par.* 1.194)? For at the same time the pagan system remains ineluctably pagan: the divine voice inhabits a rich landscape of oracles and oracle-centres, rocks and the Delphic 'axle' (a cow's hoof in Thebes' foundation myth, Nonn. *Dion.* 4.348), contrasting with the gospel's spiritual landscape populated by bearers of the spirit whose outward environment is of vanishing importance in comparison to the riches of the spiritual universe within.

Another difference is between what might be called oracle as product and oracle as process. The *Paraphrasis*, like the Gospel, is dominated by the notion of prophecy realized. The notion of fulfilment is by no means absent from Nonn. *Dion.* (3.200, 4.348–350, cf. 12.141, where it also looks to Atropos' name),[36] but the pagan poem often lays the emphasis, not on the future in which a prediction or prophecy will be fulfilled, but in the here-and-now in which oracles are actively sought out and on the recipient's immediate reaction to them (Nonn. *Dion.* 4.249, 7.161, 12.42, 12.107, 12.330, 25.380, 41.399, 44.119–120, cf. 4.103). Oracle-giving is participatory—Nonnus' presentation is thoroughly in keeping with earlier classical literature, epic and tragedy, in which oracles are among other things a mechanism for communication and opportunity for the characterisation of their recipients—rather than a handing-down from on high which enforces a teleogical or soteriological pattern. One feature specific to the *Paraphrasis* might, at first sight, seem to contradict this: the word ὀμφή and its derivatives are used to introduce direct speech, so that prophecy features in *viva voce* conversation (3.49 ἀνήρυγε θέσκελον ὀμφήν; 8.104 χέων ἀντίκτυπον ὀμφήν; 11.83 ἔλεξε … ἔνθεον ὀμφήν; 13.94 ὀμφῆεν στόμα λύσας). But this in fact only reinforces the pattern. Jesus is speaking on all four occasions; the interest is not in the reaction his words elicit, but in the words themselves—lapidary statements, discourses, *ex cathedra* pronouncements. Their very authority removes the possibility of any adequate response or interaction of the kind found with pagan oracles.

---

35 Water: e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 1.92–93 προφήτης / πνεύματι παφλάζων, θεοδινέος ἔγκυος ὀμφῆς; Nonn. *Par.* 3.164 ἀειλιβέος ῥόον ὀμφῆς; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.309–310 ὀμφήεντι ῥεέθρῳ / Κασταλίης πάφλαζε νοήμονος ἔνθεον ὕδωρ (literal water). ἐρεύγεσθαι: e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 1.194 = Nonn. *Dion.* 40.442 ὀμφήεντος ἀνήρυγεν ἀνθερεῶνος; Nonn. *Par.* 3.49 ἀνήρυγε θέσκελον ὀμφήν ~ Nonn. *Dion.* 12.141 ἀνήρυγεν ἔνθεον ὀμφήν; cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 6.89 τριπλόον ὀμφαίης ἀνερεύγετο θέσφατον ἠχοῦς.

36 Futurity is, of course, *ipso facto*, the point of the *Dionysiaca*'s μέλλειν statements, an epic idiom whereby the narrator expressly anticipates an outcome, mostly external to the poem itself (4.419, 5.211, 7.183, 7.364, 13.243, 20.142, 21.162, 41.211, 44.274).

As a further case study let us consider water imagery. It is evident that both pagan and Judaeo-backgrounds are available for exploitation. On the one hand, classical paganism knows of sacred springs at Delphi and elsewhere, and sometimes credits the inspiration of the Pythia and other prophets to drinking their vital and inspiriting waters.[37] On the other, liquid also furnishes a metaphor for fluency in both speech and literary composition, and (at least in the imperial period) for oracular inspiration as well.[38] This metaphor rests on the language of flowing (ῥεῖν), pouring (χεῖν), and streams of water and of honey.[39] Observe that when this idea is employed by Plato in the *Laws*, the idea is that the 'flowing' poet is out of his mind, and that the copious streams of inspiration replace reason;[40] in Nonnus, on the contrary, the one does not preclude the other, and the one through whom inspiration flows is, at the same time, entirely *compos mentis*. The other source of water imagery is, of course, the Gospel itself, which both accords a prominent place to the Baptist and, in the story of the Samaritan woman at the well, elaborates on the metaphor of the water of life, of spiritual sustenance.[41] In the OT Jeremiah already calls the Lord the fountain of living waters (Jer. 2.13, 17.13), and this is developed by later Jewish sources into comparisons of Wisdom, or the Holy Spirit, or the Logos,

37 See Frazer 1898, 6, 356 (on Paus. 9.2.1, 10.24.7); Amandry 1950, 135–139; Fontenrose 1978, 474, index s.v. 'springs, sacred and mantic'.

38 To be precise, oracular inspiration may be conceived as streams of water, air, or light. In Plut. *Mor.* 432 D the earth sends forth πολλῶν μὲν ἄλλων δυναμέων πηγὰς ... τὸ δὲ μαντικὸν ῥεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα θειότατόν ἐστι καὶ ὁσιώτατον, ἄν τε καθ' ἑαυτὸ δι' ἀέρος ἄν τε μεθ' ὑγροῦ νάματος ἀναφέρηται; see too Porphyry, 322 F. μυρία μὲν γαίης μαντήια θέσκελα νώτῳ / ἐβλύσθη πηγαί τε καὶ ἄσθματα δινήεντα (going on to mention the literal springs in Didyma and Castalia) and 349 F. ῥεῦμα τὸ Φοιβείης ἀπονεύμενον ὕψοθεν αἴγλης / πνοιῇ ὑπὸ λιγυρῇ κεκαλυμμένον ἠέρος ἁγνοῦ.

39 ῥεῖν: Hom. *Il.* 1.249, Hes. *Th.* 39–40, 84, 97, Aesch. *Sept.* 556–557; Franchi on Nonn. *Par.* 6.195 (2013, 483). χεῖν: Hom. *Od.* 19.521 χέει πολυηχέα [*vl.* πολυδευκέα] φωνήν is the model for Nonnus' many phrases where χέω governs a noun of speech or sound, especially epithet + φωνήν (Gigli Piccardi 1985, 105; Agosti 2003, 321). Streams of water: Ar. *Ran.* 1005 (of Aeschylus), Cratinus, fr. 198 K.-A. (see the editors ad loc.); Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 28 (of Plato). Honey: West on Hes. *Th.* 83; recycled, by now as cliché, in Nonn. *Dion.* 4.140, 10.188, 11.252, 41.251; Nonn. *Par.* 6.217, with Franchi ad loc. (2013, 498), 19.186. Further on literary fluency, see Franchi (this volume), p. 210 and n. 51.

40 *Leg.* 719 C ποιητής, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν, οἷον δὲ κρήνη τις τὸ ἐπιὸν ῥεῖν ἑτοίμως ἐᾷ.

41 *John* 4.14: see Aune on *Rev.* 7.17b (1998, 478–479) for the phrase in the NT (*Rev.* 7.17, 21.6, 22.1 and 17), and the metaphorical applications of the 'water of life' in the early church. See Franchi's contribution to this volume.

with water, in their qualities of fecundation, refreshment, and the manner in which they are distributed. Drinking is also a metaphor for imbibing the lessons of a teacher.[42]

Nonnus' two poems exploit water imagery in different ways. They employ it both literally, as element, and figuratively, as metaphor, although, beyond the by-now routine use of χεῖν for speech, Nonn. *Dion.* makes remarkably little use of the fluency metaphor (given how well established it is in classical writers),[43] while Nonn. *Par.*, which makes significantly more use of it, applies it to the welling-up of the spirit and to its capacity to be infused into and to nurture others.[44] Another connection is that the concept of animated and inspiriting water figures in both of them—although in rather different ways. In Nonn. *Dion.* this motif is associated with the Castalian spring in Delphi (4.309–310, 13.133–134, 41.222), and with the Muses of Ilissos (41.223–224) and Hippocrene (41.226–227), while the Gospel furnishes the author of the *Paraphrasis*, not with natural springs, but with the stand-out episode set at Jacob's well in Samaria (4.6–15) which pivots on the contrast between terrestrial waters and the water of life.[45]

Up to a point the contrast is between the materialism of the one system with the refined spirituality of the other. I say only 'up to a point', for ancient authors give different accounts of the source of inspiration at Delphi. Some sources, from the first century BC onwards, speak of a πνεῦμα, or *adflatus*, or even *numen*, emerging from a chasm in the ground, and exercising an effect on the soul of the Pythia. Even so, the nature of the πνεῦμα is unclear, and open to more and to less materialistic interpretations.[46] In other sources, the essential thing is that

42 For references, see Beasley-Murray on *John* 4.10 (1987, 60); Franchi (this volume), p. 201f. and n. 27.

43 It seems to be an extension of χεῖν when Orpheus (here presented as poet rather than prophet) is credited with θεηγόρα χεύματα μολπῆς (Nonn. *Dion.* 41.375). The other passage occurs at the beginning of Cadmus' speech to Electra about his lineage; copious if neither poetic nor prophetic, it opens with κρουνηδὸν ἀνήρυγεν (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.247), and ends with χέων ἔπος (Nonn. *Dion.* 3.321).

44 ὄμβρος: Nonn. *Par.* 3.162, 8.10; ῥόος: 3.164, 4.66, 6.195, 15.27–28; χεῦμα: 6.217, 10.74, 12.184, 12.189.

45 Smolak 1984, 5, on Nonnus' elaboration of the link between landscape and spiritual message.

46 Will 1942–1943; Amandry 1950, 215–230. For the effect on the soul of the Pythia, see Plut. *Mor.* 432 D–E and Justin, *Epit.* 24.6.9. Plutarch's speaker Lamprias (whose point of view is influenced by Stoicism) is himself unclear about which is the material element and which the spiritual, i.e. whether it is a physical *pneuma* that acts on the soul of the Pythia, or

the Pythia drinks from the sacred spring, whose waters again exercise an effect upon her spirit.[47] But Nonnus obfuscates the role of the Pythia and breathes not a whisper of any πνεῦμα or sacred drink; what is important in his account is sound and its reverberations in the Delphic landscape, whose topography is generic, but important. The bottom line is that we face a conceptual gulf between the speaking waters of Castalia and the welling-up of copious streams of spiritual inspiration in the *Paraphrasis*,[48] and this gulf is analogous to the one between the resonance from the physical cleft or chasm at Delphi[49] and the voice of God that resounds in the words of prophecy and scripture. The conceptual gap is only made more obvious by the fact the same epithet, λάλος, describes the Castalian spring[50] and Ignatius' of Antioch image of living water (based on *John* 4.10–11) which issues articulate promptings and speaks from within (*Rom.* 7 ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί). Indeed, lexical correspondences and shared metrical patterns between Nonnus' two poems remain formal and superficial, and only draw attention to all that sunders the passages that Golega, in his study of the *Paraphrasis* (1930, 55), had compared—the babbling of the Delphic stream and the cleansing waters of Christian baptism (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.134 σοφῷ πάφλαζε ῥεέθρῳ / Nonn. *Par.* 3.114 σοφῷ βάπτιζε ῥεέθρῳ); the 'wise drink' of honey which quickly surfeits the gods on Olympus, as opposed to the 'wise drink' of living water with which Jesus can cure thirst for all eternity (Nonn. *Dion.* 19.243 / Nonn. *Par.* 4.47 σοφὸν ποτόν; in this case the two passages look almost like a deliberate antithesis). And in the case of the 'intellectual spring' in Nonn *Dion.* 41.227 (κρήνης … νοήμονος) and the 'cognisant rivers' of Nonn. *Par.* 7.147 (ἔμφρονες … ποταμοί) what is at stake is a different kind of opposition altogether—not between materialism and spirituality, but between two competing versions of spiritual culture. For in the first case it is Greek

---

whether it is the soul of the Pythia that is the ὕλη, acted upon by the spirit of enthusiasm (436 E–F).

47 See n. 37, and add scholion Eur. *Phoen.* 222 μυθεύονται δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ τῆς Κασταλίας ὕδωρ λάλον ἦν, πλασάμενοι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαλεῖν ἐκεῖνο—ἀδύνατον γάρ—ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους μαντικοὺς καὶ λέγειν δυναμένους τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοούμενα καὶ διασαφεῖν.

48 See n. 44, and Franchi's discussion (in this volume) of Nonnus' treatment of the Holy Sepulchre, water and rock.

49 Nonn. *Dion.* 4.292 κοιλάδι φωνῇ, with Chuvin ad loc. (1976, 162): "la voix 'venue des profondeurs' fait allusion à la faille (χάσμα) de Delphes"; Nonn. *Dion.* 9.270 χθονίης … βοῆς ἀλλόθροον ἠχώ, with Chrétien ad loc. (1985, 124, cf. 28).

50 Nonn. *Dion.* 13.134 Κασταλίης λάλον οἶδμα, 41.222 λάλον … ὕδωρ. The 'speaking water' of Delphi is also mentioned at e.g. *AP* Appendix, Oracula, 122.3; Psellus, *Orat. Forens.* 1, line 190 (p. 8 Dennis). See also *Anacreontea* 12.7 λάλον πιόντες ὕδωρ, of the Apolline prophets at Didyma, and Procop. *Epist.* 71, of Daphne.

paideia that is conferred by washing in the waters of the Muses' fountain on Hippocrene, while in the second the living waters that irrigate the believer in Christ are a private work of salvation wrought by, and in, the spirit.

Finally, let us consider the notion of futurity itself, which underpins that of inspired prophecy.

Both poems have a 'hero', a soteriological figure, whose future career is anticipated with explicit prolepses. In Nonn. *Dion.*, it is a question of prefigurations connected with Dionysus, mostly fulfilled within the course of the poem (the coming of the god, the emergence of items associated with his cult, his Indian victory), while in Nonn. *Par.*, scripture is cited to demonstrate its fulfilment in Christ here and now. As with the other areas we have examined, within this general scheme there are verbal and phraseological parallels: for example the use of ἄγγελος and προάγγελος; the use of the future participle,[51] e.g. ἄγγελος ἐσσομένων (Nonn. *Par.* 1.75, Nonn. *Dion.* 3.88, 5.123), ἐσσομένων κήρυκες (Nonn. *Par.* 1.181; Nonn. *Dion.* 7.107, 9.13, 41.160); parts of (προ)θεσπίζειν (especially the present participle); and various phrases of similar metrical shape, e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 14.119 προάγγελα χείλεα λύσας ~ Nonn. *Dion.* 21.227 προάγγελα σήματα φαίνων, 46.363 πρωτάγγελα θέσφατα φαίνων (not to mention 26.282 προάγγελα θέσφατα κεύθων); Nonn. *Par.* 19.187 χρωτὸς ἀμωμήτοιο προάγγελος ~ Nonn. *Dion.* 7.202 ἐσσομένου τοκετοῖο προάγγελος.

Equally obviously, however, is that the soteriological systems are fundamentally different. My claim is that the similarity of the shared phrases and formulations is ultimately less impressive than the difference between the systems they support. While both poems have an orientation towards the future, they favour different patterns of anticipation. In Nonn. *Dion.* they typically take the form of prefigurations, or events which signpost the future, in a direct, metaphorical, or metonymic way.[52] The preference of the *Paraphrasis*, on the other hand, is for declarative statements (in speech or scripture). To put it slightly differently, following the gospel, the *Paraphrasis* lays emphasis on the fulfilment in Christ

---

51 (A.) The career and attributes and associates of Dionysus: 7.107, 202, 351 (birth of Dionysus); 7.165, 12.29 (the vintage); 7.339 (the vine); 8.11 (a custom connected to childbirth, which Nonnus connects with Dionysus); 9.13 (ivy); 11.91 (Ampelus and wine); 11.164 (irrigation of vine). (B.) Dionysus' victory: 14.407, 18.312, 25.366, 26.3, 30.294–295, 37.440–441, 38.45, 38.63, 39.107. (C.) Other Dionysiac myth: 4.349, 404 (foundation of Thebes); 4.390 (Cadmus' victory); 5.66 (walls of Thebes); 5.123 (metamorphosis of Cadmus and Harmonia); 5.559 (Ino as sea-goddess); 18.177 (Lycurgus); 44.38, 44.45, 44.83 (Pentheus); 48.262 (Aura's bridal). (D.) Other: 1.523 (Zeus' victory over Typho); 6.105 (Demeter's corn); 26.270, 280 (dumb sons of Aretos); 40.506 (foundation of Tyre).

52 Lightfoot 2014, 39, 47, 48, 54.

of what precursors have predicted and forerunners anticipated, whereas Nonn. *Dion.* is more interested in signs and signals that graphically presage what is to come.

Since humanity's salvation is fulfilled with the coming of Dionysus, the pagan poem has no match for the all-important eschatology of the gospel paraphrase. To Christ's predictions about his own imminent passion and the coming end-times the *Dionysiaca* has nothing to correspond other than a bare handful of anticipations of other myths and instititions which overshoot the end of the poem.[53] For instance, of five instances of προκέλευθος in Nonn. *Par.*, four refer to anticipations in the eschatological scheme of things, whereas of 31 instances in Nonn. *Dion.*, only two refer to prophecy (rather than less momentous anticipations in time or place).[54] It is a similar story with προώριος, a variant on πρόωρος which, like it, basically means 'before the due time', but in Nonn. *Par.* has been redirected towards prophetic anticipation of cosmic eschatology (and in Nonn. *Dion.* does not have this significance).[55]

Conversely, phrases of the type ἄγγελος/μάντις ἐσσομένων (etc.) are much *less* common in the *Paraphrasis* (1.75, 1.181, i.e. 2/13 instances of the future participle of the verb 'to be') than in Nonn. *Dion.* (where they constitute about half the 52 instances of the same participle). That is because the phrase is typically used for the prefigurations in which Nonn. *Dion.* is so strong and Nonn. *Par.* so uninterested. The same point is made by a comparison of the use of (προ)θεσπί-ζειν. In this case the general pattern in Nonn. *Dion.* is for the compound to be used of signs or sounds which offer portents and prefigurations, the simplex (which is considerably rarer) for articulate predictions, whereas in Nonn. *Par.*

53 13.111 (Iphigenia); 13.241–252 (migrations of Astraeus); 17.395 (the eponym Blemys); 22.387–388 (Achilles); 37.588 (Aeacus' descendants); 41.160, 41.180, 41.426 (Berytus and its law school); 46.363 (Autonoe and Agave, but unspecific). These external prolepses are augmented by a series of μέλλειν prospectives, for which see n. 36. Looking forward to very specific mythological items, mainly pertaining to Dionysus' immediate entourage, these have no correspondences in the *Paraphrasis*, where uses of μέλλειν mostly mirror the original (often in connection with Jesus' foreknowledge of his fate) and *never* introduce a long-range perspective where this is absent from the original.

54 Nonn. *Par.* 1.22, 1.111, 12.166, 14.7; the exception is 10.14; Nonn. *Dion.* 3.359 and 18.177, both ἐσσομένων προκέλευθον ~ Nonn. *Par.* 12.166 ἐσσομένην προκέλευθον (sc. ὀμφήν).

55 προώριος first in Gr. Naz. *PG* 37.455.8, 456.1. The earlier πρόωρος is often used of those who have died before their time. This is also the sense of προώριος in Nonn. *Dion.* 33.53, but elsewhere Nonnus uses it of anticipations of the future—Nonn. *Dion.* 7.211, of Zeus' rape of Semele, and Nonn. *Par.* 3.88, which imports into the Gospel (*John* 3.17) the notion of anticipatory judgement. Specifically concerned with prophecy are Nonn. *Par.* 12.164 (Isaiah foreseeing Christ's glory), 14.116 (Christ's predictions).

both simplex and compound refer, not to prefigurations, but to predictions and prophecies of coming events and upheavals, all but one accompanying verbs of speech pertaining to the words of Jesus.[56] In general, what impresses here is not the overlap between the systems but the consistency (not complete, but still impressive) and integrity which each maintains, the fidelity of each to its own conceptual system.

The evidence suggests that syncretism and its kindred concepts, parallelism and accommodationism, are of only limited utility for Nonnus' treatment of prophecy and inspiration. So too is the notion of a treatment of paganism that makes it proleptic of Christianity. There is no sign that pagan oracles have been set up as a precursors or adumbrations of Christian ones; rather, Christianity in the *Paraphrasis* seems to have assimilated what is assimilable from paganism, but preserved the fundamental integrity of its own outlook. As far as prophecy is concerned, the evidence of the *Paraphrasis* would not rule out a pagan audience (given the idiom and the *tournures* that overlap with the pagan poem), but does suggest that the poet is making no compromises with the fundamentals of his system.

I conclude here, but the next question would be: if syncretism, or stealing a march on paganism, *Kontrastimitation*, or, conversely, sly refitting of paganism as a pre-quel of Christianity, are not appropriate models for the treatment of prophecy, but if they *are* tenable models for the representation of Christ and his miracles *vis-à-vis* Dionysus, then what is the difference? Or might it in fact be the case that what we find with prophecy applies to other aspects of the poems as well—that the matter of shared idiom is relatively superficial, while the groundwork of the respective systems retains its integrity?

56 This pattern is found in Nonn. *Dion.* only in 39.136–137, προθεσπίζων … ῥήξατο φωνήν, of Aeacus. For Nonnus' usage of the two verbs, see Lightfoot 2014, 48 and n. 36.

CHAPTER 9

Words and Their Meaning. On the Chronology of the *Paraphrasis of St John's Gospel*

Fabian Sieber

> Aristú (Aristoteles) denomina tragedia a los panegíricos
> y comedias a las sátiras y anatemas.
> Admirables tragedias y comedias abundan
> en las páginas del Corán
> y en las mohalacas del santuario.
>
> JORGE LUIS BORGES, *La Busca de Averroes*

Introduction

In one of his famous short stories, Jorge Luis Borges retells the situation when Averroes, commenting on Aristotle, identifies tragedies with panegyrics and comedies as being satirical anathemas.[1] In this story, it is after many days of restless reflection that Averroes came to his misleading interpretation, demonstrating the difficulties of recognizing something new, respectively the difficulties involved in coming to an adequate understanding of something not common to our language.

I would like to argue that research in the field of Nonnus of Panopolis and especially in interpreting the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* is in the same situation. The Biblical epic as a genre of theological reflection is completely uncommon to modern theological thought, which is trained in the methodology of historical-critical exegesis and used to the abstract character of the answers provided by this perspective. The Biblical epic is different and the Nonnian Biblical epic even more different: its overwhelming power of language and the innumerous metaphors and images used to paraphrase a single and often

1 Borges 1971, 93–104.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_011

short verse of the Gospel often seems to be simply crazy. The verdict formulated by Alois Grillmeier, therefore, is correct; indeed the “religiöse Kraft des Evangeliums [ist] in einem berückenden Wortreichtum verspritzt.”[2] However, other aspects have to be taken into account, for the problem is not the sheer amount of words but how to interpret them adequately. And here it is Averroes who illustrates the difficulties involved in such an approach. In the case of the *Paraphrase* things get even more complicated, however, for Nonnian chronology depends on the question of how to read certain words. Since the days of Joseph Golega it is common to see the occasional use of θεητόκος in the *Paraphrase* as a way of dating its time of creation. In my paper, I would like to reevaluate some of these well-established readings. It is not my intention to question the authenticity of the *Paraphrase*, but to substantiate the discussion on certain words and their meaning.

To do so, I will present three examples, two of them rather well-known in Nonnus research:

1. First, I will discuss the expression θεητόκος. Since the time of Golega and his influential work on the *Paraphrase* the phrase was a kind of watershed in the research of Nonnus' epic, for it was due to the use of this term that Golega decided to situate the text within the Christological debate of the first Council of Ephesus (431), using it as a *terminus post quem* and providing a relative chronology of Nonnus. I will argue that it is more appropriate to read the phrasing as a metaphorical expression. Then, however, the wording creates a semantic field that could not have been used in the setting of the Council of Ephesus.
2. I will also take a closer look at the concept of μάρτυς as used in the *Paraphrase*. It was Francis Vian who proposed interpreting μάρτυς as a key concept which Nonnus developed in the *Paraphrase* and then applied to the *Dionysiaca*. By doing this he was stressing the chronological priority of the *Paraphrase* and giving evidence to the authenticity of the text. I would like to argue that the concept of μάρτυς as found in the *Paraphrase* is clearly based on the New Testament and could not be found in the *Dionysiaca*.
3. Finally, I will address the problem of how to interpret the rendering of *John* 1.14 in the *Paraphrase*. In this context I want to focus on the metaphor θεὸς ἀνήρ in Nonn. *Par*. 1.39 and 1.157. As a nominal compound, it is a unique expression not found in Greek literature. If situated in the

2 Grillmeier 1990, 102.

framework of Christological debates, it could be linked to the monoenergetic/monotheletic controversy of the 7th century. In regard to Nonnian chronology, it is a somewhat "schwieriges dogmenhistorisches Rätsel."[3]

Mariological Terms: θεοτόκος

Joseph Golega, when pointing to the difficulties of contextualizing Nonnus and his *Paraphrase* in regard to the development of the history of dogma, pointed at dogmatic riddles that are present in Nonnus. And indeed Golega had a specific passage in mind. When interpreting pneumatological questions, he hinted at Nonn. *Par.* 16.43: οὗτος ἰὼν παρὰ πατρὸς ἀνυψώσει. In interpreting this verse, Golega concludes that the theological position of Nonnus was "auch in der Lehre vom Hl. Geist nicht mit Kyrillos konform."[4] He then relates the concept to Photius of Constantinople (9th century).[5] Indeed, this is a tricky problem and also a "schwieriges dogmenhistorisches Rätsel."

Golega has solved the problem by defining Nonnus as a theological opponent of Cyril of Alexandria; however, he names Nonnus as a factionist of the very same Cyril. Thus, his line of argument is highly inconsistent, for to call somebody a "Nestorian Monophysite" sounds odd. At a second glance, however, it does make sense, as can be proved with respect to the use of θεοτόκος in the *Paraphrase*.[6]

The term there occurs three times, for metrical reasons altered into θεητόκος.[7] But how to interpret it? For Golega it is quite clear: Cyril has not used the term in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* (to be dated before 428); therefore, the *Paraphrase* was written when the term gained dogmatic relevance in the discussions of the Council of Ephesus (431). Therefore, Golega concludes, θεοτόκος and its use in the *Paraphrase* "sichert einen festen terminus post quem für Nonnos."[8] But unfortunately, this argument lacks consistency, because the *Paraphrase* has nothing in common with the *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, if Nonnus, as mentioned before, was a theological opponent of Cyril!

Nevertheless, a closer examination of the specific use of the term can show some coherence. It should be taken into account that Mary is not simply called

3 Golega 1930, 112.
4 Golega 1930, 112.
5 Golega 1930, 113.
6 For the interpretation of θεοτόκος see Franchi 2012, 125–170.
7 See Nonn. *Par.* 2.9, 2.66, 19.135.
8 Golega 1930, 109.

θεοτόκος, but she is said to be Χριστοῖο θεητόκος [...] μήτηρ[9] and Χριστοῖο θεητόκος.[10] Therefore, a semantic field is evoked in which Mary is not only addressed with Cyrillian language (i.e. θεητόκος), but in a language that "seems to come uncomfortably close (in doctrinal terms) to the discredited epithet Χριστοτόκος."[11] Or, to put it differently: Nonnus apparently is using Nestorian *and* Cyrillian terminology at the very same time. By correlating two contradicting dogmatic terms, he creates a kind of oxymoron and thus neutralizes the definitude commonly attributed to dogmatic concepts.

On the other hand, this interpretation causes troubles regarding Nonnian chronology. If indeed actively operating against the theological arguments and decisions of the Council of Ephesus, Nonnus would have been condemned in Constantinople for calling Mary a θεητόκος, but he would have been anathematized in Alexandria for calling her Χριστοῖο [...] μήτηρ. So by inverting the argument, it can be stated for sure that Nonnus was only able to write his *Paraphrase* when both terms were well-established in dogmatic discussion but the heyday of controversies was already over and the discussion was settled. One could call that quite a tricky situation and—in line with Golega—an enigma[12] indeed!

New Testament Concepts: μάρτυς

A different approach to clarify Nonnian chronology was undertaken by Francis Vian.[13] In his interpretation, the use of μάρτ- as found in the *Dionysiaca* is dependent on the use of the concept as found in the *Paraphrase*. Against this background he argued for the priority of the *Paraphrase* over the *Dionysiaca*, thus proving the common authorship of Nonnus for both texts.[14] Vian's line of argument is rather complex and not easy to grasp. This is especially true because, in regard to statistics, he contradicts his own conclusions: while in Greek Imperial poetry the stem μάρτ- is used only occasionally, Nonnus makes reference to the wording in 153 instances. The *Paraphrase* makes use of it 84 times and the *Dionysiaca* at least 69 times. But while in the *Paraphrase* the word is used in nominative constructions, in the *Dionysiaca* it is used primarily

9 Nonn. *Par.* 2.9.
10 Nonn. *Par.* 19.135.
11 Shorrock 2011, 61–62.
12 Golega 1930, 112.
13 Vian 1997.
14 Vian 1997, 160.

in dative forms.[15] Additionally, one would expect that the word is used in a proportional amount of cases in both texts if indeed it is a marker indicating a dependency. Even in absolute numbers, however, the word is used more often in the *Paraphrase* than in the *Dionysiaca*—although the *Dionysiaca* is 7 times as long. If indeed used in a reciprocal way, there should be some 588 instances found in the *Dionysiaca* instead of 69 instances. Finally Vian concedes that the stem μάρτ- as present in the *Dionysiaca* is used in a "façon atténuée"[16] at least in comparison with the use of the concept as present in the *Paraphrase*. Nevertheless, Vian concludes the use of μάρτ- as present in the *Paraphrase* would induce a "système formulaire"[17] present in the *Dionysiaca* as well.

It is not only in regard to statistics, however, that the interpretation provided by Vian provokes reservations. In regard to his proposed system, there are possible alternate interpretations as well. According to Vian, three different connotations of the term μάρτυς have to be distinguished:

(1) It can refer to somebody who testifies the truth. Here it is related either to Jesus himself, to John the Baptist, to the disciples, to John the Evangelist, or to all those who testify the message of John the Baptist or Jesus.[18] A special case is given if somebody testifies a falsehood. Then the *Paraphrase* refers to the concept of μάρτυς as well, but it is clearly noted to be a problematic testimony. False testimonies, as it were, are put into the mouths of Jews and Pharisees.[19]

(2) The stem can be used in a juridical context; then, μάρτυς relates to the correctness of a statement or evidence in a legally binding matter. Such a connotation is especially given to passages dealing with the trial of Jesus (Nonn. *Par.* 18), and when Nicodemus is in conversation with Jesus (Nonn. *Par.* 3).

(3) Finally, a figurative meaning has to be taken into account. This is expected when Peter encounters Jesus' question, "Do you love me?" by invoking Jesus to be a witness of his heart.[20] The same connotation is applied when Jesus calls Thomas a μάρτυς ἀναμφήριστος[21] and asks him to put his

15 Vian 1997, 143–144.
16 Vian 1997, 156.
17 Vian 1997, 157.
18 See Vian 1997, 145 f.
19 See Vian 1997, 147.
20 Nonn. *Par.* 21.95.
21 Nonn. *Par.* 20.125.

finger into his stigmas; or when the crowd testifies with μάρτυς ἰωή[22] that Lazarus is raised from the dead.

It is especially Vian's third category that is unconvincing. A figurative meaning could be taken into account, but Vian's lexical analysis seems a little too confident. To prove the relevance of this category and to explain why the lexical field μάρτ- actually is applied[23] a closer analysis is needed. The starting point of such an analysis could be chapter 5. Of the 84 references in total, some 12 references (15%) are made just within this single chapter.[24] And within this chapter, the frequent use of μάρτ- in Nonn. *Par.* 5.121–126 is another noticeable accumulation of the word:

[…] ἥν γὰρ ἐνίψω
μαρτυρίην ἰδίην, οὐ πείθεται ἄλλος ἀκούων·
οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς πέλε μῦθος ἐτήτυμος, ἥνπερ ἐνίψω
μαρτυρίην ἰδίην αὐτόθροον· ἀμφ' ἐμέθεν δὲ
ἄλλος ἀνὴρ πέλε **μάρτυς** ἐπάρκιος· οἶδα δὲ κείνου
πιστὴν **μαρτυρίην** καὶ ἐτήτυμον.

Vian, interpreting this passage, classifies the use of μάρτ- as matching his first category. Such an interpretation of course is possible, for indeed Jesus gives a kind of testimony of truth when defining John the Baptist to give a proper testimony of him, a testimony said to be "true."[25] On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that the context of the plot is clearly juridical. The problem put into question is based on Mosaic Law, as defined in *Deut.* 19,15: "A single witness shall not suffice to convict a person of any crime or wrongdoing in connection with any offence that may be committed. Only on the evidence of two or three witnesses shall a charge be sustained."

The Gospel is well aware of the problem in question when stating ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, […].[26] The *Paraphrase* simply repeats this utterance: ἥνπερ ἐνίψω μαρτυρίην ἰδίην αὐτόθροον.[27] Thus, to apply Vian's second category to interpret this passage would be fine as well. On the other hand, John is

22 Nonn. *Par.* 12.74.

23 A lexical field rarely used in poetic literature.—See Vian 1997, 143f.

24 See Nonn. *Par.* 5.49, 5.71, 5.89, 5.122, 5.124, 5.125, 5.126, 5.131, 5.132, 5.141, 5.148, 5.157.

25 See Nonn. *Par.* 5.123: μῦθος ἐτήτυμος.

26 *John* 5.32.

27 Nonn. *Par.* 5.123–124.

identified again as a witness or, more precisely, to be a μάρτυρος ἐμπεδόμυθος,[28] a wording which probably should be read as evoking a figurative meaning. As a consequence, all three of Vian's categories could be applied within a very few lines. That is a very unsatisfying situation, for it raises questions about the suitability of the provided system.

Perhaps it would be more rewarding to take into account the *Vorlage* as well. In case of *Par.* 5.121–126 it is *John* 5.31–32 that is rendered in a poetic form. Within those lines of the gospel text the stem μαρτ- is used on 5 occasions:

> ἐὰν ἐγὼ **μαρτυρῶ** περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἡ **μαρτυρία** μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής· ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ **μαρτυρῶν** περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ **μαρτυρία** ἣν **μαρτυρεῖ** περὶ ἐμοῦ.

Taking into account that the concept of martyrdom was widely used in New Testament and Patristic literature,[29] one could assume a dependency of the *Paraphrase* on the Gospel text, but not of the *Dionysiaca* on the *Paraphrase*.

Christological Metaphors: θεός-ἄνθρωπος and θεός-ἀνήρ

"And the word became flesh." *John* 1.14 is one of the most well-known passages of the whole Gospel, stating the incarnation of the *Logos* with a brief and almost abrupt simplicity. Nonn. *Par.* 1.39 renders this specific verse into poetry and there the first occurrence of the metaphor can be found. In the *Paraphrase* the Gospel text is repeated first when it runs: καὶ λόγος αὐτοτέλεστος ἐσαρκώθη (Nonn. *Par.* 1.39). The following 3 lines, however, amplify this text by meditating on its meaning. The adjectives used are picturesque and frequent. Perhaps the most striking phrasing, however, is θεὸς ἀνήρ. By addressing the incarnate *Logos* to be divine and human at the same time, the *Paraphrase* makes a reference to the common figure of "divine man."[30] Taking into account the given framework of interpretation, defined on the one hand by the New Testament background[31] and on the other hand by its history of interpretation,[32] it is necessary to interpret the phrasing along these lines of thought. What makes things more

28 See Nonn. *Par.* 5.131.
29 See Brox 1961.
30 For its use in Hellenistic and Christian contexts see Du Toit 1997.
31 See Theobald 1998.
32 See Uhrig 2004; Grillmeier 1997.

complicated is that the phrasing then is to be read as a nominal compound,[33] a construction unparalleled in Greek literature. So how should the expression, then, be interpreted?

In a dogmatic-historical context it is quite clear that the phrasing of the *Paraphrase* should not be referred to the concept of "divine man."[34] θεῖος ἀνήρ as a concept indeed is present in the *Paraphrase*, but it is never used to describe the real Christ; it is attributed to John the Baptist[35] and to Moses.[36] This specific use of θεῖος ἀνήρ in the *Paraphrase* is in accordance to the use of the concept in patristic tradition, as stated by Grillmeier: "Die Bezeichnung vom θεῖος ἀνήρ wird gerne vergeben, aber niemals an Christus."[37]

A deeper understanding of the meaning of θεὸς ἀνήρ can be gained by taking into account the second passage where the phrasing occurs in Nonn. *Par.* 1.157. There it is Andrew inviting Simon into discipleship who explains that he has found the wise Messiah, ὃς θεὸς ἀνὴρ Χριστὸς Ἰουδαίοισιν ἀκούεται Ἑλλάδι φωνῇ (Nonn. *Par.* 1.157–158). But here obviously θεὸς ἀνήρ is used to provide a kind of definition of the Greek title Χριστός. It is used as an expression to describe the human-divine nature of Christ, the incarnate *Logos* of *John* 1.14. If so, the phrasing in both instances should be read as a copulative compound, or a "Zwillingsbildung," to use an expression coined by Herman Usener and applied to the problem in question by Grillmeier.[38] Unfortunately, copulative compounds are rare in Greek—and, according to Grillmeier, in Christian literature as well.

There is another complication—at least in terms of chronology—if one is looking for Christological debates to which the wording could be linked. Grillmeier distinguishes two different periods of use of the word formation. He states: "Der Einschnitt ist mit dem ps.-dionysischen Schrifttum gegeben. Im ersten Zeitabschnitt ist θεός-ἄνθρωπος führend, ohne nachher seine Bedeutung zu verlieren. Mit Ps.-Dionys kommt das Adjektiv θεανδρικός hinzu, das dann erst

33 Dissident from the translations of Sherry 1991: "And the self-perfected Logos became flesh, a god, a man, the one born of late, the other earlier born (…)."; De Stefani 2002: "E il Verbo creato da sé s'incarnò, Dio, uomo, venuto dopo, nato prima (…)."; and Pospelov 2002: "Логос-самовершитель и Богом стал, и человеком, Древлерожденный Потомок (…)."

34 As proposed by Dietrich Ebener in his translation of the passage in question. See Ebener 1985, vol. 2: "Aber das Wort nahm Menschengestalt an, ein göttlicher Jüngling, zeitig geboren."

35 See Nonn. *Par.* 1.129, 3.125.

36 See Nonn. *Par.* 5.179.

37 Grillmeier 1997, 220.

38 See Grillmeier 1997, 232–233; Grillmeier 1983, 313.

θεός-ἀνήρ und andere abgeleitete Wortbildung nach sich zieht. Damit sind zwei wichtige Kopulativkomposita gegeben."[39]

So it is Ps.-Dionysius who first referred to the metaphorical field of θεός-ἀνήρ when creating the adjective θεανδρικός. When he tries to find an example for θεός-ἀνήρ used as a copulative compound, Grillmeier has to refer to Ps.-Cyril, where such a connection of words was used for the first time. There the metaphors θεός-ἀνήρ and θεός-ἄνθρωπος are used simultaneously and almost synonymously. Grillmeier quotes a passage from *De Sacrosancta Trinitate*,[40] a text to be dated "in die Zeit der monoenergetischen Kontroverse [...], also mindestens ins späte 7. Jh."[41] Unfortunately, however, the possible use or dependence on Ps.-Dionysius as well as on Ps.-Cyril in the *Paraphrase* represents another "schwieriges dogmenhistorisches Rätsel"[42] in Nonnus.

Conclusion

It is difficult to draw a definite conclusion. Certainly it is not possible to question the authenticity of the *Paraphrase* on the basis of this very brief account. It was my intention, however, to question established interpretations of the *Paraphrase*. Against this background, I wanted to demonstrate that it is not possible to interpret the dogmatic terms of the *Paraphrase* as a clear expression of dogmatical thought. Therefore, it is hard to position the *Paraphrase* within a given dogmatic discourse. As we have seen, it is not possible to interpret the use of Χριστοῖο θεητόκος in a given setting of the history of dogma. It might be helpful, however, to read the phrasing as a kind of metaphor and as an attempt to open a new field of theological discourse. To postulate that the *Paraphrase* of the *Gospel of John* could have been written in connection with the council of Ephesus for its specific use of the term θεοτόκος / θεητόκος is not reasonable. On the contrary, the use of Χριστοῖο θεητόκος clearly points to the fact that the *Paraphrase* should be seen in an obviously post-Chalcedonian context, when both terms were well-introduced in dogmatic thought but had already lost their controversial connotation.

---

39 Grillmeier 1997, 217.

40 PG 77.1157B: εἷς ὁ αὐτὸς θεάνθρωπος· μὴ διαιρούμενος εἰς Θεὸν ἰδικῶς, καὶ εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς· ἀλλ' εἷς ἀμερίστως ὑπάρχων, Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς, ταυτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, Θεὸς καὶ ἀνήρ.

41 Grillmeier 1997, 231.

42 Golega 1930, 112.

In regard to the use of the stem μάρτ- it seems to be necessary to link the concept of the background of New Testament writings and Patristic literature. At least in regard to word statistics, it seems to be hasty to establish a dependency of the *Paraphrase* on the *Dionysiaca*.

Finally, the use of the nominal compound θεὸς ἀνήρ in the *Paraphrase* raises some questions regarding chronology. The use of the corresponding adjective compound is first documented in the works of Ps.-Dionysius. The use of a copulative compound is only traceable in Pseudo-Cyril. It might be taken into account that Golega raised a comparable problem when connecting a phrasing of Nonn. *Par*. 16.43: οὗτος ἰὼν παρὰ πατρὸς ἀνυψώσει to the works of Photius of Constantinople. For Golega, this situation constitutes, as already noticed above, a "schwieriges dogmenhistorisches Rätsel."[43] There is nothing left to be added, except a lament about the difficulties involved in gaining an understanding of the meaning of words; this is a situation well known to Averroes as well as any reader of Nonnus.

43 Golega 1930, 112.

CHAPTER 10

Characterization of Persons and Groups of Persons in the *Metabole*

*Maria Ypsilanti and Laura Franco**

In his *Metabole*, or *Paraphrase*, of the *Gospel of St John*, Nonnus typically adds terms which denote features and qualities of the feelings, the mental capacity, the disposition, or even the appearance of the persons referred to, whilst his *Vorlage* is generally laconic and strikingly economic in its expression. In adding adjectives or whole phrases to sketch his characters' minds and souls, Nonnus enhances the rhetorical *amplificatio* of his model, as regards the external form of his work, and, at the same time, enriches his work's content, according to "readings" of the Johannine characters, which can be found in the other Gospels and in later theologians directly or indirectly, or/and are the poet's own reworking of epic motifs which he uses also in the *Dionysiaca*. This paper examines how Jews, the Priests, and the Pharisees are represented acting as groups and, likewise, how the two chief high priests, Annas and Caiaphas, are characterized; all of them are hostile and dangerous to Christ, and their vices are depicted with memorable imagery.

Priests / Pharisees / Jewish Crowd

Priests / Pharisees / Jewish Crowd as an ἑσμός: βαρύζηλοι, δύσμαχοι, δήιοι, θρασεῖς, δολοπλόκοι, θεόκλητοι, ἀνιπτόποδες

Nonn. *Par*. 1.73 καὶ θρασὺς ἑσμὸς ἔειπεν ἀνιπτοπόδων ἱερήων
1.77 καὶ πάλιν ἑσμὸς ἔειπε θεοκλήτων ἱερήων
4.3 δύσμαχος ἑσμὸς ἄκουσε βαρυζήλων Φαρισαίων
9.123 μὴ δήιος ἑσμὸς ἀκούσῃ
18.130 Καϊάφα δὲ μέλαθρα κατήγορος ἑσμὸς ἐάσας
18.153 καὶ θρασὺς ἑσμὸς ἔειπε

* We gratefully acknowledge the support of the University of Cyprus for an internal research project grant.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_012

18.156 Πιλᾶτος δὲ δολοπλόκον ἑσμὸν ἐάσας
19.105 καὶ πολὺς Ἑβραίων ἐπιδήμιος ἑσμὸς ἀνέγνω

In the *Gospel of John* the high priests and the Pharisees play a fundamental role in the development of the narrative, as they represent the most influential opponents of Christ and their acting is crucial in the sequence of the events resulting in the trial and the crucifixion. In particular, the position of the Pharisees is more emphasized in the *Johannine Gospel* than in the Synoptics: contrary to the other Gospels, in *John* only the Pharisees are referred to as an influential social group, whereas neither the Sadducees nor the scribes are mentioned.[1] This might indicate a simplified and unhistorical perspective of the Jewish leadership; at any rate, it is confirmed also by other sources that the Pharisees were accepted in the Palestinian society as community leaders with great influence, together with the high priests.[2] The tones employed by the Evangelist when describing them are free from any sort of judgemental characterization, the style is plain and the events do not need to be commented on: they are self-evident. This is not the case in the paraphrased text: Nonnus' explicit bias against the Jews is manifest and has been observed by several scholars.[3] To a certain extent, this is a reflection of the Gospel;[4] nevertheless, in the Nonnian rendering the negative connotations of the characterization of the Jews as an ethnic group are much stronger than in the model, to such a scale that their evilness becomes an independent element of the narrative, since it is presented as the decisive factor leading to the death of Jesus.

In the above passages, the Jewish crowd and the priests/Pharisees are presented as a "swarm", usually accompanied by a negative adjective or an ironical qualification, such as θεόκλητος and ἀνιπτόποας, which will be discussed below. The persistence on depicting a multitude (the Jewish crowd) attacking a single person is already found in the Johannine narrative[5] and, as Spanoudakis notes on Nonn. *Par.* 11.215, "high priests and Pharisees are envisaged as orga-

---

1 See Schnackenburg 1967 on *John* 1.24 and Barrett ^{2}1978 on *John* 1.24 τῶν Φαρισαίων; see also Saldarini 1988, 187–188.

2 On the Pharisees in *StJohn*, see Saldarini 1988, 187–198. For their presentation as an influential group in *John*, see also Schnackenburg 1967, 127.

3 For instance, Caprara 1999.

4 See next note.

5 Cf. Schnackenburg 1967, who notes, on *John* 1.24, that "in John the Pharisees are the ever-watchful and suspicious adversaries of Jesus, who keep the people under surveillance and influence it with their propaganda (cf. 4.1; 7.32a, 47f.; 11.46; 12.19, 42)". See also Barrett ^{2}1978 on *John* 2.6 τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

nized criminal gangs" by Nonnus, who elaborates his model's idea. The image of the Jews surrounding Christ in masses and the implications of threat and hostility that it incorporates is common in theological writings. In his *Commentary on John*, among other works, Cyril describes the Jews as a πληθύς, a στῖφος or an ἀγέλη, terms that lower them to the level of irrational animals;[6] he also describes the Pharisees as an inimical crowd with the same terms.[7] In the *Paraphrase*, Nonnus uses the term ἑσμός; this noun is employed also for the Disciples or other people who go to see Christ (e.g. Nonn. *Par.* 9.10 12.62, 12.78, 17.52), but the word there is accompanied by neutral or positive qualifications. The poet gives the noun a negative meaning when he describes the Jewish crowd and its priests and creates, with the help of unflattering adjectives, the impression of dangerousness, as Cyril does with the terms describing the Jewish masses and as the Church Fathers do, when they employ ἑσμός to render negative abstract notions, such as evils and sins.[8] Ἑσμός is often used by Nonnus in the *Dionysiaca*, occasionally to denote unfriendly or frightening throngs, such as battle ships (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.385), elephants (Nonn. *Dion.* 22.38, 36.189), bulls (Nonn. *Dion.* 42.186), giants (Nonn. *Dion.* 25.97), inimical troops (Nonn. *Dion.* 14.408, 29.282, 29.294). As regards the negative adjectives that the Jewish ἑσμός is given by the poet, it can be noted that θρασύς has in general a negative meaning, although it may be employed in a milder or even positive sense, as in *bold*/*brave*; in the definitively negative sense of *arrogant*/*haughty*, it is often utilized to characterize the Jews as a crowd[9] or the Jewish priests, and with the same negative connotation it also recurs with reference to the Pharisees, Judas (Nonn. *Par.* 14.85; 18.8 and 18.31) and Annas.[10] Other adjectives are par-

---

6 For instance 1.650,4–5 Pusey τὸ μιαρὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ... στῖφος, 2.642,25–26 Pusey τήν τε ἀγελαίαν καὶ συρφετώδη τῶν Ἰουδαίων πληθὺν, 1.647,15 Pusey ἅπασαν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀγέλην.

7 For instance, *Comm. Jo.* 1.385,6–7 Pusey τὸ δυσπειθὲς καὶ δυσήνιον τῶν Φαρισαίων ... στῖφος, 2.208,27 Pusey τὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀνόσιον στῖφος, 2.642,26–27 Pusey τὸ θεομισὲς καὶ ἀνόσιον στῖφος, γραμματέας τε καὶ Φαρισαίους.

8 In pagan literature, apart from the neuter swarm of bees, ἑσμός also can denote "hostile" snakes ([Opp.], *C.* 2.257), enemies symbolized by wasps (Plu. *Mor.* 96b8–9 οὕτως οἱ φίλων ζητοῦντες ἑσμὸν ἔλαθον ἐχθρῶν σφηκιαῖς περιπεσόντες). The Fathers very often employ the word in a negative sense: for instance ἑσμός κακῶν (Basil, *Serm. De Mor.* PG 32.1345,46–47 32.1380,37, *In Ebr.* PG 31.461,17–18, Gr. Nys. *In Sext. Ps.* 5.192,9), ἁμαρτημάτων ([Basil], *Sermo 11* PG 31.625,41–42), κολάκων (Basil *Serm. De Mor. a Sym. Met. Coll.* PG 32.1117,27, John Chrys. *In Ep. ad Rom.* PG 60.422,7), παθῶν (John Chrys. *In Matth.* PG 57.446,7), παρασίτων (John Chrys. *In Eutr.* PG 52.391,19), *al.*

9 Except of the instances in which it refers to the Jewish crowd as ἑσμός in the *Paraphrasis* discussed here, it describes the Jews also in Nonn. *Par.* 8.43, 113 and 141.

10 On θρασύς, see De Stefani 2002, 158.

ticularly noteworthy. Nonnus frequently uses similar terms to describe Christ's and Dionysus' enemies, in his two epics.[11] In the *Paraphrase*, δύσμαχος (Nonn. *Par.* 4.3) and δήιος (Nonn. *Par.* 9.123) clearly designate the war-like enmity of a crowd which is equally hostile to Christ as the troops of the *Dionysiaca* are to Dionysus.[12] At the same time, of course, the idea of Jews as opponents to Christ and God in general is recurrent in theological writings: cf. the terms θεομάχος and θεομαχῶ in the *Catenae* and several other works, including Cyril's *Commentary on John*,[13] and the adjective Χριστομάχος in Athanasius, *inter alios*.[14] In the context of Nonnian vocabulary, the use of δύσμαχος and of βαρύζηλος for the crowd of the Pharisees is remarkable (Nonn. *Par.* 4.3) and of δύσμαχος, in a *hypallage*, for the ears of those who reject Christ's teaching (Nonn. *Par.* 3.54): in the *Paraphrase* the ἀρχιερῆες are also ζηλομανεῖς (Nonn. *Par.* 9.126). Now, in the *Dionysiaca* βαρύζηλος[15] usually qualifies Hera, whose anger is great and dangerous and who constantly acts against Dionysus: Nonn. *Dion.* 8.104 (cf. βαρύμηνις a few lines below, 8.109), 8.407, 20.348; Hera's ἄχεα are βαρύζηλα in Nonn. *Dion.* 8.281 and she is also ζηλομανής (the adjective is created by Nonnus) in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.325 and 32.47 (in two out of the four occurrences of the adjective in the *Dionysiaca*).[16] In Nonn. *Dion.* 20.346 Hera is also δύσμαχος, combining thus the two adjectives that the Pharisees are given in Nonn. *Par.* 4.3 (since two lines later she is characterized as βαρύζηλος); furthermore, Hera is δύσμαχος in Nonn. *Dion.* 30.320 and 35.279 and puts a δύσμαχον θάρσος into Deriades in 29.2 so as to make him eager to fight with Dionysus. The ἑσμός of the priests in Nonn. *Par.*

---

11 For an overview of the similarities between Dionysus and Christ in Nonnus, see Tissoni 1998, 71–79. For the similarities between certain characters opposing the central figure, namely Pentheus and the Jewish priests, see, more specifically, Tissoni 1998, 76–77.

12 Δήιος, for instance, Nonn. *Dion.* 18.267 δήιον ἀμήσαντα χαμαιγενέων στάχυν Ἰνδῶν, 29.20 καὶ δηίους ἐφόβησεν, *al.*

13 *Cat. Mat.* 91.1–3 τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεομάχον καὶ φιλαίτιον καὶ φιλόψογον ἔθνος, *Cat. Joh.* 211.12., 380.29, *Cat. in Acta* 42,8, *al.* Cf. Cyril, *Comm. Jo.* 2.28,14–15 Pusey θεομαχοῦντας ἀντικρὺς ἀποφαίνει τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, 2.135,2–3 Pusey τῆς μὲν Ἰουδαίων ἐπαναστήσεται βδελυρίας, καὶ τὴν θεομάχων καταλείψει πληθύν. Also, cf., for instance, John Chrys. *Princ. Act.* PG 51.70,1–3 οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τοὺς θεομάχους, τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τοὺς σκληροτραχήλους; id. *Adv. Jud.* PG 48.881,37 ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν θεομάχων Ἰουδαίων, [Gr. Nyss.] *Luc. Sanct. Dom. Res.* 9.317,5–7 Gebhardt οἱ κυριοκτόνοι, οἱ προφητοκτόνοι, οἱ θεομάχοι, οἱ μισόθεοι, οἱ τοῦ νόμου ὑβρισταί, οἱ τῆς χάριτος πολέμιοι. The adjective is also, expectedly, frequently used for the heretics, especially the Arians.

14 Athan. *Or. III Contr. Ar.* 55.1 ὦ χριστομάχοι καὶ ἀχάριστοι Ἰουδαῖοι, [Ignatius] *Epist. Interp.* 7.2 τῶν Χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων.

15 A typical Nonnian adjective, first in Lycophron 57.

16 Ζηλομανής, apart from Nonnus, also in Agathias *AP* 5.218,7.

18.156 is δολοπλόκος;[17] elsewhere in the *Paraphrase* the high priests' mouths are δόλια (Nonn. *Par.* 19.78 καὶ δολίοις στομάτεσσιν ἀνέκραγον ἀρχιερῆες), where John simply says that the Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκραύγαζον (*John* 19.12) and Caiaphas and Judas are δολοπλόκοι (Caiaphas 11.201, Judas 12.17 and 12.22); also, in Nonn. *Par.* 11.236 the Pharisees are δολορραφέες. On one hand, δόλος is a feature of the Jews and Pharisees, as they plan to arrest Jesus, in Matthew and Mark (*Ev. Matt.* 26.4 [here the meeting takes place at the αὐλή of Caiaphas] and *Ev. Marc.* 14.1). On the other hand, Hera in the *Dionysiaca* is frequently described with terms involving δόλος;[18] in addition, and in a striking pleonasm, the Indians are δολορραφέες and work a δόλος in Nonn. *Dion.* 22.122; they also have a δολόεις νόος in 22.133.[19] Both Hera (and secondarily the Indians) and the characters threatening Christ are given similar qualifications and qualities, and they both oppose the central figure of the narrative, who will be finally victorious and triumphant. As regards the adjective κατήγορος of the Jewish crowd in Nonn. *Par.* 18.130, the verb κατηγορῶ is typically describing the priests' and Pharisees' accusations of Christ in the Gospels.[20]

In Nonn. *Par.* 1.73 and 1.77 the presentation of the priests acquires an ironical dimension. The adjectives ἀνιπτοπόδων and θεοκλήτων are designed to diminish the priests' image and they both imply, each one by different means, the foolishness of these persons' arrogance. Nonnus is the creator of θεόκλητος and uses it several times in the *Dionysiaca*, in the sense of invitation or invocation of the gods.[21] Similarly to Nonn. *Par.* 1.77, in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.484 θεόκλητος qualifies the mouth (ἀνθερεῶνι) of a priest of Lydian Zeus. In other passages of the *Paraphrase*, θεόκλητος qualifies various items, similarly to the *Dionysiaca*.[22] As far as Jewish ἱερῆες are concerned, the irony of the attribution of θεόκλητος to them lies in the reminiscence of their high self-esteem and the illusion that their knowledge and role are special, a typically characteristic conviction of

17 For an overview of the word in Greek literature, see Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.156. For Nonnus' attribution of δόλος to the Jews, see further Spanoudakis 2014b, on Nonn. *Par.* 11.201b δολοπλόκον. Spanoudakis observes that Jewish δόλος "involves, other than the arrest, the delegation of responsibility for Christ's death to the Romans alone".

18 Nonn. *Dion.* 20.182 δολορραφέος φθόνον Ἥρης. Δόλος Ἥρης at 30.241, 35.264 and 35.273.

19 For δολορραφής describing various persons in the *Dionysiaca*, see Spanoudakis 2014b on Nonn. *Par.* 11.236.

20 For instance *Ev. Matt.* 27.12, *Ev. Marc.* 3.2, 15.3, *Ev. Luc.* 6.7, 23.10, *John* 8.6, *al.*

21 Cf. Simon 2004, on Nonn. *Dion.* 46.298. The adjective qualifies the marriage of Cadmus and the subsequent feast (ὑμεναίους 5.92, τραπέζης 46.298), magical incantations (ἐπαοιδαῖς, 22.77 and 36.345), voice (35.68), altar (βωμῷ, 44.86), Bacchic dance (χορείῃ, 47.730).

22 A temple (νηῷ 2.72 and 18.98), an altar (βωμῷ 4.100), a house (μελάθρου 9.117 and 16.3) and voice (16.85). See further Livrea 1989, 158, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.98.

the priests and Pharisees in the Gospels. For instance, in Jesus' parable in *Ev. Luc.* 18.11, the Pharisee thanks God because he is superior than the rest of the people since he alone fulfils all divine requirements; in the *Gospel of John* the Pharisees are presented as experts in religious matters.[23] Cyril, among other theologians, often refers to the phrase of Jeremiah (8.8) about the Scribes' view of themselves as wise agents of the word of God, "πῶς ἐρεῖτε ὅτι σοφοὶ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς καὶ λόγος Κυρίου ἐστὶν μεθ' ἡμῶν; εἰς μάτην ἐγενήθη σχοῖνος ψευδὴς γραμματεῦσι",[24] or comments on the Pharisees' illusion that they have precise comprehension of the divine word.[25] Thus priests believe that they have the unique privilege to be familiar with, guard and explain the will of God, in other words that they are exceptional and θεόκλητοι, according to Nonnus' ironic application of his coinage to them. The same irony is achieved with the use of θεμιστοπόλος for the Pharisees in Nonn. *Par.* 7.189, discussed below.

The other adjective attributed to the ἱερῆες has again ironical overtones of a type similar to that of θεόκλητος. Being a Homeric epithet for the priests of Dodona in Hom. *Il.* 16.234, ἀνιπτόπους assumed a negative meaning in later tradition. The 4th century comic poet Euboulus used the Homeric phrase to describe the lazy and parasitic philosophers, as Eustathius notes in his comment on the Iliadic line.[26] It has to be observed that Nonnus uses the adjective twice in the *Dionysiaca* (40.285 and 43.212) to qualify the constellation of the Bears (first instance) and the horses of a marine chariot (second instance). In these two passages, the adjective ἀνιπτόπους has the neuter meaning of ἄβροχος,[27] since it simply means that the feet of the Bear and the horses do not touch the sea. The attribution of the adjective to the priests, however, draws the phrase of the *Metabole* closer to the connotations of the Homeric original, as these were explained or exploited by later literature. Scholiasts and lexicographers speak of the cleanness/purity of the Dodonian priests that eliminates

---

23 See Schnackenburg 1967, on *John* 1.24, who mentions *John* 3.1–2, and 10, 7.47–49, 8.13, 9.16,28–29 and 40–41.

24 For instance, Cyril *Comm.Jo.* 1.382,20–25 Pusey ὅτι δὲ πάλιν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἐκτόπους ἀλαζονείας ἀναφυσώμενοι, τὸν θεῖον εἶναι σὺν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπλάττοντο λόγον, διά τε τοῦτο πρὸς ἀξιάγαστον ἐλάσαι σοφίαν ἀνοήτως διισχυρίζοντο, μαρτυρήσει καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα, Χριστοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος Ἱερεμίου πρὸς αὐτούς "Πῶς ἐρεῖτε", κτλ., 1.595,11–13, 3.68,23–25. Also, cf. John Chrys. *Fr.Jer.* PG 64.845,47 ff., Theodoretus *Interpr.Jer.* PG 81.557,1 ff.

25 *Comm.Jo.* 1.163,20–22 Pusey ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ καὶ ἡ τῶν Φαρισαίων πληθὺς δοκησισοφοῦσα μᾶλλον ἤπερ ὄντως ἀκριβῆ τῶν θείων λογίων τὴν γνῶσιν ἔχουσα φωρᾶται.

26 Eust. 3.845,16–18 φέρεται γοῦν Εὐβούλου περὶ φιλοσόφων τὸ "ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιευνάδες, ἀερίοικοι, ἀνόσιοι λάρυγγες, ἀλλοτρίων κτεάνων παραδειπνίδες", ὃ παραπεποίηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ παράσιτοι.

27 See Simon 2004, on Nonn. *Dion.* 40.285.

their need to be washed.[28] Such an interpretation suits perfectly Nonnus' critical spirit here: the priests in the Gospels' narration typically think highly of their purity, feeling superior to the rest of the people, and the Homeric adjective facilitates the poet's subtle reference to this point. Moreover, the phrase has inspired a late antique proverbial expression referring to those who undertake a task without any knowledge of the matter,[29] so that the paraphrased text acquires here a further sarcastic nuance. Yet ἀνιπτόπους is *le mot juste* for the ἱερῆες for one more reason and, this time, in a literal sense. In the context of the Biblical narration, the priests are indeed ἀνιπτόποδες in the new meaning and spiritual implications of the word. Since they refuse the message of Christ, they cannot enter God's kingdom; and acceptance of Christ's word is symbolized exactly by acceptance of the νιπτήρ in *John's Gospel*, as we hear in Jesus' answer to Peter who initially refused to let his master wash his feet (*John* 13.8): ἐὰν μὴ νίψω σε, οὐκ ἔχεις μέρος μετ' ἐμοῦ.

Pharisees as λαός, ὅμιλος, χορός: ἁμαρτίνοοι, ἀκήλητοι, ἄπιστοι, ὑπερφίαλοι; also θεμιστοπόλοι

Nonn. *Par.* 1.88 καὶ χορὸς ἄλλος ἄπιστος ἁμαρτινόων Φαρισαίων
7.121 ἔκλυε λαὸς ἄπιστος ἁμαρτινόων Φαρισαίων
7.177 καὶ θρασὺς εἶπεν ὅμιλος ἀκηλήτων Φαρισαίων
7.189 καὶ χορὸς ἀντιάχησε θεμιστοπόλων Φαρισαίων
11.215 καὶ χορὸς ἀγκυλόμητις ἀπιστοτάτων Φαρισαίων
11.234 καὶ χορὸς ἀγκυλόμητις ὑπερφιάλων Φαρισαίων
12.43 καὶ ζαμενὴς Φαρισαῖος ὅλος χορός

As happens in general, here, too, Nonnus' anti-Jewish attitude is expressed with adjectives attributing to the Pharisees qualities absent from the Johannine text. Their description as a crowd (χορός, λαός, ὅμιλος) creates the effect of peril directed against the central figure, which is thus equated with the dangerousness of their gathering, together with that of the priests and other Jews, rendered as ἑσμός, discussed above; as happens with ἑσμός, the neutral terms χορός, λαός, etc. are accompanied by terms that endow the noun with a negative quality. The use of these terms ensures that Jesus is repeatedly presented

28 Hsch. s.v. δι' ἁγνείαν χρείαν μὴ ἔχοντες νίπτεσθαι, Schol. Hom. οἱ φυλασσόμενοι μή τι μιαρὸν ποιῆσαι. Cf. Lex. Seg. s.v. διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον ὑποδεδέσθαι.

29 Quoted by Livrea 1989, 155. *Paroem.*, Centuria 1, section 49,1: Ἀνίπτοις ποσὶν ἀναβαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαθῶς ἐπί τινα ἔργα ἀφικομένων. See also De Stefani 2002, 158, on Nonn. *Par.* 1.73.

as surrounded by a hostile multitude that eventually brings about his ruin. The idea of the inimical crowd, furthermore combined with the θρασύτης of the Pharisees that Nonnus uses in 7.177, exists in Cyril (though not in the *Commentary on John*), who says πεφλυάρηκε τοίνυν κατὰ Χριστοῦ τῶν Φαρισαίων τὸ στῖφος, τὸ θρασύ τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον (*Glaph. in Pent.* PG 69.301,8–10).[30] Commenting on *John* 7.25, Cyril is referring again to the "audacity" of the Pharisees, a θράσος which is ἀνήμερον (1.649,9 Pusey). Θράσος and uncompromising hostility are ideas already existent in Cyril and Nonnus exploits them poetically in his addition of psychological nuances to the Gospel.

The Pharisees are also ἄπιστοι and ἀκήλητοι in Nonn. *Par.* 4.10 φεύγων λύσσαν ἄπιστον ἀκηλήτων Φαρισαίων. The ἅπαξ λεγόμενον Homeric ἀκήλητος (Hom. *Od.* 10.329) means "unaffected by enchantments" and Nonnus uses it a few times in the *Dionysiaca* to describe someone who cannot be persuaded.[31] To retain and enhance its unfavourable meaning in the presentation of the Pharisees, ἀκήλητος is accompanied by the explicitly negative term ἄπιστος in Nonn. *Par.* 4.10. The association of inflexibility as regards persuasion and disbelief, with the use of ἀκήλητος and πιστή (in a negative sentence), is also present in the description of the world, through Jesus' words, in Nonn. *Par.* 3.58–59 ἡμετέρην δ' ἀδίδακτος ἀκηλήτων νόος ἀνδρῶν / πιστὴν μαρτυρίην οὐ δέχνυται. Interestingly, ἄπιστος and ἀκήλητος are also combined in the description of one of the major opponents of Dionysus in Nonnus' pagan epic, Deriades, Nonn. *Dion.* 36.351–352 καὶ νόον εἶχεν ἄπιστον· ἀκηλήτῳ δὲ μενοινῇ / τέχνην φαρμακόεσσαν ἐπιγράψας Διονύσῳ, κτλ. Deriades misunderstands the greatness of Dionysus and reduces him to a simple magician,[32] as the Pharisees generally misunderstand Christ and, specifically in the opening of *John* 4, attribute wrongly to him the Disciples' baptismal activity.[33] For their φθόνος, mentioned by commentators of *John* 4.1, see below, on the φθόνος of the Jews, Pharisees and high priests.

---

30 See further above, the discussion of the Jews/Pharisees, etc., as an ἑσμός.

31 Nonn. *Dion.* 41.253, 42.322, 48.506. For a further discussion of the word, see Caprara 2005 on Nonn. *Par.* 4.10 ἀκηλήτων Φαρισαίων.

32 See Frangoulis-Gerlaud on Nonn. *Dion.* 36.352.

33 *John* 4.1–2 ὡς οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὅτι Ἰησοῦς πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης—καίτοι γε Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐβάπτιζεν ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ—, κτλ. One element of the Pharisees' false view of Christ which John Chrysostom discusses in his commentary on *John* 3.36 (end of book 3) is that they think that Christ is egocentric: PG 59.176,61–63 τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἐνόμισαν ἂν φιλαυτίας ἕνεκεν ταῦτα πολλάκις φθέγγεσθαι καὶ κομπάζειν.

Out of the three occurrences of the adjective ἁμαρτίνοος in Nonnus (all in the *Paraphrase*), two refer to the Pharisees (Nonn. *Par.* 1.88 and 7.121). It is perhaps not irrelevant that the first occurrence of this rare adjective is Hes. *Th.* 511, where it qualifies Epimetheus, a negative figure explicitly described as an evil to humans.[34] Aeschylus (*Supp.* 542) uses it for Io, and the Scholiast equates it with "mad", explaining it as an alternative of μανεῖσα.[35] The madness of the Pharisees and Jews in general, described as μανία against Jesus (cf., in the *Paraphrase*, 5.57 Ἑβραῖοι μανιωδέες ἄφρονι θυμῷ, 10.130 ὑμεῖς ἄφρονα μῦθον ἐπεφθέγξασθε μανέντες, 11.28 Ἰουδαίης μανιώδεες ἄρτι πολῖται) or as a damage of the φρήν, is a recurrent theme in Cyril, among other Christian authors.[36] A feature of the Pharisees which continues the idea of mental distraction is also λύσσα (Nonn. *Par.* 4.10) and Caiaphas is λυσσώδης (18.114). As Livrea points out, λύσσα characterizes the non-believers, whether Pharisees, Jews, the world in general or even the Disciples, when they display a lack of understanding;[37] similar is the case of ἁμαρτίνοος, only once describing the disciples, who raise objections to Christ's words (Nonn. *Par.* 6.188 ἁμαρτινόοισιν ... μαθηταῖς). Nonnus also presents the Jews as speaking with ἄφρονα μύθον in Nonn. *Par.* 9.66, when they react with disbelief at the news of the blind man's cure; for Jews/Pharisees/high priests as ἄφρονες or with ἄφρονα features, cf. also Nonn. *Par.* 5.57, 8.44, 8.142, 10.86, 11.188, 18.182, 19.17. Ἀφροσύνη is a feature of the Pharisees in *Ev. Luc.* 11.40 (Jesus' address to the Pharisees, ἄφρονες, οὐχ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔξωθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσωθεν ἐποίησεν;), and the non-believer is called ἄφρων already in the Old Testament (*Ps.* 13.1 εἶπεν ἄφρων ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ· οὐκ ἔστιν θεός).[38] Here, too, a similarity between Christ's and Dionysus' opponents can be traced: ἄφρων is an adjective that is frequently attributed to Deriades in the *Dionysiaca*.[39]

---

34 Hes. *Th.* 512 ὃς κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένετ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσι. The Scholiast explains: τὸν κακόβουλον καὶ ἀπρονόητον.

35 For the connection of ἁμαρτίνοος with μανία, see further Johansen and Whittle on Aeschylus *loc. cit.*

36 Cf. *Cat. Marc* 296,10 ff. ἵνα μὴ φανερὸν αὐτὸν ποιήσωσι, καὶ τῶν Γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων ἐπὶ πλεῖον διεγείρωσι τὴν μανίαν, καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐκκαύσωσι, Cyril *Comm. Jo.* 2.395,23 Pusey. Cyril also speaks of the Jewish φρενοβλάβεια, *Comm. Jo.* 2.75,4 Pusey, id. *De Sanc. Trin.* Durant 447,32, *al.* For the Jews' deranged state of mind, see also Wilken 1971, 61. See further Agosti 2003, 410–411.

37 Livrea 1989, 166 comments ad loc.: "λύσσα viene continuamente attribuita al κόσμος degli ἀπειθέες (A 30; B 114; Γ 91; E 173; H 26; Π 9; P 64), ai Farisei (Δ 10), ai Giudei (K 109. 117), a Giuda (N 10. 124), ma anche ai discepoli che non comprendono (Z 182. 197)". See also Caprara 2005 on Nonn. *Par.* 4.10 λύσσαν ἄπιστον.

38 See further Spanoudakis 2014b, on Nonn. *Par.* 11.188b ἄφρονες ἀρχιερῆες.

39 For instance, 22.67, 25.266, 29.41, 30.15. See Tissoni 1998, 162.

The only passage from the list above where the Pharisees' dance is not accompanied by a negative term is 7.189. With the adjective θεμιστοπόλος, Nonnus elaborates John's ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ (7.52), merely (and ironically) repeating the idea that the Pharisees know and keep the law, as they claim in the same Johannine *locus*, since they scornfully state that the masses ignore it: ἀλλὰ ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γιγνώσκων τὸν νόμον ἐπάρατοί εἰσιν (*John* 7.49). The adjective is used elsewhere in the *Paraphrasis* for the mouth of Jesus (8.17) and for the book of Jewish Law (18.151).[40] The effect of the application of θεμιστοπόλος to the Pharisees is similar to that of the use of θεόκλητος for the priests, discussed above, in regard to Nonn. *Par.* 1.77. Priests and Pharisees have the illusion of exclusiveness as regards authority in knowledge and interpretation of the Divine Law.

The instances of book 11 concern the Pharisees' plan to catch and kill Christ. In different passages of the *Gospel of John*, the Pharisees are represented in a far more negative way, as is the case of various instances in the Synoptic Gospels.[41] In *John* 11.53 it is stated that "from that day they wanted to kill him" (ἀπ' ἐκείνης οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβουλεύσαντο ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν); the grimness of this desire is stressed in Cyril's comment[42] and offers Nonnus the opportunity to elaborate on the high priests' and the Pharisees' slyness and treacherousness, keeping also the idea of "dance" which stresses the Pharisees' multitude and fatal power, 11.214–215: μῆτιν ὕφαινον ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες / καὶ χορὸς ἀγκυλόμητις ἀπιστοτάτων Φαρισαίων. In 11.234 Pharisees are given again strong adjectives; of course, qualifications are absent in John. Similarly to the terms ἑσμός and ἀκήλητος, ἀγκυλόμητις, too, is not necessarily sinisterly negative, since it is used for the Samaritan woman (Nonn. *Par.* 4.75), "cunning", but not malicious. It is given an unflattering meaning when it is accompanied by negative terms, such as ὑπερφίαλοι and ἀπιστότατοι, as happens when it describes the Pharisees (or when it qualifies the wolf with the ἅρπαγι λαιμῷ in Nonn. *Par.* 10.47, the only other occurrence of the adjective in the *Paraphrase*).[43] Ὑπερφίαλοι is an adjective typically associated with hostile people/creatures in the epic, such as the Trojans in the *Iliad* (Hom. *Il.* 13.621, 21.224, 21.459) and the suitors (Hom. *Od.* 4.790, 11.116, 13.373, 14.27, 18.167, *al.*) and the Cyclopes in the *Odyssey*

---

40 For the divine derivation of the book of Law in the Bible and in Nonnus (cf. Nonn. *Par.* 1.52–53 θεμίστων / βίβλον, 8.22 θεογλώσσῳ … βίβλῳ, *al.*) and for a discussion of θεμιστοπόλος, see Livrea 1989, 183–184, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.154.

41 They are compared to painted sepulchres in *Ev. Matt.* 8.27; cf. also the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican in *Ev. Luc.* 18.9–13.

42 2.296,1 Pusey εἶχον μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς κατὰ Χριστοῦ μιαιφονίας.

43 See further Spanoudakis 2014b on Nonn. *Par.* 11.215a ἀγκυλόμητις.

(9.106); Nonnus uses it for the Indians in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.3 and 32.45 and for the Arabs in Nonn. *Dion.* 26.23. Spanoudakis notes on Nonn. *Par.* 11.234 that here and in Nonn. *Dion.* 27.185, where river Hydaspes opposes Dionysus, ὑπερφίαλος approaches ὑβριστής, since it describes an arrogance reaching ὕβρις, the polemics against a god. As a whole, the idea of χορός, combined with ἀπιστότατος in 11.215 and with "arrogance" in 11.234, both accompanied also by the idea of crookedness, stresses the power and dangerousness of Christ's opponents, putting them in parallel to the epic heroes' mighty and violent enemies.

Priests / Pharisees / Jews as φθονεροὶ and ἀναιδεῖς

Nonn. *Par.* 5.40 καὶ φθονεροὺς ἀπάμειπτο σοφῷ θεοπειθέι θυμῷ
7.122 φθονεροὶ προΐαλλον ὀπάονας ἀρχιερῆες
9.78 καὶ φθονεροί τινες εἶπον ἀσιγήτων Φαρισαίων
9.161 καί μιν μυστιπόλοι φθονερῇ στυφέλιξαν ἰωῇ
12.42 καὶ φθονεροὶ μενέαινον ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες
18.67–68 μὴ φθόνος ἕρπων / Ἑβραίων
18.146 καὶ φθονεροῖς στομάτεσσιν ἀνίαχον ἀρχιερῆες
18.149 ὁ δὲ (sc. Pilatus) φθόνον ὀξὺ νοήσας

Whilst John presents them in a neutral way and without any attributes, the Jews, the high priests and the Pharisees are characterized as φθονεροί in the *Paraphrase*, in the context either of their disbelief (5.40) or of their efforts to destroy Christ. The disbelief, associated to the φθόνος of the Jews in 5.40, is highlighted through its contrast to the θεοπειθής soul of the cured man; likewise, in the context of another miraculous healing, the Jews who question the man born blind about his cure display ἀναίδεια and ἀφροσύνη through which their disbelief is emphasized. It is also noteworthy that the φθόνος that the Pharisees and the Jews feel against Christ is deduced from *John* 4.1 (Pharisees) and *John* 7.1 (Jews), both presented, as usual, in a neutral way, and mentioned both by John Chrysostom and Cyril in their interpretation of the *Gospel of John*.[44] In

44 Cyril 1.262,24–27 Pusey ἐντεῦθεν τοιγαροῦν ἐγνωκέναι φησὶν ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς τὸν Κύριον ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ὅτι Ἰησοῦς πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ ἢ Ἰωάννης, εἶτα τὸν ἐξαίσιον αὐτῶν παραιτούμενος φθόνον, κτλ., John Chrys. *In Jo.* PG 59.177,8–9 τί δήποτε οὖν, φησὶν, ἀνεχώρει; Οὐ δειλίας ἕνεκεν; ἀλλ' ἐκκόπτων αὐτῶν τὴν βασκανίαν, καὶ παραμυθούμενος τὸν φθόνον. Commenting on *John* 7.1 (ὅτι ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι), John Chrysostom (PG 59.269,21–26) speaks of φθόνος and βασκανία as the worst evils on earth. See also next note.

Nonn. *Par.* 18.146, where the Priests talk to Pilatus about their surrender of Christ to him with φθονερὰ στόματα, and three lines below, where Pilatus is presented as *realizing* the Priests' φθόνος (an addition of Nonnus, since John simply says εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πιλάτος, 18.31), there is most probably an echo from the Synoptic Gospels, where it is explicitly stated that Pilatus *knew* that the Priests' φθόνος is responsible for their action.[45] Furthermore, in the case of *envy*, too, we have one more parallel between the opponents of the main character in the *Dionysiaca* and in the *Paraphrase*: it is Φθόνος himself, as a personified idea, that arouses Hera's and Athena's wrath against Dionysus in Nonnus' pagan epic (Nonn. *Dion.* 8.34–105) and, exactly as in the case of δόλος, ζῆλος and the δύσμαχος quality discussed above, φθόνος is again characteristic of Hera in that work (Nonn. *Dion.* 8.48, 8.303, 8.357, 14.161, 20.182, 25.304, 25.343, 25.353, 31.4, 35.273, 35.322).

The high priests and the Jews are ἀναιδεῖς (in Nonn. *Par.* 13.112 Judas is also ἀναιδής), where again John presents their behavior without any comment:

9.66 Ἑβραῖοι δ' ἐρέεινον ἀναιδέες ἄφρονι μύθῳ
11.214 μῆτιν ὕφαινον ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες
12.42 καὶ φθονεροὶ μενέαινον ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες
19.84 καὶ θανάτῳ χαίροντες ἀναιδέες ἀρχιερῆες

Both the ἀναίδεια and the φθόνος of the Pharisees are also mentioned by Cyril in his *Commentary on Matthew* (251,1 Reuss). The γνώμη of the Pharisees is described as ἀναίσχυντος in *Cat. Matt.* 96.24–25 and the ἀναίδεια of the Ἰουδαῖοι occurs often in Theodoretus' exegetical writings on the Prophets, among other works.[46] In Nonn. *Par.* 11.214, the high priests' ἀναίδεια is further combined with the Homeric formula μῆτιν ὑφαίνειν (Hom. *Il.* 7.324, 9.93, Hom. *Od.* 4.678, 9.422), used by Nonnus also in Nonn. *Dion.* 36.443, 37.316 and 37.395,[47] a variation of the δολοπλόκος discussed above. In 9.66 the Jews who ask the man born blind questions about his healing bear the adjective ἀναιδέες. In the Johannine text (9.8–14) there is no explicit mention of the Jews and only the Pharisees are referred to (9.15): it is generally said that the neighbours and the viewers (9.8 οἱ οὖν γείτονες καὶ οἱ θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν) were asking questions about the miracle. In the rephrasing of the uncoloured *John* 9.12 (καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῷ …), Nonnus adds the

45 Namely *Ev. Matt.* 27.18 ᾔδει γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παρέδωκαν αὐτόν and *Ev. Marc.* 15.10 ἐγίνωσκεν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ φθόνον παραδεδώκεισαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς. See further Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.149.

46 Cf. *Interpr. in Dan.* PG 81.1260,4, *Interpr. in xii Proph. Min.* PG 811.1956,12, *al.*

47 For the metaphorical use of ὑφαίνω, see Agosti 2003, 420–424.

attribution of shamelessness and insanity to the Jews. Insanity was discussed above (Pharisees as ἁμαρτίνοοι). As regards shamelessness, it is connected to disbelief, as φθόνος is connected to it as well (cf. above, φθόνος in Nonn. *Par.* 5.40, describing people's questions to the paralytic man); commenting on the reaction of the blind man's parents at their child's cure in *John* 9.20, Cyril speaks of the τῶν Φαρισαίων ὠμότητα (2.174,15 Pusey), τῶν Φαρισαίων ἀνοσιότητος (2.175,6 Pusey) and the ἀναιδεστάτην ... τῶν Φαρισαίων τὴν ἀπείθειαν (2.175,12–13 Pusey).

Annas and Caiaphas

Both of them are historical figures, mentioned both in the New Testament and in Josephus:[48] Annas (or Ananus)[49] took office in 6 AD and held it until 15 AD[50] and Caiaphas, his son-in-law, was appointed high priest in 18 AD, under the procuratorship of Valerius Gratus,[51] and held this position for eighteen years. Both Annas and Caiaphas are mentioned in the Johannine account of the trial and passion of Christ in chapters 18–19 of the Gospel; although Annas was not officially "high priest" at the time, it is obvious that he continued to be most influential, hence his involvement in Christ's trial.[52] In the correspondent passages of the *Paraphrase*, it is apparent that, even though they are far from being positive figures in the Johannine text, the poet insisted on their cruelty to a larger extent than his model.

---

48 Caiaphas is mentioned in Jos. *Ant.* 18.35 and 18.95. Joseph speaks about Annas (Ananus) in *Ant.* 18.26–35.

49 See VanderKam 2004, 420.

50 See Barrett ^{2}1978, on *John* 18.13 ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον.

51 On Annas and Caiaphas, see VanderKam 2004, 420–436.

52 See Barrett ^{2}1978, on *John* 18.13 ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον. On account of Jesus' trial in the Gospels, and especially in *John* 18, it has been observed that it seems that Annas "continued to be associated with the office while his son-in-law held the title of high-priest" (VanderKam 2004, 421). As regards Annas being called "high priest" in the Acts (cf. 4.6 καὶ Ἄννας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Καϊάφας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ), VanderKam (2004, 422) observes that "Annas seems to receive the title 'the high priest' in deference to his past occupancy of the office and continued prominence, even at this late date."

Annas

Nonn. *Par.* 18.63–66

Ἄννα Χριστὸν ἄγοντες ἐς οἰκίον ἀρχιερῆος.
Καϊάφα γὰρ ἔην ἑκυρὸς θρασύς, ὃς πέλε κείνου
ἀρχιερεὺς λυκάβαντος, ὃς Ἑβραίῳ ποτὲ λαῷ
ζῆλον ἔχων Χριστοῖο θεημάχον ἴαχε φωνήν·

18.91–93

Ἰησοῦν δ' ἐρέεινε θυηπόλος ὀξέι μύθῳ
Ἄννας εὐρυγένειος ἐθήμονι χειρὸς ἐρωῇ
ἄπλοκον ἀμφαφόων κεχαλασμένον ὁλκὸν ὑπήνης

18.112–114

Ἄννας μὲν φονίης πεφορημένον εἰς λίνον ἄγρης
χεῖρας ὀπισθοτόνους πεπεδημένον ἄζυγι δεσμῷ
Ἰησοῦν προέηκεν ἑῷ λυσσώδεϊ γαμβρῷ

Whilst in the Gospel it is only stated that Jesus was initially (πρῶτον) taken before Annas, in the Nonnian rephrasing of the verse the chief-priest is characterized as θρασύς, the same adjective that is often employed to derogatorily sketch the Jewish crowd and the Pharisees (discussed above). In addition, his voice is described by *hypallage* θεημάχον, which is utilized in the *Dionysiaca* to depict the opponents of the cult of Dionysus,[53] and has an analogous meaning in the Christian context where it is also related to those who do not believe in Christ (discussed above, with reference to the Pharisees presented as a δύσμαχος ἑσμός). It has been observed that the Johannine account of the preliminary questioning of Jesus is slightly ambiguous, since Annas is not mentioned by name but is simply called ἀρχιερεύς (*John* 18.19).[54] In his comment, Cyril stresses the role of Caiaphas as the interrogator, although he does mention Annas as well, without describing any process of questioning

53 The adjective also appears in Proclus and Gregory of Nazianzus; see Livrea 1989, 142.

54 It is logical to assume that Annas, still influential though not officially and currently "high priest", was the one to whom Jesus was first taken: see further Barrett ²1978 on *John* 18.13 ἤγαγον πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον and 18.19 ὁ οὖν ἀρχιερεύς. Barrett comments on the latter passage: "it is uncertain whether John was loosely but understandably referring to Annas as high priest (cf. *Ev. Luc.* 3.2; *Act. Ap.* 4.6), or thought that Caiaphas was present and conducted the former examination."

concerning Annas;[55] mentioning Annas' interrogation, Nonnus seems to follow John Chrysostom who explicitly names Annas as the preliminary interrogator,[56] and/or to have been a very careful reader/interpreter of the text itself, rather than simply relying on/repeating Cyril. A little later (18.92–93), Nonnus includes a rather peculiar image of the gesture of the priest, called εὐρυγένειος,[57] depicted as touching his long beard in a pensive mood, while questioning Jesus: this is a descriptive addition totally independent from the Gospel. Nonnus occasionally adds such graphic details which represent characteristic gestures in his narration;[58] the gesture of Annas here recalls the gesture of people who are presented as contemplative in literature, perhaps in an ironic spirit.[59] Later on, in Nonn. *Par.* 18.112–115, corresponding to *John* 18.24, a whole image is inserted by Nonnus: Christ is represented as a prey through the metaphor of the net (λίνον), and both Annas and Caiaphas play an active role in preparing the trap for a homicidal hunt (φονίης referred to ἄγρης with *hypallage*). Nonnus is probably influenced by Cyril, who uses the metaphor from hunting to

55 Commenting on *John* 18.13–14 καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον· ἦν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλεύσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅτι συμφέρει ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, Cyril (3.28.10–15 Pusey) says: ἀποκομίζουσι δὲ πρὸς Ἄνναν, πενθερὸν ὄντα τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὅθεν πως ἡμῖν ἔπεισιν ἤδη νοεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν ἀνοσιουργήματος αὐτὸς ἦν ἄρα τεχνίτης καὶ διασκευαστής (…) αὐτῷ τοι γαροῦν ἀποκομίζεται πρώτῳ. He goes on (3.29,4–5 Pusey) to say ἀπέστειλαν δὲ αὐτὸν δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα. ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλεύσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅτι συμφέρει ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ, actually rephrasing *John* 13.14 and introducing at this point Jesus' transportation to Caiaphas. Then (3.29,10–14 Pusey) Cyril says: Καϊάφας (…) καὶ λόγῳ μὲν φαίνεται κατάρξας αὐτὸς τῆς μιαιφονίας, ἀπαρχὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ λοιπὸν ἀλοὺς τοῦ τολμήματος. δέχεται γὰρ δεδεμένον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, κτλ. Later, when he comments on *John* 18.24 (ἀπέστειλεν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννας δεδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα), Cyril (3.43,13—Pusey) is obliged to see a turning back in the narration, since he understands that Jesus was already sent to Caiaphas: ἀνακόπτει χρησίμως καθάπερ ἵππον ὀξυδρομοῦντα τὸν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τρόπον ὁ θεσπέσιος Εὐαγγελιστής, καὶ ὀπίσω πάλιν ἀνακομίζεται. διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν; χρῆν γὰρ δήπου προεπιδεῖξαι τῶν ἐφεξῆς τὴν εἰς τρίτον γενομένην ἄρνησιν τοῦ Πέτρου (…) οἰκονομικῶς τοιγαροῦν ἀναλαμβάνει τὰ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, καὶ ἀπεστάλθαι μὲν λέγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν παρὰ τοῦ Ἄννα πρὸς Καϊάφαν.

56 PG 59.452,19 Ἄννας ἐκεῖνος ἠρώτησε περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ ἀκούσας ἔπεμψε πρὸς Καϊάφαν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρωτήσας πάλιν, καὶ μηδὲν εὑρὼν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ. See Livrea 1989, 154.

57 A typical Nonnian adjective qualifying, *inter alios*, Cronus (18.229, 24.234), Triton (6.294, 43.205) in the *Dionysiaca*. See further Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.92.

58 Cf. Nonn. *Par.* 1.199 (Nathanael hitting his head with his hand), 4.130 (Jesus approaching his finger to his nose), 4.149–151 (Jesus rejecting the food with his hand), 18.78–79 (the maid looking at Peter with a λοξὸν ὄμμα); see Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.93.

59 Cf. Call. fr. 191,60–70 Pf., Agath. *AP* 11.354,11–12. See further Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.93.

describe the role that Annas played in Christ's arrest, in his comment on *John* 18.12–14: τεθήρευται μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς Ἄννα δυστεχνίας, καὶ τῆς ὑπουργίας τῶν εἰς τοῦτο μεμισθωμένων (3.29,6–8 Pusey). The phrase πεφορημένον εἰς λίνον ἄγρης is repeated also in Nonn. *Par.* 6.229, there accompanied by the adjective δολίης, equal metrically to the present φονίης, describing again the arrest of Christ, the agent of which was at that instance Judas, in John's explanation of Jesus' prophetic words (*John* 6.70–71 καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν εἷς διάβολός ἐστιν. ἔλεγεν δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν, κτλ.). In this way, the two high priests are equated with Judas as the main evildoers responsible for Christ's entrapment and death. The motif of the "net of destiny" is as old as Homer (Hom. *Il.* 5.487–489 ἀψῖσι λίνου ἁλόντε πανάγρου) and occurs occasionally thereafter;[60] Nonnus' phrase is a reminiscence of the Homeric expression. The notion of the trap, however, is Biblical as well. The idea of Christ, or rather Christ's words, being a prey with Pharisees as the agents of the ambush is found in *Ev. Luc.* (11.53–54), where Scribes and Pharisees try to entrap Jesus and to "elicit something from his mouth", ἤρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι δεινῶς ἐνέχειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτὸν περὶ πλειόνων, ἐνεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν θηρεῦσαί τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. Luke's narration continues with Christ foretelling his death (12.4).

Caiaphas

Nonn. *Par.* 11.199–201

Καϊάφας, ἀθέμιστος, ἐπίκλοπος, ὃς τότε κείνου
ἀρχιερεὺς λυκάβαντος ἔην, ὀχετηγὸς ἑορτῆς
οὗτος Ἰουδαίοισι δολόπλοκον ἴαχε φωνήν·

18.114

Ἰησοῦν προέηκεν ἑῷ λυσσώδεϊ γαμβρῷ

Nonnus consistently represents Caiaphas in a light even more negative than that of the Gospel. In John, Caiaphas is first mentioned in the context of Lazarus' resurrection (11.49) as the chief-priest of that year,[61] and he is described

60 Also A. *A.* 358 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, 1115 δίκτυόν τί γ' Ἅιδου; cf. A. *Pr.* 1078 ἀπέραντον δίκτυον ἄτης, Triph. 674 δέδμηντο λίνῳ θανάτοιο πανάγρῳ; see further Livrea 1989, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.112.

61 The indication of the year of priesthood specified in the Gospel and rephrased by the peculiar genitive λυκάβαντος (on which see Livrea 1989, 141: Nonnus employs it twelve times in the *Dionysiaca*, where it suggests the circularity of time, and it is attested in the Alexandrine tradition as a sophisticated synonym of ἔτος) is probably to be interpreted in

as worried by the consequences of Christ's miracles. In the Nonnian rendering of the verse, Caiaphas is characterized by a number of adjectives emphasizing his evilness. The adjective ἀθέμιστος is probably influenced by Cyril's comment on the correspondent Johannine line, 2.294,25 Pusey: ἐξ ἀνόμου μὲν οὖν εἶπε γνώμης ὁ Καϊάφας ὅ εἶπεν;[62] ἀνομία is, moreover, a feature of the Scribes and Pharisees in Christ's speech in *Ev. Matt.* 23.28 ἔσωθεν δέ ἐστε μεστοὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀνομίας.[63] Gregory of Nazianzus calls Caiaphas ἀτάσθαλον (*Carm. Mor.* PG 37.559,2) and John Chrysostom says, in his commentary on John, ἀναισχυντότερος ὢν τῶν λοιπῶν (PG 59.361,8–9) and, elsewhere, χριστοκτόνος ὢν καὶ ἀνάξιος (*In Epist. Ad Coloss.* PG 62.323,36–37). Nonnus uses ἀθεμίστιος elsewhere in the *Paraphrase* as a synonym to the Gospel's φαῦλος: *John* 3.20 πᾶς ὁ φαῦλα πράσσων is transformed to πᾶς τις ἀνὴρ ἀθεμίστια ῥέζων (Nonn. *Par.* 3.103). Now, ἀθέμιστος is a Homeric adjective usually qualifying negative figures *par excellence*, the Cyclopes, the suitors and their thoughts in the *Odyssey*.[64] Keeping the Homeric practice of applying the adjective to enemies of the hero, Nonnus uses it several times in the *Dionysiaca* to describe the principal opponents of Dionysus, such as Deriades (34.221) and Pentheus (5.210, 44.17, 46.171).[65] As happens in the case of the Nonnian adjectives common to Hera and the Jews/Pharisees, Caiaphas is also described in terms which underline his opposition to the divine figure of this poem; his voice is δολοπλόκος and this adjective, too, recalls Hera's attitude in the *Dionysiaca*, as is argued above. Although ἐπίκλοπος is not associated to any particularly sinister figure in the *Dionysiaca*, it is used only once more in the *Paraphrase*, to qualify Judas (6.227 αἰνοτόκου Σίμωνος ἐπίκλοπον υἱὸν Ἰούδαν). Caiaphas is thus once more placed in parallel with Judas, as one the most destructive persons for Christ; similarly, both he and Annas were placed in parallel to Judas through the motif of their lethal trap, reminiscent of the trap of the traitor, in 18.112–113, discussed above (see the section on Annas). Caiaphas as λυσσώδης in book 18 is to be seen in the context of the deranged state of mind of the Pharisees and of those who generally do not believe (discussed above, regarding the Pharisees as ἁμαρτίνοοι).

To sum up: we have seen that Nonnus adds strong elements of characterization to the persons who are usually presented without any comments on

---

the sense that that specific year was significant, rather than as an indication that the high priest's hold on his office had to be reconfirmed every year; see VanderKam 2004, 427.

62 See Spanoudakis 2014b, on Nonn. *Par.* 11.199b ἀθέμιστος.

63 For the Jews in general as ἄνομοι, see further Spanoudakis 2014b, on Nonn. *Par.* 11.199a.

64 Hom. *Od.* 9.106, 9.428, 17.363, 20.287.

65 As was already observed by D'Ippolito 1994, 227, who underlines the correspondence of Pentheus and Caiaphas through the term ἀθέμιστος.

their thoughts, behavior and inner motives in the *Gospel of John*. In doing so, the poet consults other sources, such as the Synoptic Gospels and theological writings, among which chiefly Cyril's commentary; this influences the Nonnian narrative in a recognizable way, but Nonnus is not slavishly and exclusively attached to its interpretation. Furthermore, Nonnus attributes to the opponents of Christ and Christ's teaching terms which he also uses repeatedly in his pagan epic to describe the enemies of Dionysus, namely Hera, Deriades, Pentheus and the Indians. This feature highlights the analogy between the two epics, as regards Nonnus' handling of his principal character in both. This character is surrounded by enemies, he is often misunderstood thanks to the ignorance and mental inferiority of his entourage and his opponent's work towards destruction; however, at the end he prevails and his divinity is manifest and indisputable. Thus, Nonnus manages to combine faithfulness to the Biblical narration, accompanied by insertion of material drawn from the patristic tradition, with a freedom of artistic imagination. This combination creates a poetic result that deserves its inclusion both in the epic literary production and in the tradition of poetic religious exegesis, being, at the same time, a work which obeys his author's view on the epic characters in a generic sense.

CHAPTER 11

The Wise Mysteries of the Sacrificial Hour. Nonnus' Exegesis of *John* 4.23

Filip Doroszewski

In his hexametric *Paraphrase of St John's Gospel*, Nonnus of Panopolis is concerned not only with producing a richer poetic translation of the Gospel but also with providing the audience better insights into its underlying meaning. In striving for the latter goal, the poet proves himself an attentive reader of the Bible and of the patristic writings.[1] A good example of Nonnus' exegetical approach to *John's Gospel* can be seen in his interpretation of *John* 4.23. This paper argues that the poet retells the verse in a way that emphasizes its close relation to the conversation held between Jesus and his brothers just before the Feast of Tabernacles as well as to the moment of Jesus' death on the Cross. It also discusses the exegetical role of sacrificial and mystery terminology in Nonnus' retelling of these passages.[2]

The Sacrificial Hour

In chapter four of *John's Gospel*, Jesus comes to the town Sychar in Samaria where he meets a woman at the well (*John* 4.5–7). In the dialogue that ensues, Jesus' detailed knowledge about the Samaritan woman's past life convinces her that he is a prophet (*John* 4.9–19). This, in turn, encourages her to raise a delicate theological question about the proper place of God's worship. The words of the woman and the answer of Jesus, recorded in *John* 4.20–23, read as follows:

> (20) οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ προσεκύνησαν· καὶ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὅπου προσκυνεῖν δεῖ. (21) λέγει αὐτῇ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· πίστευέ μοι, γύναι, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ὅτε οὔτε ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ οὔτε ἐν Ἱερο-

1 See e.g. Golega 1930, 105–115, 122–124 and 133–137; Wójtowicz 1980, 129–130; Livrea 1989, 30.

2 The issues discussed in this paper have been also addressed in Doroszewski 2016, 343–350, where they were placed in the broader context of early Christian literature.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_013

> σολύμοις προσκυνήσετε τῷ πατρί. (22) ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε· ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν ὃ οἴδαμεν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν. (23) ἀλλ᾽ ἔρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστιν, ὅτε οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοιούτους ζητεῖ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτόν.
>
> (20) Our ancestors worshiped on this mountain, but you say that the place where people must worship is in Jerusalem. (21) Jesus said to her, Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem. (22) You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. (23) But the hour is coming, and is now here, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for the Father seeks such as these to worship Him.[3]

In Nonnus' retelling the passage reads (Nonn. *Par.* 4.89–118):

> ἡμείων δ᾽ ἀνιόντες ἐς οὔρεα ταῦτα τοκῆες
> αὐχένα δοχμώσαντο πολυκνίσσῳ παρὰ πέτρῃ
> καὶ θεὸν εὐαγέεσσιν ἐμειλίξαντο θυηλαῖς·
> ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἄρμενον ἄλλον ὑπὸ κλέτας Ἱροσολύμων
> χῶρον ἐμυθήσασθε μεμηλότα θέσπιδι βουλῇ,
> ἧχι θεῷ χρέος ἐστὶ θεοδμήτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ
> μάρτυρον ἱκεσίης κυρτούμενον αὐχένα κάμπτειν
> κύμβαχον ὀκλάζοντας. ἄναξ δ᾽ ἠμείβετο μύθῳ·
> πείθεό μοι, Σαμαρεῖτι γύναι, νημερτέι μύθῳ,
> ὅττι νέου βιότοιο διάκτορος ἔρχεται ὥρη,
> εὐσεβίης ὀχετηγός, ὅτ᾽ οὐκέτι μύστιδι τέχνῃ
> οὔρεος ὑμετέροιο θεοκλήτῳ παρὰ βωμῷ
> οὐδὲ τανυσκοπέλων ὑπὸ τέμπεσιν Ἱροσολύμων
> αἵματι ταυρείῳ κεραελκέα ῥέξετε λοιβὴν
> ἱκέσιον κλίνοντες ἐρειδόμενον γόνυ πέτρῃ·
> ὑμεῖς μὲν κραδίης σφαλερῆς ἑτεραλκέι θεσμῷ,
> ὃν φρεσὶν οὐκ ἐδάητε, γεραίρετε μοῦνον ἀκουῇ
> μιμηλὴν τελέοντες ἀληθέος εἰκόνα μύθου·
> ἡμεῖς δ᾽ εὐαγέεσσιν ἀνάπτομεν ὄργια βωμοῖς

3 All translations of the Bible are cited from the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible (NRSV).

μυστιπόλῳ, τόπερ ἴδμεν, ἀνευάζοντες ἰωῇ
καὶ θεὸν αὐτογένεθλον ἀείδομεν ἔμφρονι μύθῳ·
ἀλλὰ σοφαῖς τελετῇσι θυηπόλος ἔρχεται ὥρη,
καὶ νῦν ἄγχι βέβηκεν, ἀληθέες ὁππότε μύσται
ξυνὸν ὑποκλίνουσι λιτήσιον αὐχένα γαίῃ,
αὐχένα δοχμωθέντα καθελκομένοιο καρήνου,
πάντες ἀληθείῃ καὶ πνεύματι· μυστιπόλους γὰρ
τοίους ὑψιμέδων ἐθέλει θεός, οἵτινες αὐτῷ
ἀκροπαγῆ κάμπτουσι συνήορα γούνατα γαίῃ
πνεύματι θεσπεσίῳ καὶ ἀληθέι μάρτυρι φωνῇ
καὶ δαπέδῳ πρηνηδὸν ἐρειδομένοιο προσώπου·· κτλ.

Our parents went up onto these mountains and bowed their neck at a rock reeking of sacrifices (πολυκνίσσῳ) and they implored God with holy burnt offerings (θυηλαῖς). But you have expressed that another place is fitting, an object of care to the divine will, at famous Jerusalem, where there is a need for those crouching prone to bow their arched neck, as witness of supplication, to God at the god-built altar (βωμῷ). The king answered with an expression: Believe, Samaritan woman, in my unerring expression, that the ministering hour of new life is coming, a conduit of piety, when no longer with mystic art at the god-invoking altar (βωμῷ) of your mountain nor under the vales of long-ridged Jerusalem will you make a horn-dragging libation (λοιβὴν) with the blood of a bull (αἵματι ταυρείῳ) while bending a suppliant knee supported on the rock. You, because of the wavering manner of your slippery heart, honour only through hearsay what you do not know in your heart and celebrate a mimic image of the true expression. But we kindle the mysteries (ὄργια) at the holy altars (βωμοῖς) by saying evoe-evoe with mystic solemnizing voice at what we know, and we sing the self-born God with sensible expression. But a sacrificial hour (θυηπόλος ὥρη) is coming for the wise rites (σοφαῖς τελετῇσι) and now stands near, when all the true initiates (ἀληθέες μύσται) in truth and spirit are going to bow their common suppliant neck on the earth, with their head dragging down their arched neck. For God ruling on high wants such mystic solemnizing men who bend their pair of knees fixed to the ground with the divine spirit and with true witnessing voice with their face also supported prone on the ground.[4]

4 All translations of the *Paraphrasis* are cited from Sherry 1991, often adapted.

It is not difficult to notice that in his retelling of the passage Nonnus introduces the theme of sacrifice, which—although strictly interrelated with the issue of worship—is absent from the text given in *John's Gospel*. Thus, the topic "Should God be worshipped at Mount Gerizim in Samaria or in Jerusalem?" discussed by the woman and Jesus in *John's Gospel*, is slightly reinterpreted as "Should God be worshipped and receive offerings at Mount Gerizim in Samaria or in Jerusalem?" in Nonnus' retelling. Accordingly, Nonnus' passage is saturated with sacrificial imagery. The poet puts into the Samaritan's mouth the words πέτρα πολύκνισσος 'rock smelling of burnt sacrifices' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.90), θυηλαί 'burnt sacrifices' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.91) and βωμός 'altar' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.94). Similar vocabulary can also be found in Jesus' reply: λοιβή 'libation' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.102), αἷμα ταύρειον 'bull's blood' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.102), ὄργια ἀνάπτειν 'make offerings' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.107), again βωμός (Nonn. *Par*. 4.100 and 107) and, finally, θυηπόλος 'sacrificial' or, as substantive, 'sacrificing priest' (Nonn. *Par*. 4.110).

In *John's Gospel*, Jesus says that the worship both at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem will cease and be replaced with a new way of honouring God, the way which the Evangelist calls the worship in Spirit and in truth (ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ). In Nonnus' retelling, however, Jesus additionally speaks about the abandonment of sacrifices at both these places, while also announcing that a sacrifice will be an integral part of the worship in Spirit and in truth. Moreover, Nonnus leaves the reader in no doubt as to the fact that the sacrifices at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem and the sacrifice which will be performed as a part of the worship in Spirit and in truth are substantially different. As long as the sacrifices at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem are discussed by Jesus and the woman, the poet clearly draws on the imagery of animal offerings. The compound adjective πολύκνισσος is related to the word κνῖσα which refers to the odour of fat that exhales from roasting meat,[5] while θυηλαί usually mean the parts of a victim offered in a burnt-sacrifice.[6] Even more telling are the words λοιβή 'libation' and αἷμα ταύρειον 'bull's blood' as they clearly evoke the bull-sacrifice. The sacrifices performed at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem are not only bloody, but they also are offered on the altars which Nonnus calls βωμοί. From Homer onward, βωμός is the standard Greek term for the sacrificial altar.[7] In the Greek Bible it mostly stands for the altars of pagan gods.[8] In the writings

5 LSJ s.v.

6 LSJ s.v.

7 Cunliffe s. v. On the meaning of the term and its relation to ἐσχάρα, see Ekroth 2002, 23–59; in general, see Burkert 1985, 87–88. The use of βωμός in the Classical period was investigated in Mare 1961, *passim*.

8 On LXX's use of βωμός as a term for a pagan altar, see Daniel 1966, 15–53; cf. Van Der Kooij

of the Fathers βωμός usually refers to both the pagan and Jewish altars, whereas its use in the Christian context is almost exclusively figurative.[9] Another term that reinforces the pagan colouring of the sacrificial cult mentioned by Jesus is ὄργια.[10] When the word is used by the Church Fathers non-metaphorically, as is the case here, it always takes on the meaning of improper (mostly pagan) religious practices.[11] In other words, the bloody cult at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem which is performed at the altars called βωμοί and involves sacrifices called ὄργια may have looked suspicious to the Christian readers of the poem.

The tone of narration immediately changes when Nonnus comes to paraphrase line 4.23 of *John's Gospel* where Jesus begins to speak about worship in Spirit and in truth. At this point, performing sacrifice no longer has anything to do with quasi-pagan offering animals together with other ὄργια and burning them all on a βωμός. By contrast, the coming "sacrificial hour" (θυηπόλος ὥρη, Nonn. *Par.* 4.110) to which Jesus refers is presented in a very favourable light, as it is the time for the "wise initiations" (σοφαὶ τελεταί, Nonn. *Par.* 4.110) and "the true initiated" (ἀληθέες μύσται, Nonn. *Par.* 4.111).

What, then, is the meaning of the "sacrificial hour" as contrasted with the sacrificial cult at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem? This may become clearer if we briefly examine the other occurrences of the term θυηπόλος and its cognates in the *Paraphrase*. When paraphrasing the Johannine account of the first Passover, Nonnus calls the feast θυηπολίη 'sacrificing' (Nonn. *Par.* 2.70) while the Jewish priests are described as ἀρνοφάγοι 'lamb-devouring' (Nonn. *Par.* 2.112). The term θυηπολίη also recurs in direct connection to the Caiaphas' and the other Jewish leaders' plan to kill Jesus (Nonn. *Par.* 11.208). Similarly in Nonn. *Par.* 16.7, when Jesus warns his disciples that they will suffer persecution and death, Nonnus uses the verb θυηπολεῖν 'to sacrifice'. Finally, Annas questioning Jesus during the trial before the Crucifixion is called θυηπόλος 'sacrificing priest' (Nonn. *Par.* 18.91).

A close relation of the terms θυηπόλος, θυηπολίη, θυηπολεῖν to the Passover, Jesus' death and the sufferings of his followers makes it tempting to consider,

---

2003, *passim*. In the NT, βωμός occurs only once in Acts 17.23, when St. Paul speaks about the pagan altar of an unknown god.

9 Lampe s.v.; see also Greco 2004, 67–68.

10 It should be noted, however, that Caprara 2005, 15–28 and 223–226 interprets lines *Par.* 4.107–109 as referring to Christian worship.

11 For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Doroszewski, forthcoming; cf. Motte and Pirenne-Delforge 1992, 139 and Schuddeboom 2009, XIII, who suggest, although without giving any specific example, that the word ὄργια refers to Church celebrations in some of the early Christian authors.

that Nonnus alludes in this way to Jesus as the Paschal Lamb and even echoes St. Paul's words from 1Cor 5.7: καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός "For our paschal lamb, Christ, has been sacrificed".[12] On the other hand, it is important to note that as early as in the Epistle to Hebrews Christ is shown as both offering and sacrificing priest at the same time.[13] In this context, it is particularly interesting to see how Gregory of Nazianzus refers to this paradox of Christ in his poetry where the following line can be found: Ἦν θύος, ἀρχιερεὺς δέ· θυηπόλος, ἀλλὰ Θεός περ "He was both sacrifice and the chief priest; the one who made offering but also God."[14] It is likely, then, that the reference to the paradox of Christ as both offering and priest lies also behind Nonnus' use of θυηπόλος and θυηπολίη.

An even closer sense of the meaning intended by the poet for the "sacrificial hour" can be deduced from the examination of the above-mentioned expression "wise initiations" (σοφαὶ τελεταί, Nonn. *Par.* 4.110), as it is clear from Nonnus' text that these initiations will be inextricably intertwined with the "sacrificial hour". First of all, there is no doubt that the adjective σοφαί 'wise' applied to τελεταί 'initiations' is meant to underline the essential difference in quality between the cult at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem and the worship in Spirit and in truth.[15] This difference is all the more evident as the announcement of the "wise initiations" comes after an adversative conjunction ἀλλά 'but' which expresses a strong contrast. Still, in order to have better insight into the meaning of the "wise initiations", we also need to look closer at the term τελεταί. Fortunately enough, there is also another place in the *Paraphrase* where Nonnus uses this term, which allows us to better contextualize it.

12 Livrea 2000, 303.

13 E.g. *Heb* 9.11–14 Χριστὸς δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν γενομένων ἀγαθῶν διὰ τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς οὐ χειροποιήτου, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως, οὐδὲ δι' αἵματος τράγων καὶ μόσχων διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος. εἰ γὰρ τὸ αἷμα τράγων καὶ ταύρων καὶ σποδὸς δαμάλεως ῥαντίζουσα τοὺς κεκοινωμένους ἁγιάζει πρὸς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου ἑαυτὸν προσήνεγκεν ἄμωμον τῷ θεῷ, καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων εἰς τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι.

14 Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.2.75 PG 37.407, my transl. See Livrea 1989, 154.

15 The precise meaning of σοφός in Nonn. *Par.* 4.110 is discussed by Caprara 2005, 182–183, 227. Cf. also Preller 1918, 157–158.

The New Tabernacles

The aforementioned place is Nonnus' retelling of a conversation between Jesus and his brothers in which Jesus refuses to go up to the Feast of Tabernacles with them (Nonn. *Par.* 7.31–34 = *John* 7.8). In *John's Gospel*, Jesus' final answer reads as follows: ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς καιρὸς οὔπω πεπλήρωται. "Go to the festival yourselves. I am not going to this festival, for my time has not yet fully come." Nonnus' retelling of the passage reads:

> ὑμεῖς εὐκελάδοιο μετέλθετε κῶμον ἑορτῆς·
> οὔπω ἐγὼ κλισίας νεοπηγέας ἄρτι γεραίρων
> εἰς τελετὴν ὁσίην ἐπιβήσομαι. ἡμετέρου γὰρ
> οὔπω μοι τετέλεστο χρόνου δρόμος.
>
> You go after the revel of the sonorous feast. I will not yet enter into the holy rite to celebrate now the newly pitched tents. For the course of our time has not yet been fulfilled for me.

As there is an apparent contradiction between Jesus' refusal to go to the Feast of Tabernacles and his subsequent attendance at the feast, the ancient commentators tended to look for an interpretation which would make Jesus' words fit better with his actions.[16] It seems that it was also Nonnus' intention. Unlike in John, where ἑορτή 'feast' stands for the Feast of Tabernacles in both Jesus' encouragement to his brothers to go to the feast as well as in his refusal to go there with them, Nonnus chooses to use a different expression in each part of Jesus' answer. Thus, the first Johannine ἑορτή is paraphrased by κῶμος ἑορτῆς 'revel of the feast', whereas the second ἑορτή by ὁσία τελετή 'holy rite'. The contrast between these two expressions may be compared to the one between σοφαὶ τελεταί 'wise initiations' announced by Jesus in his conversation with

16 See e.g. Epiph. *Haer.* 2.295 (51.25.4): μυστηριδῶς γὰρ καὶ πνευματικῶς αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῖς οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τί ἔλεγεν. ἔλεγε γὰρ αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐκείνῃ μηδὲ εἰς τὸν σταυρόν; Chrys. *Hom. in Jo.* 48.2 PG 59.271: Ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὔπω πάρεστι· τουτέστιν, ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. Τί οὖν πρὸ καιροῦ κατεπείγετε ἀνελεῖν; ... Πῶς οὖν, φησὶν, ἀνέβη, εἰπὼν, Οὐκ ἀναβαίνω; Οὐκ εἶπεν καθάπαξ, Οὐκ ἀναβαίνω· ἀλλὰ, Νῦν, εἶπεν, τουτέστι, μεθ' ὑμῶν. Cf. Aug. *Io. Ev. tr.* 28.8: *in die festo hoc gloriam uos humanam quaeritis; meum uero tempus, id est gloriae meae, nondum uenit. ipse erit dies festus meus, non diebus istis praecurrens et transiens, sed permanens in aeternum: ipsa erit festiuitas, gaudium sine fine, aeternitas sine labe, serenitas sine nube.*

the Samaritan woman and the picture of quasi-pagan cult at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem. The word κῶμος 'revel' carries strong negative connotations in both the Septuagint and the New Testament as well as in the writings of the Fathers.[17] It is, then, difficult to assume that κῶμος ἑορτῆς and ὁσία τελετή are meant to be synonymous and that they refer to the same event. Quite the opposite, they seem to provide Nonnus with a way to resolve the contradiction between Jesus' words and actions. In fact, it is the brothers of Jesus who use the expression κῶμος ἑορτῆς first, in *Par.* 7.11, when they urge him to go up to the Feast of Tabernacles. Jesus adopts this way of speaking, when he sends his brothers to the feast, but then, while refusing to go with them, he refers to another celebration, ὁσία τελετή, which cannot be held by him *now* (ἄρτι[18]).

If so, a question arises: when will the latter celebration be held and what is its nature? As it can be inferred from Jesus' answer, it will be the celebration of the κλισίας νεοπηγέας "newly pitched tents". On the one hand, this expression surely refers to the Greek name for the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, σκηνοπηγία, which is used in *John's Gospel*. On the other, it also seems to carry eschatological overtones, as alluding to a renewed Christian Feast of Tabernacles.[19] But, at the same time, Nonnus seems to remind the reader that such a renewal of worship will not be possible without Christ's sacrifice. In the narrative of *John's Gospel*, Jesus' refusal to go up to the Tabernacles is closely interrelated with other crucial moments of the Gospel by the theme of the *hour of Jesus*, which refers not only to the time of salvation but also to the hour of glorification on the Cross.[20] Even if Nonnus paraphrases Johannine καιρός 'the right time' as χρόνου δρόμος 'course of time', there is no doubt that he understands and plays on this interrelation. Just as in *John's Gospel*, Jesus knows in Nonnus' retelling of the conversation with his brothers that his hour will not yet come during the Feast of the Tabernacles. However, unlike in John, in Nonnus' retelling Jesus seems to point in the course of the conversation to the moment when the hour will surely come.

This moment seems to be directly alluded to when Nonnus replaces the Johannine form πεπλήρωται 'it has been fulfilled' with τετέλεστο 'it had been

17 See Doroszewski 2014, 296–297 and n. 49–50. See also Golega 1930, 64; Caprara 2005, 292 ad Nonn. *Par.* 4.204.

18 Interestingly, the same word is used in his interpretation of *John* 7.8 by Chrys. *Hom. in Jo.* 48.2 PG 59.271: Ἀνάβητε εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀναβαίνω *ἄρτι*.

19 Caprara 1999, 201 and 2005, 227.

20 See e.g. Brown 1966, 307: "The theme of eschatological fulfillment of the OT or the divine plan is common in the NT, especially in regard to the passion."

accomplished'. For, if one looks closer at Nonnus' retelling of the Crucifixion account, the form τετέλεστο occurs there twice—each time replacing the Johannine τετέλεσται 'it has been accomplished'—and in direct relation to Jesus' death[21] (Nonn. *Par.* 19.146–148, 159–160 = *John* 19.28a and 30b[22]):

> Ἰησοῦς δ' ἅμα πάντα παριππεύσαντα νοήσας,
> ὅττι θοῶς τετέλεστο, θοώτερον ἤθελεν εἶναι
> τέρματος ἱσταμένοιο τὸ λείψανον·
> (…)
> ἀγχιθανής· τετέλεστο, πανυστατίῳ φάτο μύθῳ
> καὶ κεφαλὴν ἔκλινε, θελήμονι δ' εἴκαθε πότμῳ.

> Jesus, as soon as he perceived that everything had passed by, that it had quickly been accomplished, wanted the rest of the incipient end to be quicker. (…) when near death … 'It is accomplished,' he said with his very last expression and bowed his head, and yielded to a willing fate.

In the context of the above-quoted passage, it is hardly by chance that the pair of cognate words τελετὴν—τετέλεστο occur in Nonnus' retelling of Jesus' refusal to go to the feast. Even if these words are found in separate sentences, they are close enough to make one think of an expression like τελεῖν τὴν τελετήν 'to perform a rite' or 'to initiate into mysteries'.[23] In this way Nonnus seems to suggest that the ὁσία τελετή, the holy rite which cannot yet be performed during the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles, in fact refers to the *Mysterium Crucis*, that is, to the new reality established by the death and resurrection of Christ. Much in the same vein, the word τετέλεστο 'it had been accomplished' spoken by Jesus twice on the Cross can be understood as a direct counterpoise to his previous words uttered in the conversation with his brothers: οὔπω (…) τετέλεστο χρόνου

21 Apart from Nonn. *Par.* 7.34, 19.147 and 159, τετέλεστο also occurs in Nonn. *Par.* 3.148 (concerning John the Baptist's joy and replacing πεπλήρωται from *John* 3.29) and 7.127 (where Nonnus paraphrases the Johannine phrase ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς from *John* 8.44 as ἐξότε κόσμου / ἐξ ἀρχῆς τετέλεστο θεμείλιον).

22 Μετὰ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι ἤδη πάντα τετέλεσται, ἵνα τελειωθῇ ἡ γραφή […] εἶπεν· τετέλεσται, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα.

23 E.g. Hdt. 4.79.9 ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν (concerning the king Scyles' initiation into Bacchic rites); Pl. *Phdr.* 249c τελέους ἀεὶ τελετὰς τελούμενος (concerning the one who contemplates the Ideas); Paus. 1.38.3.6 τελεῖν τὴν τελετήν (about the mysteries at Eleusis); Nonn. *Dion.* 40.152 μὴ τελετὴν τελέσω (the word of Deriades' daughter who refuses to participate in Bacchic cult).

δρόμος "the time had not yet been fulfilled" (Nonn. *Par.* 7.34). For, it is with Jesus' death on the Cross that the new reality, that the time of the ὁσία τελετή has come.

As a matter of fact, Nonnus' exegesis of the Johannine passage in which Jesus refuses to join his brothers on the journey to Jerusalem seems to follow, once again, Cyril of Alexandria's *Commentary on John's Gospel.* In this commentary the answer given by Jesus to his brothers is interpreted as follows:

> You then, he says, who still love the shadow and are coarsely and Jewishly disposed concerning these matters, you go up to the assembly that is in shadows and types. But I take no pleasure in that kind of feasting. I do not go up to this feast, namely the one in type and outline, since I have no delight in it. Instead, I await the time of the true assembly, which has not yet fully come.[24]

Soon after, Cyril adds: "For he himself has become for us the source of resurrection and the door of the truer Tabernacles (τῆς ἀληθεστέρας σκηνοπηγίας)."[25]

Conclusions

To come full circle, we need now to come back to the θυηπόλος ὥρη 'sacrificial hour' from Nonnus' retelling of the encounter with the Samaritan woman. In her commentary on chapter four of the *Paraphrase*, Mariangela Caprara suggests that θυηπόλος ὥρη refers to the time of a new, purely spiritual sacrifice which will be offered by the worshippers in Spirit and in truth, as opposed to the bloody sacrifice practiced by the Jews.[26] However, if, as we have seen, the ὁσία τελετή bears an allusion to the Mystery of the Cross, including the moment of Jesus' death, it is also tempting to consider that the θυηπόλος ὥρη, the time of the σοφαὶ τελεταί, can be understood as a reference to Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, as suggested earlier in this paper.

24 Cyr. *Jo.* 1.588–589 PG 73.641d–644a: ὑμεῖς τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, οἱ τὴν σκίαν ἀγαπῶντες ἔτι, παχύτερόν τε καὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς διακείμενοι περὶ τούτων, ἀνάβητε πρὸς τὴν ἐν σκιαῖς καὶ τύποις πανήγυριν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἑορτάζειν ἡδύ· πρὸς ταύτην οὐκ ἄνειμι τὴν ἑορτήν, τὴν ἐν τύπῳ δηλονότι καὶ σχήματι· ἔχω γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ τέρπνον οὐδέν· περιμένω δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἀληθοῦς πανηγύρεως τὸν καιρόν, ὃς οὔπω πεπλήρωται. (Transl. D.R. Maxwell.)

25 Cyr. *Jo.* 1.590 PG 73.644d: γέγονε γὰρ ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἡ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀρχή, καὶ τῆς ἀληθεστέρας σκηνοπηγίας ἡ θύρα. (Transl. D.R. Maxwell, slightly adapted.)

26 Caprara 2005, 227.

As mentioned above, John uses the theme of the hour of Jesus both in eschatological sense as well as with reference to the final hour of glorification on the Cross. In his exegesis of the conversation with the Samaritan woman and the one with the brothers, Nonnus seems to refer to both Johannine meanings, just to show how indissolubly they are associated. The σοφαὶ τελεταί, the "wise initiations" for the ἀληθέες μύσται, the "true initiated", surely build up a picture of the future worship in Spirit and in truth, which will replace the one held at Mount Gerizim and in Jerusalem. But in order for the σοφαὶ τελεταί, as well as the ὁσία τελετή, to come and be performed, there is a need for the θυηπόλος ὥρη "sacrificial hour" in which Jesus will be crucified and when he will finally initiate all of his followers by uttering from the Cross: τετέλεστο.

CHAPTER 12

Flumina de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae. Nonnus' *Paraphrase* 7.143–148, *John* 7.37–38, and the Symbolism of Living Water

Roberta Franchi

For thousands of years water has been among the main religious symbols. Considering its importance to all of life's processes, it is not surprising to discover how often water and water imagery appear in the Bible. The symbol of water is often mentioned in the Old Testament. Taken in a very general way, water symbolizes the life lavished freely by God upon nature and human beings. We read in Isaiah: "I will open up rivers on the bare heights, and fountains in the broad valleys; I will turn the desert into a marshland and the dry ground into springs of water" (*Is.* 41.18). This is a reference to the life-giving property of water. The prophet applies this symbol to God's Spirit, putting water and God's Spirit in parallel relationship when he proclaims this oracle: "I will pour out water upon the thirsty ground and streams upon the dry land; I will pour out my Spirit upon your offspring (…) they shall spring up amid the verdure beside the flowing waters" (*Is.* 44.3–4). The life-giving property of water symbolizes the life-giving property of the Spirit.[1] A belief, common in the Old Testament, is that water is a mystically powerful element which, being

1 Water liberates the land from drought (cf. 1 *Ki.* 18.41–45). Water also serves to satisfy the thirst of man and of animals (cf. *Is.* 43.20). The thirst for water is likened to the thirst for God, as we read in the Psalms: "As the deer yearns for running streams, so my soul yearns for you, my God. My soul is thirsting for God, the living God; when shall I see him face-to-face?" (*Ps.* 42.2–3; another no less explicit text is *Ps.* 63.2). Finally, water is a symbol of purification, as we read in Ezekiel: "I will sprinkle clean water on you to cleanse you from all your impurities, and from all your idols I will cleanse you" (*Ez.* 36.25). The same prophet announced the life-giving power of water in a stirring vision: "Then he brought me back to the entrance of the temple and I saw water flowing out from beneath the threshold of the temple toward the east (…) He said to me: 'This water flows into the eastern district down upon the Arabah, and empties into the sea, the salt waters, which it makes fresh. Wherever the water flows, every sort of living-creature that can multiply shall live'." (*Ez.* 47.1, 8–9).—I want to thank Andrew Faulkner, who read the first draft of this article, giving me some suggestions.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_014

connected with God in some way, can cleanse sins, defilement, and renew the human being: water has taken on the religious symbolism of life.

The New Testament integrates the Old Testament belief. If the Old Testament symbolism of water actually prefigures the new baptismal mystery, in the New Testament the purifying and life-giving power of water serves for the rite of baptism already practiced by John, who administers a baptism of repentance in the Jordan.[2] In contrast, Jesus presents water as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. He frequently represents himself and his doctrine as the living water, especially in *St John's Gospel*, which contains several references to water symbolism inherited from the Old Testament. These representations stand apart from some other metaphors used to describe him: he is the bread of life, the light of the world, the door, or the Good Shepherd. Undoubtedly, John is the only Gospel writer to emphasize water in order to express a relevant concept in his theological doctrine: ζωὴ αἰώνιος. As Jean Daniélou has shown in his book *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*,[3] the *iuncturae* ὕδωρ ζωῆς and ὕδωρ ζῶν, with the most important expressions such as πηγὴ ζωῆς and πηγὴ ὕδατος ζῶντος, often attested in the Septuaginta version, are at the foundation of subsequent Christian exegesis. In particular, the "rivers of living water" refer to the λόγιον of Jesus in *John* 7.37–38, during the Feast of Tabernacles, where he says:

> 37 (…) Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω. 38 ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος.
>
> 37 "(…) If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. He who believes in me, as the Scripture said, 'Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water'."

Three questions dominate the exegetical discussion of this passage: (1) the punctuation; (2) the antecedent of "his" (αὐτοῦ) at verse 38; and (3) the source of the scripture citation.[4]

With respect to the punctuation there are two main approaches: The first one places a full stop after πινέτω at verse 37, according to which the scriptural

2 Cf. *Ev. Jo.* 1.33. See also Lightfoot in this volume, p. 150 f.

3 See Daniélou 1961, 49–63. See also Daniélou 1958, 335–346.

4 See Turner 1923, 66–70; Boismard 1958, 523–546. Among the controversies surrounding these verses, two stand out: (1) to what Scripture does v. 38 refer when it says that "Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water", and (2) whose heart is involved—that of Jesus or of the believer?

citation "Out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water" refers to the believer: from him the flood of the Spirit is to proceed and spread.[5] Origen was the first Christian author to read the text in this way in his exegetical works, and after him, the Alexandrian tradition emerges (Cyril of Alexandria and the Cappadocian Fathers). The second approach places the full stop not after πινέτω, but after με, and constructs the clause ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ with the verb πινέτω. In this approach, the reference of the Scripture is then transferred to Christ. From Christ shall flow the living waters of the Spirit, which will refresh the thirsty believer.[6] This reading emerges in the Christian Asiatic tradition (Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyon, and Hippolytus), and many scholars have accepted it.[7]

At this point it could be useful to analyze how Nonnus has interpreted this complicated passage of *John* in the *Paraphrase*.[8] Faithful to his exegetical approach, Hugo Rahner in his famous book *Symbole der Kirche. Die Ekklesiologie der Väter*, after a rich examination of *John* 7.37–38 in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria[9] (treating the exegesis of the Cappadocian Fathers) observes that Nonnus was familiar with the theme of the living water thanks to Gregory of Nyssa, who was the main element of transmission in the Byzantine period for the reception of *John* 7.37–38.[10] The Cappadocian Father mentions Christ as the "fountain of water of the Holy Spirit". According to him, the Logos is the spiritual fountain. We can note the influence of Platonic concepts, when Gregory speaks in his *Homilies on the Canticle of Canticles* of the "fountain of all good things", and continues by saying that, in the Gospel, the Lord is ἡ Πηγή· Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω.[11] The rivers of water are the vivifying words of the doctrine of the New Testament, transmitted to

5 First approach: 37 (…) Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω. 38 ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος.

6 Second approach: 37 (…) Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με. καὶ πινέτω 38 ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος.

7 See Schnackenburg 1977, 285–290.

8 The complete critical edition of Nonnus' *Paraphrase* remains that of Scheindler 1881a, although single critical editions of many chapters have been realized by different scholars.

9 See Rahner 1971, 293–341.

10 See Rahner 1971, 317.

11 Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant. cant. Or.* 1 (1.2) (ed. Langerbeck 1960, 32–33): Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν χρὴ προσθεῖναι τὸ στόμα τῷ στόματι τὸν ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς ποτὸν ἐφελκόμενον, *πηγὴ δὲ ὁ κύριος ὁ εἰπὼν Εἴ τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρός με καὶ πινέτω*, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ διψῶσα προσαγαγεῖν τὸ ἑαυτῆς στόμα τῷ τὴν ζωὴν πηγάζοντι στόματι βούλεται λέγουσα· Φιλησάτω με ἀπὸ φιλημάτων στόματος αὐτοῦ; *Or.* 8 (4.8) (ed. Langerbeck 1960, 248).

the believer by the διανοητικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, the κοιλία to which *John* 7.38 refers.[12] Beyond these general observations of Rahner, in this paper, I will consider how some details of Nonnus' *Paraphrase* 7.143–148 may suggest a more sophisticated engagement with Christian Alexandrinian exegesis, as well as with other sources.

In fact, if we draw attention to these verses, we will notice an allusion to Christ as πηγή at line 144, which is absent in *John*. However, a close relationship between Christ and the believer emerges at the basis of Nonnus' view:

Εἴ τις δίψαν ἔχει θυμοφθόρον, εἰς ἐμὲ βαίνων
πηγῆς ἡμετέρης πιέτω ψυχοσσόον ὕδωρ.
Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ πίστιν ἔχων σόος ἔσσεται. Ἀρχέγονος δὲ
οἷα θεοῦ φάτο μῦθος· ἀεὶ *διά γαστρὸς ἐκείνου*
ἔμφρονες αὐτοχύτῳ ποταμοὶ ζώοντι ῥεέθρῳ
ἐνδόμυχον βλύσσουσι *παλιμφυὲς ἔνθεον ὕδωρ.*

If anyone has a heart-destroying thirst, coming to me, let him drink the soul-saving water of our spring. For everyone who has faith will be saved. And just as the ancient-born expression of God said: 'Always through that one's belly will sensible rivers with a self-pouring living stream make bubble up the inmost reproduced inspired water'.[13]

First, using the first approach to the punctuation in these verses as discussed above, the *Paraphrase* points out that to come to Jesus (v. 143 εἰς ἐμὲ βαίνων) and drink at his fountain (v. 143 εἴ τις δίψαν ἔχει θυμοφθόρον, v. 144 πιέτω) is to believe: the same desire of πίστις, which animates Nonn. *Par.* 2.58–59 (*scil.* Christ) Ἑβραίοις δ' ἀνέφηνεν ἑὴν ὑψαύχενα τιμὴν / διψαλέην παρὰ δαῖτα (~ *Ev. Jo.* 2.11). There is no difference in meaning: for Nonnus coming and drinking are merely two sides of one action (i.e. believing in Jesus in order to reach salvation). Thus, the emphasis is on drinking or believing in Jesus, but this extends also to what he gives, as Nonnus says, a ψυχοσσόον ὕδωρ. As in the case of Nonn. *Par.* 6.145–146 (καὶ πᾶς ἡμετέρην ἀστεμφέα πίστιν ἀέξων / οὔποτε διψήσειεν),[14] the poet specifies that only he who believes will be saved (v. 145

---

12 Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant. cant. Or.* 15 (5.14) (ed. Langerbeck 1960, 413–414): Τὸ στόμα σου φάγεται καὶ ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται, τὸ διανοητικὸν καὶ λογιστικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, ᾧ ἐναπέθετο τὰ θεῖα μαθήματα, κοιλίαν προσαγορεύσας.

13 The translations of the *Paraphrase* are taken from Sherry 1991. Here see Sherry 1991, 210–211.

14 See Franchi 2013, 435.

σόος ἔσσεται). Introducing this addition, Nonnus creates a connection with the following scriptural citation, so that in the Greek expression διὰ γαστρὸς ἐκείνου (v. 146) in the *Paraphrase* refers clearly to the believer, from whom shall flow the living water. Concerning the hermeneutical problem in *John* 7.38 about from whom the rivers of living water will pour out—from Jesus or from the believer—the *Paraphrase* explicitly clarifies that the source of the living water will flow from the believer.

But there is something more, since the poet devotes more attention to the description of this water: he specifies that ἔμφρονες ποταμοί pour a divine water, which is present in the innermost recesses (vv. 147–148 ἐνδόμυχον [...] παλιμφυὲς ἔνθεον ὕδωρ). Jesus promises that a transformation will take place if this water is drunk, and the water imbibed will become a spring in the individual who receives it. For instance, it will become a source of ever-increasing water, which is the source of eternal life. Considering this relationship between the terms in the figure, it seems appropriate to interpret the element extrinsic to both Jesus and the drinker as the definitive revelation: the words of eternal life, as shown by Jesus in his words and works. In the light of similar figures, such as "come to", "receive" Christ, and especially the phrase "let him drink who believes in me" in *John* 7.38, the figure "drink" suggests the appropriation in faith of the divine message externally proposed. The transformation mentioned would then be the same divine message vivified by the Spirit of truth, constantly brought before the mind and thoroughly pondered: a process that participates in eternal life.

Concerning Nonnus' text, by using a Platonic term, such as ἔμφρων (which occurs in the *Paraphrase* to qualify intellectual beings),[15] the poet of Panopolis aims to express that this living water, which will flow from the belly of the believer (ἀεὶ διὰ γαστρός), must be interpreted in a metaphorical sense as *aqua doctrinae* or *fons scientiae*. Wisdom is a *proficiens* gnosis or knowledge of secret mysteries offered by the main fountain of life (Christ) and vivified by the Spirit. This accurate interpretation of Nonnus' passage is confirmed by another episode: the scene of the woman at the well, when Jesus tells her he could give her "*living water*" so that she will never thirst again. He uses the words *living water* to refer to eternal life, the gift that would satisfy her soul's desire and that is only available through him. If we pay close attention to Nonn. *Par.* 4.66–69, where the poet is speaking about the believer, we note that the language and the imagery clearly evoke the verses in Nonn. *Par.* 7.143–148:

15 See Caprara 2008, 57–66.

66 *ἀλλά οἱ ἐν πραπίδεσσι μένει ῥόος, ἔμφρονι παλμῷ*
ἀλλόμενον νοεροῖο βυθοῦ θεοδινέι ῥιπῇ
πηγῆς ἐνδομύχοιο παλιμφυὲς ἔμπεδον ὕδωρ
ζωῆς ἀενάοιο καὶ οὐ χθονίου ποταμοῖο.

> But the flow will remain in his heart, the regenerated steadfast water of everflowing life and not of an earthly river, water jumping from the intellectual depth with a sensible vibration because of the god-whirled force of the inmost spring.[16]

The striking similarity is not only verbal, but also thematic. Introduced in hexameter poetry by Nicander (*Ther.* 744), παλμός at line 66 is termed ἔμφρων, which adds another important element to the understanding of the function of living water in the *Paraphrase*. The same clause appears in Nonn. *Par.* 1.116 (πνεῦμα θεοῦ πτερύγων πεφορημένον ἔμφρονι παλμῷ) for the presence of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove during Jesus' baptism, and at Nonn. *Par.* 13.95 (πνεύματος οὐρανίου δεδονημένος ἔμφρονι παλμῷ), when Jesus, moved by the Spirit, prophesies the looming treason. The meaning of ἔμφρων in these cases aims to express the intrinsic dynamic of a divine life. In Nonn. *Par.* 4.66, the term presents a clear example of description concerning the Holy Spirit (Πνεῦμα) in connection with the symbol of the welling water.[17] An identical theme appears in a passage of John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Joh.* 32.1 (PG 59.183) τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χάριν ἡ Γραφὴ ποτὲ μὲν πῦρ, ποτὲ δὲ ὕδωρ καλεῖ, δεικνῦσα ὅτι οὐκ οὐσίας ἐστὶ ταῦτα παραστατικὰ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας (…) οὕτω (…) ὕδωρ καλεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα, and in Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joh.* 4.10 (PG 73.297B) ἐν ὕδατος προσηγορίᾳ τὸ θεῖον πολλάκις κατωνόμασται πνεῦμα.[18]

Adopting another similar Neoplatonic adjective in Nonn. *Par.* 4.67, νοερός, applied in both classical and Christian traditions to the intelligible sphere, dwelling of the gods or to a being that possesses a human intelligence illuminated by divine inspiration,[19] the *Paraphrase* introduces an intellectual dimension to the reader, which is not always recreated to such a spiritual degree in the *Dionysiaca*. As Vian has argued on Nonn. *Dion.* 25.270: "Cette signification philosophique est absente dans le *Dionysiaques*. L'adjectif sert en général à qualifier un être (animal ou chose) exceptionellement doué d'intelligence

16 For the translation see Sherry 1991, 188.

17 See Caprara 2005, 11–12.

18 See Caprara 2005, 197–198.

19 Cf. Plot. 3.4.2.15 H.R. Schwyzer; Procl. *H.* 2.4; Synesius *H.* 1.177; 185; 232. See also Caprara 2005, 198.

humaine ou pénétré par l'inspiration."[20] In these verses, Nonnus describes the intensity and depth of inner contemplation, which is a topic usual for both a Neoplatonic audience and a Christian one.[21]

The close verbal connection with Nonn. *Par.* 7.147–148 continues to be evident in the use of παλιμφυές (v. 68), a rare epithet correctly interpreted by Baumgarten-Crusius as "aquam quae sponte semper revertitur",[22] as well as ἐνδόμυχος, for which Kuiper's reading hits the mark: "quod intus est reconditum".[23] In such a way, Nonnus emphasizes the vitality of the divine energy able to revitalize the believer thanks to a living water characterized by its persistent abundance (Nonnus *Par.* 7.146–148 ἀεί ~ αὐτοχύτῳ ~ παλιμφυές: Nonn. *Par.* 4.66–69 μένει ῥόος ~ παλιμφυές ~ ζωῆς ἀενάοιο). The verses in Nonn. *Par.* 4 become more effective if they are read in contrast to the previous description of the stagnant water of the earthly well at 44–46: "ἐπιχθονίης ἀπὸ πηγῆς / δός μοι δίψαν ἔχοντι πιεῖν μινυώριον ὕδωρ" / αὐτὴ προφρονέως αἰώνιον ᾔτεες αὐτὸν / ζωὸν ὕδωρ, καὶ τοῦτο σοφὸν ποτὸν εἶχεν ὀπάσσαι and at 62–64: ὃς πίεται χθονίων λαγόνων μινυώριον ὕδωρ / πίδακος ἢ γλυκὺ νᾶμα χαμαιγενέος ποταμοῖο, / διψήσει παλίνορσος (see fig. 12.1).

Choosing to engage with a Neoplatonic language, the *Paraphrase* clarifies that this 'intellectual' water of the Spirit, flowing from the believer, is able to give the true teaching of the divine mysteries, the χωρηγία τῶν θείων μαθημάτων, in keeping with Cyril of Alexandria.[24] Thus, not ποταμοὶ αἰσθητοί, but ἔμφρονες ποταμοί create ψυχὰς φωταγωγοῦντες. Through σοφός, ἔμφρων, νοήμων, all Neoplatonic terms, in the *Paraphrase* Nonnus expresses a central topic in Christianity: Christ is the wisdom and is able to convey an 'intellectual', 'spiritual', 'divine' power to man.[25] Now, Nonnus' thought of the living water has been influenced not by Gregory of Nyssa, but by Origen's exegesis and his strong influence on all further exegetical interpretations of *John* 7.37–38. In several homilies and writings, Origen presents Christ as Logos, the giver of the water of doctrine, which is often connoted as *pocula caelestis doctrinae*, ποταμοὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων or *fons scientiae*, able to generate intellectual rivers of wisdom in the soul of the believer.[26] Thus the noun κοιλία indicates the innermost part of

20 Vian 1990, 254.

21 For other references see Lightfoot's article in this volume.

22 Baumgarten-Crusius 1836, 208.

23 Kuiper 1918, 266. See also Caprara 2005, 199.

24 Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *In Joh.* 4.13–14 (PG 73, 300 C).

25 See Caprara 2008, 63.

26 Cf. Origen, *Comm. in Cant.* 3.2.8 (ed. Brésard-Crouzel 1992, SC 376, 618–620): *Si qui sunt capaciores Verbi Dei, qui ab Iesu aquam sibi datam biberunt, et haec iacta est in iis fons*

FIGURE 12.1 Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well. *Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Italy*

the soul according to Philo of Alexandria's thought, from which is the origin of the 'mystic heart' Origen refers to and also the Nonnian adjective ἐνδόμυχος,[27] attested in some Christian authors in connection with the soul.

The verb ἁλλόμενον in Nonn. *Par.* 4.67, used in *Metaphrasis Psalmorum prooe.* 58 of the spirit (υἱέος οὐρανόθεν μετ' ἀνάστασιν ἆλτο θεοῖο), a verse probably influenced by Apollonius Rhodius 2.286 (ἆλτο / οὐρανόθεν), and combined with

aquae vivae salientis in vitam aeternam, in his scilicet, in quibus Verbum Dei crebris sensibus et copiosis velut perennibus ebullit fluentis (…) *dignissime salire Verbum Dei dicitur et exsilire factus in iis per affluentiam doctrinae fons aquae vivae salientis in vitam aeternam*. See also Origen, *Comm. In Gen.* 1.2 (ed. Lubac and Doutreleau 2003, SC 7bis, 30): *Studeat ergo unusquisque vestrum divisor effici aquae eius quae est supra et quae est subtus, quo scilicet spiritalis aquae intellectum et participium capiens eius quae est supra firmamentum flumina de ventre suo educat aquae vivae salientis in vitam aeternam*; *In Gen.* 13.3; *C. Celsum* 6.20 (ed. Koetschau 1899, GCS Origenes Werke II, 91.6–7) ποταμοὺς (…) τῶν θεωρημάτων. See also Didymus of Alexandria, *Enarr. Ep. Iudae* (PG 39, 1817A–B): *quam qui perceperit* (scil. *scientiam Dei*) *habet in semetipso fontem aquae salientis in vitam aeternam, it ut fluant de intelligibili eius ventre flumina aquae vivae*.

27 On κοιλία = *venter animae* = *cor* = ἡγεμονικόν in Origen cf. *In Luc. comm. fr.* 37; *Selecta in Ps.* 3.5 (PG 12, 1124C); *Schol. in Cant.* 5.14 (PG 17, 276B). See also Rahner 1971, 306, n. 18.

νοεροῖο βυθοῦ, squares with Origen's concept in *Contra Celsum* 6.20: *πηγὰς ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἀναλαβόντες κατὰ τὴν* Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν *ποταμούς τε χωρήσαντες τῶν θεωρημάτων σὺν* τοῖς λεγομένοις ὕδασι ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν, αἰνοῦσι τὸ ὄνομα *κυρίου, ἔσεσθαι*. The school of Alexandria with Clement of Alexandria had previously described the Saviour's teaching as spiritual food and drink: the water of Gnostic life[28] that saves from thirst. In contrast, according to Eusebius of Caesarea, the water of salvation is ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία.[29] In this Alexandrian milieu, Nonnus' *Paraphrase* of *John* 7.37–38 must be placed correctly.

With regard to identifying the scriptural source of *John* 7.38, many texts show significant affinity with John's apparent quotation (e.g. *Pr*. 18.4; *Is*. 43.20, 55.1; *Ps*. 78.15–16 and especially *Za*. 14.8 and *Ez*. 47.1–11). However, none is adequate, and while it is indeed useful to indicate kindred texts, we will not attempt to identify one specific text as being the precise one intended. The same problem also happens in Nonnus, but some inherent relationship is quite possible in the *Paraphrase*. Even though it appears impossible to determine which scriptural citation Nonnus had in mind when he wrote the paraphrase of *John* 7.38, a striking similarity with the scene of the Samaritan woman and with another passage of *John's Gospel* is notable. Since in Nonn. *Par*. 7.144, the poet introduces the allusion to Christ as πηγή, we are also able to evoke Nonn. *Par*. 19.181, where Jesus becomes a fountain of blood and water after being pierced in the side by a spear:

καὶ διδύμαις λιβάδεσσιν ἀπὸ πλευροῖο τυπέντος
πρῶτα μὲν αἷμα χύθη, μετέπειτα δὲ θέσκελον ὕδωρ.

And from the struck side with twin libations first flowed blood, next divine water.[30]

In Nonnus' view, the living water flows from the body of the crucified Christ.[31] By defining this water as θέσκελος, a specification absent in John, the *Para-*

28 Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Str*. 7.16.104.4 (ed. Stählin 1909, GCS 17, vol. III, 73). See also Pini and Rizzi 2006, 817.

29 Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Dem. ev*. 6.18.48–50 (ed. Heikel 1913, GC2 23, 283).

30 For the translation see Sherry 1991, 271.

31 When a soldier pierced Jesus' side, water as well as blood flowed forth (*Ev. Jo*. 19.34). Literally, a spear thrust near the heart could release a watery fluid around the heart as well as blood. As we have seen, John is the only writer among the four Gospel writers to emphasize the water, and he probably mentions it to make a point: once Jesus was lifted

phrase seems to rewrite in a poetical and theological context the exegetical Asiatic tradition of *John* 7.37–38, which from Hippolytus to Tertullian has found a symbol of baptism in the body pierced of Christ, τὸ ἱερὸν ὕδωρ (*Ev. Jo.* 19.34): Hippolytus, *fr.* 1 *De duobus latronibus* (…) ἀμφότερα παρέσχε τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου σῶμα τῷ κόσμῳ, αἷμα τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὕδωρ τὸ ἅγιον, or Apollinaris of Hierapolis, *fr.* 4 *De Pascha*: ὁ τὴν ἁγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθείς, ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα.[32] Nonnus' description of the miraculous flow of blood and water, after Jesus has accomplished his work of redemption upon Golgotha, contains a reflection of the image of Christ as source of 'living water', as the poet does not fail to highlight: Nonn. *Par.* 7.148 ἔνθεον ὕδωρ ~ 19.181 θέσκελον ὕδωρ. Reading *John* 7.37–38 in the light of the Alexandrian tradition, but also evoking *John* 19.34 in keeping with the Asiatic one, Nonnus seems to attempt a combination of these two different exegetical interpretations. We should not neglect this aspect, because, before Nonnus, we do not find the close connection of these two traditions of *John* 7.37–38 in ancient Christian exegesis. In such a way, we can understand how the poet selected and elaborated the Christian tradition.

As is well known, the Alexandrian tradition, under the influence of Platonism, understood the world in terms of a fundamental distinction between two levels (the intelligible and the corporeal), and human identity in terms of a soul that exists at a higher level than the body. This outlook had implications for how the Bible was read (allegory), how the person of Christ was understood and how the future hope of the Church was conceived (the spiritual nature of the *apokatastasis*). In contrast, the Asiatic tradition, because of the influence of Judaism and Stoic philosophy, had a more positive view of material existence and a unitary vision of reality. It conceived of human identity in terms of an organic union of body and soul (with each being incomplete without the other and the soul commonly perceived as consisting of very subtle matter). This approach also had implications for how the Bible was read (the literal interpretation of the first three chapters of *Genesis*), how the person of Christ was understood (a positive estimation of Christ's humanity and a discussion about the union of the eternal Logos with human flesh) and how the hope of the Church was perceived (belief in the transformation of the material order and the appearance of a millennial kingdom on earth).[33]

up on the cross and glorified (*Ev. Jo.* 7.39), the new life of the Spirit became available to his people.

32 See Rahner 1971, 362–364.

33 See also Sieber's article in this volume.

Based on this articulated framework, we can also understand why the Holy Sepulchre in Nonn. *Par.* 19.213–220 has been rendered by the poet of Panopolis as a *locus amoenus*:

ἦν δέ τις αὐτόθι κῆπος ἀερσιλόφῳ παρὰ χώρῳ,
Χριστὸν ὅπη σταυροῖο συνεκλήισσαν ὀχῆι
νηλὴς ἐχθρὸς ὅμιλος. Ἔην δ' ἐνὶ γείτονι κήπῳ
τύμβος ἀδωμήτοιο βαθυνομένης ἀπὸ πέτρης
γλυπτὸς ὅλος, νεότευκτος. Ἐν εὐλάιγγι δὲ τύμβῳ
οὔπω νεκρὸς ἔκειτο χυτῆς ψαμάθοιο τυχήσας,
ἀλλὰ τάφου καθαροῖο φυτῶν ἐπικήπιος αὔρη
χῶρον ἀνερρίπιζεν (…).

> And there was a garden there at a high-crested place where they, the merciless hostile crowd, locked him by the bolt of the cross. There was in a neighboring garden a tomb, newly made, entirely carved from the unbuilt hollowed rock. In the well-stoned tomb not yet had a corpse lain, having met with a heap of sand, but the garden breeze of the plants of the purified tomb fanned the place (…).[34]

Reading these verses carefully, we find the poet provides a more accurate description of the tomb compared to that of the Gospel. Probably on the basis of Cyril of Jerusalem,[35] Nonnus seems to describe the site of Golgotha correctly as an area large enough to contain a site of a Roman crucifixion and also a cultivated tract of garden (κῆπος): v. 213 ἦν δέ τις αὐτόθι κῆπος ~ vv. 215–216 ἔην δ' ἐνὶ γείτονι κήπῳ / τύμβος. Regarding this aspect, it seems fitting to connect Nonnus' description (vv. 219–220 ἀλλὰ τάφου καθαροῖο φυτῶν ἐπικήπιος αὔρη / χῶρον ἀνερρίπιζεν) to one of the chants sung in the center of the atrium of the Holy Sepulchre. In this chant, the atrium, where the *omphalos* stood, which is the centre of the world where "God worked salvation in the midst of the earth" (*Ps.* 74.12), has been defined as 'garden', 'Paradise', or 'New Eden', in keeping with some pilgrim texts and Cyril of Jerusalem.[36] It is recordered in the *Typicon* of Jerusalem, which also refers to the atrium as ὁ Ἅγιος Κῆπος, as follows:

---

34 For the translation see Sherry 1991, 272.

35 Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 14.3. See also Walker 1990, 261–263.

36 Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 14.5. See Underwood 1950, 105, n. 245.

Ἡ ζωηφόρος σου πλευρὰ | ὡς ἐξ Ἐδὲμ πηγὴ ἀναβλύζουσα
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σου, Χριστέ, | ὡς λογικὸν ποτίζει παράδεισον,
ἐντεῦθεν μερίζουσα | εἰς ἀρχάς, εἰς τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια,
τὸν κόσμον ἀρδεύουσα, τὴν κτίσιν φαιδρύνουσα
καὶ τὰ ἔθνη πιστῶς | διδάσκουσα προσκυνεῖν | τὴν βασιλείαν σου.[37]

And Thy life-giving side, like a fountain bubbling forth from Eden,
Waters Thy Church, O Christ, like a reasonable Paradise,
Thence dividing into sources, into Four Gospels,
Watering the universe, purifying creation,
And teaching the nations faithfully to worship Thy Kingdom.

The body of Christ is the life-giving fountain which flows forth from Eden to water the Church. The water is the water of baptism, which issued from the side of Christ together with his blood. Within this context, it is also important to remember that, by the seventh century, the Holy Sepulchre is denoted as 'life-giving' or even the 'fountain of life'. In contrast, by the fifth century the Cross has been accorded the mention "life-giving", and by the seventh century the term τὸ ξύλον ζωῆς has come to be applied to the Cross.[38] Returning to line 216 of Nonnus' text, the Greek expression ἀδωμήτοιο βαθυνομένης ἀπὸ πέτρης evokes the tomb of Christ in the form of νέα πέτρα: if the epithet ἀδώμητος is taken with the meaning of 'unbuilt', the tomb is made from 'living rock' or mere rock transformed into a new creation (v. 217 νεότευκτος). Nonnus may be alluding to a specific passage, in which πέτρη appears in its spiritual meaning: 1 Corinthians 10.4, where we read: "All drank the same spiritual drink; for they drank of a spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ." The spiritual drink here refers to the living water which flowed out of the cleft rock (*Ex.* 17.6) and which typifies the Spirit as our all-inclusive drink (*Ev. Jo.* 7.37–39; 1 *Ep. Cor.* 12.13). If God's people "drink this spiritual drink", according to Paul, it is like Israel in the desert, which drew "from the rock which was Christ" (1 *Ep. Cor.* 10.1–4). From Jesus' side pierced on the cross "flowed blood and water" (*Ev. Jo.* 19.34), as a sign of the redemptive end of his death which he underwent for the salvation of the world. The result of this redemptive death is the gift of the Holy Spirit, which he gave abundantly to his Church. In the *Paraphrase*, the description of the tomb of Christ is not a mere recording of the appearance of the historic monument, but a representation of what

37 See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894, II, 134.
38 See Underwood 1950, 96–99.

it symbolized to the Faithful: ἡ φερέσβιος πέτρα καὶ ζωηφόρη, just as it was interpreted in the following Byzantine tradition.[39]

John of Damascus, in writing his *De Imaginibus* about the year 730, will be very partial to the epithet ζωηφόρος when speaking of the Holy Sepulchre, although he also employed other synonymous terms. For instance, in *Oratio I* he says: Ἢ οὐχ ὕλη ἡ φερέσβιος πέτρα καὶ ζωηφόρος, ὁ τάφος ὁ ἅγιος, ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως (PG 94, 1245B). Here he uses the synonyms φερέσβιος and ζωηφόρος with regard to the sepulchre, but he also terms it ἡ πηγή ('fountain', 'source', or 'spring') of our resurrection.

Water and rock have been brought by Nonnus into a close connection, so that one might also suggest an overlap: Nonn. *Par.* 19.216 βαθυνομένη πέτρα ~ 4.68 ἐνδόμυχος πηγή ~ 7.148 ἐνδόμυχον ὕδωρ. The essence of a new eternal life and the prospect of rebirth and renewal originate from the depths of both symbols. Springs of living water flowed from within the paschal mystery of Christ by becoming a spring of water in people's souls welling up to eternal life (*Ev. Jo.* 4.14) as a gift from the Holy Spirit.

The passages analyzed above are only a selection, in which the poet shows attention to water imagery. In Nonn. *Par.* 5, the water of the Probatic Pool at Bethesda dances (v. 7 ὀρχούμενον), curves (v. 23 κυρτούμενον), comes from a seething source (vv. 22–23 πηγῆς—θυιάδος), possesses such continuous spontaneity in the waterfalls as to evoke in the mind of the reader this ὕδωρ ζῶν, springing up eternally into everlasting with the coming of Christ, and sends to the sky its froth (v. 28 ἀφρὸν ἀερσιπότητον ἐρευγομένης ἀσαμίνθου).[40] The exegetical key derives from the comparison with the passage at Nonn. *Par.* 3.118–122 where the moving water clearly refers to baptism:

κεῖθι γὰρ εὐρυπόροιο κυλινδομένου ποταμοῖο
χεύμασιν ἀενάοις κυμαίνεται ἄφθονον ὕδωρ,
ἄρκιον εἰν ἑνὶ πᾶσιν· ἐκυκλώσαντο δὲ λαοὶ
εὐσεβίης ἕνα φῶτα καὶ ὀψινόῳ μετανοίῃ
ἀμπλακίας νίπτοντες ἐφαιδρύνοντο ῥεέθροις.

For in that place abundant water swelled up in the everflowing streams of the rolling river with a broad ford, sufficient water for each and everyone. And the people encircled a man of piety, and with high-minded repentance they washed away their faults and were cleansed by the streams.[41]

39 See Underwood 1950, 96–97.

40 See Agosti 2003, 57–59.

41 For the translation see Sherry 1991, 184–185.

Nonnus seems to be influenced by this ‘aquatic’ language also at Nonn. *Dion.* 35.69–72, where Morrheus would like to find the fountain of life to heal Chalcomedeia:

> ἤθελον ἐγγὺς ἔχειν φυσίζοον ἐνθάδε πηγήν,
> ὄφρα τεοῖς μελέεσσι βαλὼν ὀδυνήφατον ὕδωρ
> πρηΰνω τεὸν ἕλκος ἐπήρατο, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτὴν
> ψυχὴν ὑμετέρην παλινάγρετον εἰς σὲ κομίσσω.
>
> Would I had here beside me the fountain of life, that I might pour on your limbs that painstilling water and assuage your adorable wound, to bring back even your soul to you again.

As in other verses of the *Dionysiaca*, in which Nonnus draws a sophisticated parallelism with similar evangelic themes, it seems that the choice of a certain type of language induces him to employ here an ideologically characterizing expression: v. 69 φυσίζοον[42] (…) πηγήν ~ Nonn. *Par.* 4.47 φυσίζοον ὕδωρ.

Is there any way to make sense of this rich watery imagery and symbolism in Nonnus, although it is, first of all, a folkloristic motif? Also, why did water imagery fascinate Nonnus in such a relevant way? Even when an author’s work engages with traditional aquatic imagery, such images have to be selected from the larger cultural storehouse in order to place them in their appropriate background. As Newbold has noted, there are well over one thousand references to water in the *Dionysiaca*. Even if the poem opens in a burst of fire imagery, after just a few lines of the first book (line 48), the first of the epic’s various episodes of levitation upon water begins. Having changed himself into a bull and enticed Europa on to his back, Zeus walks across the surface of the water while Europa remains dry.[43] In book 23, Dionysus leads his forces over the river, driving his chariot across, while the panthers that pull it keep their feet dry and Pan walks across the river remaining dry (vv. 151–154). This method of progress, unwetted on and/or above the water (ἄβρεκτος, ἄβροχος, ἀδίαντος), occurs frequently in the *Dionysiaca*. It also appears in the *Paraphrase* in the episode in which Jesus walks on the sea (Nonn. *Par.* 6.75–76 Χριστὸν ἐθηήσαντο διαστείχοντα θαλάσσης / ἄβροχον ἴχνος ἔχοντα, βατῆς ἁλὸς ὀξὺν ὁδίτην). It emphasizes the change of matter, a sort of process of solidification of water, and it demonstrates the marvellous nature of water.[44]

42 On φυσίζοος cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.243, 11.301; *Orac. ap.* Hdt. 1.67.

43 See Newbold 2001, 169–189.

44 See Franchi 2013, 98–102.

In the *Paraphrase*, water symbolism is due to the reception of the theological context. One should keep in mind that, for a Christian, the baptismal meaning of everything relating to water is natural, and, in most cases, there is no need for an exegetical engagement of the poet or the audience to comprehend what he describes. The baptismal meaning of water has been interpreted elaborately in the Christian tradition.[45] For example, Gregory of Nazianzus, in the first epigram dedicated to Naucratius (one of Basil's brothers who died by drowning), recalls the theme of "death by water", and thus associates the deadly waters of the river and those of grace-giving of baptism: *AP* 8.156 Ἰχθυβόλον ποτ' ἔλυε λίνον βυθίης ἀπὸ πέτρης / Ναυκράτιος δίναις ἐν ποταμοῦ βρυχίαις· / *καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνέλυσεν, ὁ δ' ἔσχετο*. πῶς ἁλιῆα / εἴρυσεν ἀνθ' ἁλίης δίκτυον; Εἰπέ, Λόγε, / Ναυκράτιον, *καθαροῖο* βίου νόμον, ὥσπερ ἐίσκω, / *καὶ χάριν* ἐλθέμεναι *καὶ μόρον ἐξ ὑδάτων*. Regarding Gregory, it is worth looking at the *Poemata Arcana*, where *Arc.* 1.1 (οἶδα μὲν ὡς σχεδίῃσι μακρὸν πλόον ἐκπερόωμεν) opens the set of poems with a tentative sea voyage on a raft. At the end of the collection, the voyage is concluded with a cleansing submersion in water where Christ brings purification through baptism and the shedding of his blood. This final representation seems to evoke some themes of the *Paraphrase* discussed above: *Arc.* 8.77–79 *δισσὸν δὲ καθάρσιον ὤπασε θνητοῖς* / *πνεύματος ἀενάοιο*, τό μοι προτέρην *ἐκάθηρε* / *σαρκογενῆ κακίην*, *καὶ αἵματος ἡμετέροιο* (…); 94–95 βένθος ἄχους *καὶ* βαιὸν ἀπ' ἄχθεος αὐχέν' ἀνασχὼν / *πρὸς ζωὴν παλίνορσον ἄγω πόδα* (…); 99 ξυνὸν δ' ἀνθρώποισι σαόμβροτον ἔπλετο *λουτρόν*.[46] In baptism, water symbolizes death and receives the body like a tomb, as Paul writes, but the Spirit gives life.[47] Thus, water prepares an individual for the Spirit. This belief is associated with the idea of the duality of human essence consisting of two natures: spiritual (soul) and corporeal (body). Water purifies the body and the Spirit cleanses the soul, thus accomplishing rebirth from above and illumination of the whole human being about which Christ spoke to Nicodemus.[48]

---

45 See Agosti 2003, 59–64.

46 It is worth noticing that the last word in Gregory is the Greek term λουτρόν. The figure of a journey over water and of the traveller also appears several times throughout the *Arcana* (6.30–35; 7.123–126), not to mention Gregory's long autobiographical poem in which the voyage over the sea functions also as a spiritual (and perhaps literary) voyage. For a commentary see Moreschini and Sykes 1997. I have to thank Andrew Faulkner for this reference in Gregory of Nazianzus.

47 Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 38.10.14; *Or.* 39.9.15.

48 Cf. *Ev. Jo.* 3.5–8; *Act. Ap.* 8.38–39; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 40.6.8.

As Agosti has noted,[49] we have many allusions to the water of baptism in the *Paraphrase*. Especially at the beginning of Nonn. *Par.* 3 (vv. 3–7) the symbolism of baptism is clearly evoked:

(…) ἀμάρτυρος οὗτος ὁδίτης
Χριστῷ νυκτὸς ἵκανε φυλασσομένῳ ποδὶ βαίνων·
ἔννυχος εἰς δόμον ἦλθεν, ὅπῃ φάος· ἀνδρὶ δὲ πιστῷ
Ἰησοῦς ἐνέπων βαπτίσματος ἔνθεον αἴγλην
νυκτιφανῆ Νικόδημον ἑῷ φαιδρύνατο μύθῳ.

> This unwitnessing traveller came during the night to Christ by walking in guarded foot. In the night he came to the house wherein was in the light. And Jesus, while addressing the faithful mind about the inspired splendor of baptism, cleansed the nocturnal Nicodemus with his expression.[50]

But there is something more. It is well known how metaphorical and poetic images of rivers and springs are often attested in Hellenistic poetry, especially in Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius. In most cases, they are metaphors for literary fluency.[51] Keeping this Christian symbolism in mind, Nonnus does not fail to attribute a metaphorical meaning to water when he mentions it as a prophetic inspiration: Nonn. *Par.* 3.164 πνεῦμα δίδωσιν ἀειλιβέος ῥόον ὀμφῆς; 6.195 μύθων δ’ ἡμετέρων ῥόος ἔνθεος; 1.92–93 προφήτης / πνεύματι παφλάζων, θεοδινέος ἔγκυος ὀμφῆς ~ Nonn. *Dion.* 13.134 σοφῷ πάφλαζε ῥεέθρῳ (Castalia).[52] These rivers and streams of water are metaphors of a prophetic knowledge, the knowledge of God springing forth and watering places previously barren (meaning obscure passages of Scripture).[53]

Although it appears clear that Nonnus has been influenced by literary and Christian motifs, the visual approach to the subject and the importance of

---

49 See Agosti 2003, 62.

50 For the translation see Sherry 1991, 181.

51 Cf. Callimachus, *Ap.* 105–110. See Depew 2007; Williams 1978, 85–89. It has long been suggested that drinking from holy streams or founts in Greek and Latin poetry symbolizes different approaches to poetic endeavour. For instance, Wilamowitz, followed by Kroll, held that epic poets drank from Hippocrene, elegiac poets from Aganippe. See Crowther 1979, 1–13.

52 For the connection of water and prophecy in Nonnus see the article of Jane Lightfoot in this volume (esp. p. 148).

53 The source of knowledge and of understanding is found in the Spirit, as is the strength needed to bear witness to divine truth.

iconographic details are also characteristic traits that may have played an important role in Nonnus' texts, as in the most outstanding works composed in Late Antiquity. In many passages, Nonnus seems to describe a figurative model or to refer to iconographic evidence well known to his audience.[54] For water imagery, we must pay attention to the catacomb imagery, but also churches, baths, temples, and mausolea, where aquatic scenes often occur. We must also pay attention to the various representations of baptism that refer to sacrament in Christian and Byzantine churches. By borrowing a widespread interpretative strategy employed in early Christian homilies, scriptures commentaries, treatises, and liturgical texts, and then transferring it to the interpretation of these visual images, they appear as more than mere illustration of stories. Like the stories to which they refer, they validate the sacrament of baptism by showing it as part of the divine economy.[55] A passage of Cyprian is particularly elegant, where he says: "every time that water is named by itself in the Holy Scriptures, there is a prophetic allusion to baptism (…) by the term 'water' baptism is always signified and that is how we ought to interpret it."[56] This interpretative approach could be applied to visual representations of water imagery, that is, whenever one sees a reference to or inclusion of water in the image, the ritual of baptism is signified. On the one hand, by the late fourth century, typological water imageries are commonplace in catechetical literature, as evidenced in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom and others.[57] On the other hand, in Late Antiquity the famous principle *ut pictura poesis* represents very well this challenging world, where the boundaries between image and text, on the basis of a terminological equivalence possible in Greek,[58] begin to overlap.

However, water symbolism cannot be reduced to a mere cycle of images, especially in the case of Nonnus, given his Egyptian origin. We must keep in mind how relevant the role of water has been in the history of Ancient Egypt. The river Nile, then, certainly has played a critical role. The areas of Egypt are desert and the Nile brought water and rich soil that could be used to fertilize and grow crops. The importance of the river in the daily life of ancient Egyptian people is reflected in art, religion, writings, politics, and social life. The river shaped nearly every facet of their existence. It is worth noticing that in Nonn

54 See Agosti 2008, 17–32; Agosti 2006, 351–374.

55 See Jensen 2010, 33–35.

56 Cf. Cyprian, *Epist.* 63.8.1–9.1.

57 See Jensen 2010, 35–36.

58 In poetry, the expression ἐν γραφίδεσσι signifies 'in writing' (cf. Nonn. *Par.* 5.156 ἐνὶ γραφίδεσσι δὲ κεῖναι; Diosc., *Carm.* 1.4 Fournet 1999: ἐν γραφίδεσσι χαράγματα), but also 'in painting' (cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 12.114; 25.433 οἷα καὶ ἐν γραφίδεσσι).

Dion. 25.238 the poet calls the Nile ἐμὸς Νεῖλος.[59] In Egypt, the rising of the river Nile, ascribed to pagan gods such as Demeter or Isis, is considered as a symbol of spiritual gifts and blessings, but also as a provider of material goods and benefits. In Late Antiquity, the Nile is presented on coins with the inscription *Deo sancto Nilo*, and large heads of river gods or Oceanus function as apotropaic devices.

In the Christian tradition, the Nile is one of the four Rivers of Paradise flowing out of the Garden of Eden, which is the source of fruitfulness and prosperity. From the Earthly Paradise flow four rivers, which traverse the earth beyond the ocean, then pass under the ocean to re-emerge in the inhabited earth as the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Phison, and the Gehon, or Nile.[60] Some writers have described this channeling of the four rivers to our world. In his *Commentaries on Genesis*, Ephrem Syrus says that "the four rivers which flow from the fountain of Paradise (…) have been absorbed in the periphery of Paradise, and they have descended in the middle of the sea as if by an aqueduct, and the earth makes each one spring forth in its place."[61] In the early sixth century, the poet Avitus, after describing the source of the four rivers from the fountain in Eden, goes on to devote many lines to their geography in our earth, including the annual floods of the Gehon, which he identifies, like other writers, with the Nile.[62]

The Early Christian writers do not lose sight of what lay upstream. Epiphanius of Salamis says that he knew the description of Paradise in Genesis to be literally true, because: "I saw the waters of Gehon [i.e. the Nile], waters which I gazed at with these bodily eyes (…) and I simply drank the waters from the great river Euphrates, which you can touch with your hands and sip with your lips."[63] The reader should recall Nonnus' paraphrase 19.213–220, related to the tomb of Christ. Many Christian texts, evoking the fertileness of the Nile in a variety of material and spiritual contexts and its symbolism of spiritual regeneration,[64] have their counterparts in the decoration of many church floors or

59 For the particular relationship between Nonnus and the Nile see Gigli Piccardi 1998, 76–82.

60 See Maguire 1999, 179–184; Hermann 1959, 30–69. The traditional identification of Gehon with the Nile follows Jeremiah 2.18: "And now what have you to do in the way of Egypt, to drink the waters of Gehon?"

61 Ephrem Syrus, *Comm. in Gen.* 1.23B.

62 Avitus, *Poem. de mosaicae histor. gest., liber* 1, PL 59, 329–330. See also Daniélou 1953, 433–472.

63 Epiphanius of Salamis, *Epist. ad Joannem Episcopum Jerosolymorum, liber* 1, PG 43, 386.

64 Romanos the Melodist uses Egypt and the Nile as metaphors for fruitfulness in his *Kon-*

in carved wooden frames where the Nile's fertility is connected with Christian faith. For example, we have angels holding up a cross, peacocks as symbols of resurrection and eternal life, and Nilotic motifs, such as boys fishing from boats and water creatures of various kinds.[65]

Very interesting is an invocation to the river Nile to flood the country, hearing the prayers of the sun, the earth, and men and children who sing his praises.[66] This invocation is transcribed in *Papyrus Flor. XVIII* and dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century AD. Although it borrows most expressions from Homer, Hesiod, and Hellenistic poetry, it also shows the rich vocabulary of that late epic poetry, which is attested in Nonnus.[67] We only report the most important lines:

1 [Νεῖλον] ἀναμέλψετε
2 τὸν ποταμῶν πρέσβιστον ἐγείνατο πότνια Τηθύς·
3 ἢ τῶν ἐξ ἱερῶν ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο
4 Αἰγύπτου ζαθέης *φυσίζοον* ὄλβιον *ὕδωρ*.
5 Κλῦθι πάτερ ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπείγεο σὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν·
6 ἠέλιος καλέει σε *θερειγενὲς οἶδμα* κομίσσαι
7 καὶ χθὼν γυμνωθεῖσα τελεσσιγόνων ⟨ὑμεν⟩αίων
8 νῶτον ἀναπλώσασα μένει χρυσορρόον ὕδωρ.
(…)
20–21 καὶ τραφερὴν τέμνουσι βόες μετὰ χεύματα Νείλου.

Celebrate O, (…) the Nile with song,
the oldest river which queen Tethys begot
or one of the sacred waters of encircling Oceanus,
blessed, life-giving wave of holy Egypt.
Hearken, father of rivers, and hasten upon your land,
the sun calls you to bring the wave growing in summer,
and the earth, naked,

---

takion on the Holy Innocents H. 15, *Str.* 15: "Winter prevailed when May brought forth the uncultivated grape (…). For the fruit of the only pure Virgin, with the vine is destined to flee into Egypt, and be planted there and give fruit. It fled (…) a waste land empty of all benefit, it arrived at the fruitful Nile (…) overthrowing there all their idols" (ed. Grosdidier de Matons 1964, 222).

65 On this aspect see Dauterman Maguire and Maguire 1989, 14–15, 54–55; Manfredi 1981, 49–62; Bonneau 1964, 421–439.

66 The theme of invocation of the Nile is traditional.

67 For the critical text of the hymn see Cribiore 1995, 97–106.

leaning out its back awaits the water of fruitful marriage streaming with gold.
(…)
and the oxen plough the fertile land after the Nile's flood.[68]

At line 4, the Homeric epithet φυσίζοος connotes ὕδωρ in *AP* 9.383.12 (καὶ Μεσορὶ Νείλοιο φέρει φυσίζοον ὕδωρ), just as we have noted in Nonn. *Par*. 4.48. It is also relevant that, in *Theos*. 47.1 Erbse² = I 43 Beatrice, the Spirit is defined in such a way: πνεῦμα θεόρρητον φυσίζοον εἰκόνα πατρὸς / ἀμφὶς ἔχει. Again, we have a connection with water, Spirit and oracular poetry.[69] At line 6, the adjective θερειγενής, which appears once in Nicander, *Ther*. 601, is attested five times in Nonnus, and in Nonn. *Dion*. 26.238 the whole expression, θερειγενὲς οἶδμα, refers to the Nile.[70] The term χεύματα, which occurs at line 21, qualifies the waters of the Nile in Nonn. *Dion*. 26.234,[71] and the verb τέμνειν, taken with the meaning of 'cutting the land lengthwise', appears in Nonn. *Dion*. 1.108 and 2.67.[72]

When a late antique poet chooses to write about the dominance of a symbolism—in this case water imagery—it is important to investigate the language engaged by the poet, but also the literary, visual and historical context in order to shed new light on the text. By keeping this framework in mind, I do not agree with what Fee suggests about the relevance of Nonnus' *Paraphrase*.[73] It is true that Nonnus' text cannot be used as a primary source to understand the fourth Gospel, because it is a metrical paraphrase, but, in most cases, the *Paraphrase*, intertwined with the *Dionysiaca*, is able to offer a more sophisticated overview.

Symbolism is used to convey specific knowledge in ways that communication in non-metaphorical terms cannot duplicate. Seen this way, the use of

68 For the English translation see Cribiore 1995, 99–100.

69 Gigli Piccardi 2012.

70 This adjective probably appears again in conjunction with the Nile in *P. Oxy*. 2520, *fr*. 13.11, a poem in hexameters, *Suppl. Hell*. 920.11. The whole expression recalls Tibullus, *El*. 1.7.22 *aestiva aqua*, which refers to the Nile.

71 Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Protr*. 4.50.3.3, and the Didymean oracle in Porphyrius, *De Phil. Orac*. 124.6 Wolff = Porphyrius, *fr*. 309 F (p. 358.13 Smith) = Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. ev*. 5.7.5 (p. 236.1 Mras). It is used quite often in connection to the Nile in the so-called *Oracula Sibyllina* (e.g. 14.329 Geffcken).

72 See Cribiore 1995, 101–105.

73 See Fee 1971, 167–168: "Nonnus' text simply cannot be used as a *primary* source for the recovery of the text of John, especially for a short text. Two things militate against it:—1. It is a *paraphrase* in the fullest sense of that word; scarcely a word recalls the actual language of John itself.—2. It is a *metrical paraphrase*, which means that many of his 'omissions' may very well be in the interest of meter."

symbolism provides us with a tool to bring forward understanding and knowledge in areas where we find it difficult to express adequately what we mean. The implication is that symbolism, as well as metaphors, are not merely ornaments for ideas that might just as well be expressed literally. In keeping with the purposes of the *Gospel of John*, where symbolism lies at the core of its theology, the Nonnian use of water imagery is deeply rooted in the Christian tradition where control of the waters is the prerogative of God alone. The Nonnian use of water symbolism is therefore discussed in terms of creation, vivifying power, human life, and the manifestation of God known as "theophany". By way of application, in the *Paraphrase*, the presence of God is interpreted for its capacity to reveal its power in close connection with the intellectual source of the living water, which will flow from the innermost recesses of the believer through the ministry of Christ. This background suggests not only the influence of Christian literary and exegesis on Nonnus, but also the importance of placing Nonnus' poems in their broader context. We need to think of a more dynamic intersection between the world of late paganism and the world of Christianity, as the poetry of Nonnus shows. His cultivated poetry partly reflects the distinctive patterns of the so-called late antique "jewelled style" and some typical features of the Late Antique period.

CHAPTER 13

The Staphylus Episode. Nonnus and the Secret Gospel of Mark

*Konstantinos Spanoudakis**

> As a grown boy, he would show himself
> as a girl, in saffron robes and veils.
>
> R. ROBERTSON, *The Coming God after Nonnus*

The present paper aims at demonstrating the Christian overtones of the Staphylus/Botrys episode in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and its privileged association with the Lazarus story (*John* 11) as rendered in the *Paraphrasis*. It also sets the Secret Gospel of Mark (SGM) and the *Dionysiaca* episode side by side, drawing attention to their contextual narrative and notional affinity. This has a bearing on the question of the SGM's authenticity.

The SGM is known only from two short fragments cited in a mutilated letter of Clement of Alexandria found in 1958 in the Mar Saba monastery West of Jerusalem by Morton Smith (1915–1991) and published fifteen years later by the same scholar.[1] The conditions of discovery and the authenticity of this document have ever since been a subject of inconclusive and at times acrimonious debate.[2] According to Clement (or "Clement") Mark produced "a more spiritual gospel for the use of those who were perfected" relying on notes of his own and of Peter's. Some scholars, however, including Morton Smith,

* I thank Domenico Accorinti and Gianfranco Agosti for their suggestions and Mary Whitby for admirably improving the English.

1 Smith 1973 (text: 448/450).

2 *Status quaestionis*: Foster 2005; Paananen 2012; Burke 2013 is a fine collection of essays from which P. Foster in his *Foreword* (p. xxi) concludes that "the riddle of *Secret Mark* is not solved yet". M. Meyer's integration of SGM's νεανίσκος in canonical Marcan theology in his contribution "The Young Streaker in Secret and Canonical Mark" (Burke 2013, 145–156) is particularly relevant.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_015

have suggested (though without proof and perhaps anachronistically) that the Secret Mark's passage had a function in the baptismal ritual of Clement's community.[3] According to the letter, at the time of Clement the SGM, kept at the Church of Alexandria where Mark had left it, was not destined for wider distribution, but was accessible only to an initiated élite: *Letter to Theodore* 450.1: ἀναγινωσκόμενον πρὸς αὐτοὺς μόνους τοὺς μυουμένους τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια. According to the letter, the Carpocratians, a Gnostic heresy known for their sexual licence, bribed an Alexandrian elder to obtain a copy. In that copy they read the phrase γυμνὸς γυμνῷ concerning Christ and the youth of Bethany. To refute this Clement cites Secret Mark's *ipsissima verba*:

> Καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Βηθανίαν, καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ μία γυνὴ ἧς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ἀπέθανεν· καὶ ἐλθοῦσα προσεκύνησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· Υἱὲ Δαβίδ, ἐλέησόν με. Οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐπετίμησαν αὐτῇ· καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπῆλθεν μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν κῆπον ὅπου ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον· καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκούσθη ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου φωνὴ μεγάλη, καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀπεκύλισε τὸν λίθον ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου· καὶ εἰσελθὼν εὐθὺς ὅπου ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος ἐξέτεινεν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτόν, κρατήσας τῆς χειρός· ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ ᾖ· καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἓξ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται ὁ νεανίσκος πρὸς αὐτόν, περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ, καὶ ἔμεινε σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην· ἐδίδασκε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστὰς ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.
>
> They came to Bethany, and a woman was there whose brother had died. She came and prostrated herself before Jesus, saying to him, 'Son of David, have mercy on me.' But his disciples rebuked her. Jesus became angry and went off with her to the garden where the tomb was. Immediately a loud voice was heard from the tomb. Jesus approached and rolled the stone away from the entrance to the tomb. Immediately he went in where the young man was, stretched out his hand, and raised him by seizing his hand. The young man looked at him intently and loved him; and he began pleading with him that he might be with him. When they came out of

3 "The pericope may have been read at the baptismal service preceding the pascha", Smith 1973, 168, cf. Foster 2005, 51. Talley 1982 articulates an attractive hypothesis for an Alexandrian liturgical pattern involving the reading of the Marcan pericope on Lazarus Saturday, abolished through Athanasius, but taken up in Constantinople by supplanting Mark with John. See, however, Brown 2007.

> the tomb they went to the young man's house, for he was wealthy. And after six days Jesus gave him a command. And when it was evening the young man came to him, wearing a linen cloth over his naked body. He stayed with him that night, for Jesus was teaching him the mystery of the Kingdom of God. When he got up from there, he returned to the other side of the Jordan.[4]

The exact relation of the SGM to John's Lazarus story is disputed. But for a later reader the affinities between the two stories would be more than obvious. Yet, there are differences too. The most remarkable is a significant twist at the end of the story: six days after the νεανίσκος rises from the dead, Jesus summons him to his chamber in order to teach him, in a nocturnal initiation, "the mystery of the kingdom of God". The young man appears to wear nothing but a white robe. This happens after a week's generous entertainment in the youth's wealthy residence and the night before Jesus departs. So the SGM involves "resurrections" in two phases, which were understood to be combined in the Lazarus resurrection: one in flesh and one in spirit through spiritual teaching and initiation.

Let us now turn to the Staphylus/Botrys episode described in *Dionysiaca* 18.1 to 20.141: the king of "Assyria" Staphylus, fascinated by the fame of Dionysus, hastens with his young son Botrys to meet the god. A reception and a banquet of initiation follows in the palace, but when Dionysus departs to spread the cultivation of wine in "Assyria" ("un *tour* di evangelizzazione in Assiria", Gonnelli *l.s.*), Staphylus suddenly dies. Dionysus, for obscure reasons, returns, consoles Staphylus' wife Methe, his son Botrys and his attendant Pithos and organizes contests of poetry and pantomime in honour of the deceased. Another banquet follows and Dionysus and retinue spend the night in the palace, before the god sets off, together with Methe, Botrys and Pithos, for "Arabia" against the impious king Lycurgus. There is no known myth that Nonnus elaborates in this episode but a village Botrys (today Batroun) in Lebanon, a fortress with the Dionysiac name Gigarton "Grape-stone" and a rivulet Marsyas (in Nonn. *Dion.* 19.300–301 Silenus [~ "Marsyas"] is transformed into a river) indicate that even if Nonnus contrived part of the Staphylus episode, he relied on solid mythological and geographical data.[5] It is therefore conceivable that Nonnus, in his usual fashion, reworks a local, Lebanese/Syriac story unknown to us from elsewhere.

4 Translation by B. Ehrman 2003.

5 This is the conclusion of Chuvin 1991, 196, which seems fair for the present state of our knowledge; cf. Gerbeau 1992, 6; Gonnelli 2003, 326–328. This would be a further link to Callimachus' *Hecale* (see below), the eponymous heroine of an Attic deme.

The exact identity of "Staphylus" is elusive. Among the numerous characters of that name associated with Dionysus it may be worth mentioning a tradition according to which a certain Staphylus became a lover of Dionysus on the island of Thasos.[6] Nonnus' Staphylus is often regarded an *ad hoc* invention.[7] Ἀσσυρίη is also an elusive geographical term. Already in Herodotus "Syria" or "Assyria" (the former the Greek, the latter the barbarian form for Hdt. 7.63) covers all the regions of the Middle East once subject to the Assyrian empire.[8] In Nonnus the term mostly refers to Lebanon and the shores of Phoenicia.[9]

1 The Hospitality Theme

The affinity of Nonnus' scenario with that of Callimachus' celebrated epyllion *Hecale* has long been noticed:[10] Theseus on his way to Marathon to kill the eponymous bull because of a storm is forced to spend a night at the hut of Hecale, a hospitable, formerly noble but now impoverished elderly woman, who entertains him with humble food. Theseus departs next morning but when he returns victorious he finds Hecale dead. He then decides to immortalize her memory with the institution of the cult of Zeus Hecaleios (fr. 83 Hollis). Yet, this influential source does not explain everything: in the first place, as Shorrock (2001, 148) has remarked, "it is notable that the description of frugal hospitality offered to Theseus by Hecale has been transformed into a scene of lavish entertainment." More importantly, as Gonnelli (2003, 323) noted, Dionysus "non si limita a onorare la memoria del defunto ma interviene come rimedio al dolore e alla morte". Therefore other scholars[11] have drawn attention to a Biblical model that had eluded earlier critics: the Lazarus story, which involves

6 Schol. Ar. *Plut.* 1021a ἐν Θάσῳ ᾤκει Στάφυλος ὁ ἐρώμενος τοῦ Διονύσου. On the identity of "Staphylus" see Chuvin 1991, 192–193; Parlama 1994, 806–807 (with representations in art) and esp. Gonnelli *l.l.*: he draws attention to a baby Staphylus with royal associations in a fragmentary novel attested on a mutilated second century AD papyrus (Stephens and Winkler 1995, 429–437).

7 Parlama 1994, 806; Lightfoot 1999, 374 n. 14.

8 See Nöldeke 1871, 451 f. For "Assyria" in Nonnus see Chuvin 1991, 191–192; Gerbeau 1992, 5–6.

9 It is to be noted that Claudian *AP* 1.19.7, στήσας Ἀσσυρίης γενεῆς ἑτερόφρονα λύσσαν, employs the term of the Jews, in the same manner as Nonnus employs "Syria" in the *Paraphrasis*. In Nonn. *Dion.* 18.328 Σύρον οὖδας, hapax in the poem, equals Ἀσσυρίη.

10 See Chuvin 1991, 190 n. 2; Gerbeau 1992, 38–39; Tissoni 1999, 268–269; Shorrock 2001, 148–150; Gonnelli 2003, 323; Spanoudakis 2009.

11 First Braden 1974, 852–853. Cf. Gonnelli 2003, 323, 361; Spanoudakis 2009.

hospitality of god, death of host in absence of god, return and resurrection. As well as the scenario, the structure of the Staphylus/Botrys episode supports this suggestion: in both stories death and "resurrection" take place between two banquets. Just as the final banquet at Bethany opens *John* 12, so the second banquet in Botrys' palace opens Nonn. *Dion.* 20. It is clear that Lazarus had hosted Christ before but, lacking scriptural evidence for this, Nonnus relies on similar hospitality stories such as those of Zacchaeus or Levi. The ensuing discussion will reveal a broad use of Lazarus motifs in the Staphylus/Botrys episode.

As to the question raised by Shorrock about Hecale's frugality contrasted to Staphylus/Botrys' affluence, critics note that Nonnus had earlier made use of the frugality motif in the Brongus reception of Dionysus (Nonn. *Dion.* 17.32–86), where Callimachus' *Hecale* has left undeniable traces, and now happily retains a postulated feature (i.e. the affluence) of the postulated local story.[12] The wealth of Staphylus/Botrys is indeed emphasized in a way that seems to be making a point, cf. esp. Nonn. *Dion.* 20.2 (Dionysus and retinue) Βότρυος ἀφνειοῖσιν ἐναυλίζοντο μελάθροις. Nonnus' model may be to search in different quarters, i.e. in receptions of Christ by wealthy hosts such as Zacchaeus (*Lk* 19.1 Ζακχαῖος … ἀρχιτελώνης … πλούσιος) and, perhaps, the youth of Bethany (SGM 452.6 ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος). For Nonnus Lazarus may fall within this tradition too: commentators and homilists conclude that he was distinguished and wealthy from the fact that many went from Jerusalem to Bethany to console his two sisters.[13]

The Staphylus episode begins with Fame (Nonn. *Dion.* 18.1 ἵπτατο Φήμη) heralding Dionysus' imminent arrival. The reputation of Dionysus motivates Staphylus to meet and invite him. (Φ)ήμη announces the arrival of Dionysus in Thebes (44.123) and Attica (47.1) and excites their citizens into Bacchic revelry, but (φ)ήμη as a motivation for individuals or crowds to rush to meet the saviour god is appropriately a feature of Christ. In the *Paraphrasis* fame is always associated with the Lazarus miracle, as it heralds Christ's arrival at Bethany and at Jerusalem.[14]

---

12 Cf. Gerbeau 1992, 13–14; Gonnelli 2003, 323.

13 Cf. John Chrys. *In Jo.* PG 59.366 οὗτος δὲ ἐπίσημος· καὶ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς ἐλθεῖν εἰς παραμυθίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν; Amphil. Icon. *In Laz.* 1 ᾔδεισαν τὸν Λάζαρον· ἐπίσημος γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ; [Ephr.] *In Laz.* 5 Euringer: "Lazarus von Bethanien, dessen Dorf und Haus bekannt war."

14 Bethany in Nonn. *Par.* 11.71 and 12.34/37; Jerusalem in 12.53/55 (λαός) φήμης εἰσαΐοντες / ἤλυθον ἀντιόωντες. Also Nonn. *Dion.* 18.2 στίχα πᾶσαν … πολήων may recall a Biblical model such as *Mt* 9.26 (after a resurrection) ἐξῆλθεν *ἡ φήμη αὕτη εἰς ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην*, *Lk* 14.4 (before the Galilean Ministry) *φήμη* ἐξῆλθεν *καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου* περὶ αὐτοῦ.

In the same spirit, Golega (*l.s.*) compared Staphylus' desire to "see" Bacchus in Nonn. *Dion.* 18.7 Βάκχον ἰδεῖν μενέαινε with the Greeks desiring to "see" Christ in Nonn. *Par.* 12.86–88 Ἰησοῦν δ' ἀίοντες ἀειδομένης ἀπὸ φήμης[15] / … / Χριστὸν ἰδεῖν ἐθέλοντες ἱκάνομεν "hearing from the spreading rumour about Jesus … We have come wishing to see Christ."[16] The motivation is fame again and certainly ἰδεῖν in both passages carries the notion of mystic "vision" of the true nature of god. Yet, their common model appears to be Zacchaeus in *Lk* 19.3 ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἐστιν.

Even the meeting scene in Nonn. *Dion.* 18.7–9: υἱέα Βότρυν ἐπείγων / … ἀνεμώδεος ὑψόθι δίφρου / ἤντετο … παρερχομένῳ Διονύσῳ, "brought his son Botrys high in a windswift chariot, and met the advancing Dionysos" displays the same characteristics as Zacchaeus rushing to meet Christ where he was expected to pass in *Lk* 19.4.[17] As with Staphylus', so Zacchaeus' reception is wholehearted (*Lk* 19.6 ὑπεδέξατο αὐτὸν χαίρων). Staphylus holds in his hand a branch of olive (18.16 "held out an olive branch with reverent hand") which is typical of suppliants and indeed of kings declaring their submission to Dionysus.[18] But olive branches apparently had a special link with the welcoming of Christ. Clement (*Paed.* 1.12.3) quotes *Mt* 21.8 in the form δρεψάμενοι … κλάδους ἐλαίας ἢ φοινίκων οἱ παῖδες ἐξῆλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν κυρίῳ. Egeria reports a ritual procession on the Sunday before Easter in which laity and clergy led by the bishop come down from the Mount of Olives singing "Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord" (*Mt* 21.9, cf. *John* 12.13) while the children hold palm- or olive-branches (31.3 *omnes ramos tenentes alii palmarum, alii olivarum*). The ritual is clearly a re-enactment of Jesus' triumphal entry in Jerusalem, for which Egeria keeps close to *Mt* 21.8 ἄλλοι δ' ἔκοπτον κλάδους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων. Nonnus also draws on Matthew in his rendition of the Johannine scene (Nonn. *Par.* 12.55–58).[19] In addition, Staphylus' invitation to Dionysus in 18.19 ἐμοῦ μὴ δῶμα παρέλθῃς (Cunaeus: παῖδα L) resonates with the invitation of Abraham to

15 Ἀειδομένης ἀπὸ κώμης Scheindler, but see Golega 1966, 21 [39].

16 Translations of the *Paraphrasis* are by L.F. Sherry (1991); of the *Dionysiaca* by W.H.D. Rouse (1940), both adapted when necessary.

17 *Lk* 19.4 προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν [~ ἐπείγων, ἀνεμώδεος] ἀνέβη ἐπὶ συκομωρέαν ἵνα ἴδῃ αὐτὸν [~ ἰδεῖν μενέαινε] ὅτι ἐκείνης ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι [~ παρερχομένῳ Διονύσῳ].

18 Suppliants: Nonn. *Dion.* 16.29–30; submission to Dionysus: Nonn. *Dion.* 17.386 (Blemys), 22.72 (Indians). In general see A.S. Pease, *RE* XVII.2 (1937), 2091.28 f.; Lampe s. ἐλαία IB2 (symbol of mercy).

19 See Golega 1930, 137; Accorinti 2004, 33–36. Nonn. *Par.* 12.55 ἀπ' εὐδένδροιο δὲ κήπου reflects Matthew's ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων. Matthew does not specify the kind of δένδρα; *John* 12.13 mentions palms. Egeria attests the liturgical practice "interpreting" the NT passages.

three angels to enter his house for hospitality, a model to which Keydell drew attention: *Gen.* 18.2–3 "he ran forward from his tent door to meet them and did obeisance upon the ground and said, 'Lord ... do not pass by your servant' [Κύριε ... μὴ παρέλθῃς τὸν παῖδα σου]".[20] The angels predict the pregnancy of Sarah.

Staphylus' address of invitation to Dionysus in 18.20–34 poses a lingering puzzle: the Assyrian king, before citing the hospitality of pious Macello to Dionysus' father Zeus, cites two examples of criminal hosts: Lycaon and Tantalus—in the latter case (18.24–30) hospitality involves a kind of resurrection. There is no explicit reference to the punishment of the transgressors, only to their abortive hospitality. These *exempla* have long seemed out of place. Collart dismissed them as "examples mal choisis"; Tissoni oddly deems that they are evoked "probabilmente ... a scopo apotropaico" whereas Gerbeau regards them as part of a rhetorical strategy on the part of Staphylus to propitiate Dionysus by adducing examples of both contrast and similarity to his own hospitality.[21] In a broader context, it may be noted, these examples adumbrate the contrast between Staphylus and Lycurgus, the next lawless adversary of Dionysus who habitually kills innocent strangers (Nonn. *Dion.* 20.151). Yet, since Staphylus likens Dionysus to his father Zeus (18.39) and his own hospitality to that of the hosts of Zeus he mentions, the possibility that the division between pious and criminal hosts is inspired by criticism of Christ's hosts cannot be excluded.[22] Such receptions call in question Christ's moral integrity. At a later time, the Jewish speaker in Celsus' *True Account* accuses Christ, together with the disciples, of making a living in a shameful and importunate manner.[23]

Dionysus accepts the invitation. While Staphylus shows him around, Botrys enters the palace to prepare the feast table, Nonn. *Dion.* 18.66/68:

φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῇ
ὥπλισε πιαλέης ἑτερότροπα δεῖπνα τραπέζης,

with attentive care Botrys prepared the various dishes of a rich banquet.

20 Translation as in The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS).

21 Collart 1930, 129; Tissoni 1999, 259; Gerbeau 1992, 9–10.

22 Cf. Zacchaeus in *Lk* 19.7 πάντες διεγόγγυζον λέγοντες ὅτι παρὰ ἁμαρτωλῷ ἀνδρὶ εἰσῆλθεν καταλῦσαι, and similarly Levi in *Lk* 5.29 (~ *Mt* 9.11, *al.*) καὶ ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην Λευὶς αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἦν ὄχλος πολὺς ... καὶ ἐγόγγυζον οἱ Φαρισαῖοι κτλ.

23 Orig. *C. Cels.* 1.62 μετὰ τούτων τῇδε κἀκεῖσε αὐτὸν ἀποδεδρακέναι, αἰσχρῶς καὶ γλίσχρως τροφὰς συνάγοντα. The allegation may well imply more than demanding hospitality.

Botrys' amiable disposition and the characteristics of the table he prepares have much in common with Martha's hospitality to Christ in Nonn. *Par.* 12.7–8:

> φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῇ [= Nonn. *Dion.* 18.66]
> Μάρθα διακτορίην πολυχανδέος [~ πιαλέης ἑτερότροπα] εἶχε τραπέζης,
>
> with attentive care Martha gave service at the capacious table.

Then there is the scent from Dionysus' salvatory presence filling the house of Staphylus in Nonn. *Dion.* 18.100/102:

> θυώδεες ἔπνεον αὖραι
> ἀμφιλαφεῖς δ' ἐμέθυσσαν ὅλον δόμον ἰκμάδες οἴνου,
>
> fragrant air was wafted (through the house) … ample streams of wine intoxicated the whole house.

This closely resembles the fragrance of the myrrh permeating the hallowed house of Lazarus in the banquet described in Nonn. *Par.* 12.10/16:

> μύρου θυόεντος
> νηχομένη δ' ἐμέθυσσεν ὅλον δόμον ἔνθεος ὀδμή,
>
> fragrant myrrh's God-filled perfume swimming about intoxicated the entire house.

Fragrance is a characteristic way of perceiving the unperceivable nature of God in Christian mysticism (Gr. Nyss. *Cant.* 89.7 f.). Furthermore, the honourable quality of Staphylus as a host of Dionysus in 18.307 ἁβρὸς ἄναξ, Βρομίου ξεινηδόκος (18.92 ξεινοδόκου βασιλῆος) recalls Lazarus' description in Nonn. *Par.* 11.54 ξεινοδόκον Χριστοῖο (11.40 φίλτατος ἡμείων ξεινηδόκος). Dionysus is as affectionate to Staphylus as Christ was to Lazarus *amicus Christi*.[24] Even Staphylus' wailing μέλαθρον in 18.329–333 ἐν δὲ μελάθρῳ … ἀμφίπολοι δ' ἀλάλαζον … πολυθρήνων δὲ γυναικῶν κτλ. "in the palace … the attendants cried out in lamentation … of mournful women" recalls Lazarus' sisters' κινυρὸν μέλαθρον "wailing chamber" (Nonn. *Par.* 11.98), in patristic exegesis thought to represent the world under the

---

24 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 18.338 πότμον ἑοῦ Σταφύλοιο, 348 = 364 ἐμοῦ Σταφύλοιο, 19.5/6 Σὸν Στάφυλον *bis*.

dominion of death. In both cases it is the mourning of women that is stressed. But once Staphylus dies he becomes a shadowy figure without real existence.[25] He is, nonetheless, supplanted by Botrys.

2 The Resurrection Theme

Collart, unaware of the story's backdrop, in plain words characterized Staphylus' unanticipated death and Dionysus' unexpected return an "invraisemblance choquante".[26] In fact, both events are in dialogue with a Lazarus substratum. Dionysus' return is belated (18.334 ὀψὲ δὲ δή, "at long last"), in the same fashion as Christ's return to Bethany is delayed for three days (*John* 11.6 ~ Nonn. *Par.* 11.60–61 ἐλθὼν δ' *ὀψικέλευθος* … / Λάζαρον ἄπνοον εὗρε). In John such belatedness has a theological significance for a miracle of redemption. Here are the lines describing Dionysus' return, Nonn. *Dion.* 18.334–336:

> ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ παλίνορσος …
> νοστήσας Διόνυσος ἐδύσατο Βότρυος αὐλὴν
> μνῆστιν ἔχων Σταφύλοιο φιλοστόργοιο τραπέζης,
>
> it was late when Dionysos … returned to Botrys' palace, remembering the amiable entertainment of Staphylos.

The lines are remarkable for picking up the theme of the recollection of hospitality from Callimachus' *Hecale*,[27] also for their smooth transition from Staphylus to Botrys (18.335 *Βότρυος* αὐλὴν); this appears as a *fait accompli* in 20.2 *Βότρυος* … ἐναυλίζοντο μελάθροις. Shorrock (2001, 152–153) saw in this "a positive image of patriarchal succession almost without parallel" but what seems to be operative here is the Nonnian technique of shifting persons, especially in longer narratives.[28]

---

25 "Staphylos même est si bien oublié, qu' il a un homonyme au chant XLIII, 60", Collart 1930, 140. Cf. also Gerbeau 1992, 62.

26 Collart 1930, 135; Keydell 1932, 184 (1982, 496) went a step further: "Das Natürliche war es, wenn Dionysos bei seiner Rückkehr vom indischen Feldzug wieder in Staphylos' Hause einkehrte … Wir werden annehmen dürfen, dass Nonnos' Quelle so erzählte."

27 Call. *Hec.* fr. 80.3–5 H. πολλάκι σεῖο, / μαῖα … φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς / μνησόμεθα. A cultic transformation of this motif occurs in association with Brongus in Nonn. *Dion.* 17.61 ἀεὶ δ' ἐμνώετο κείνην / εἰλαπίνην ἐλάχειαν (in the cult of Cybele).

28 Similar transitions are known from Icarius' "passion" *in loco Dionysii* in Nonn. *Dion.* 47.184–

When Dionysus arrives at the palace he encounters the sorrow of Staphylus' family. The theme is known from the raising of Jairus' daughter in *Mk* 5.38–39, "He came to the synagogue ruler's house, and he saw an uproar, weeping, and great wailing. When he had entered in, he said to them, 'Why do you make an uproar and weep?' ".[29] As he beholds the sad face of Pithos, Dionysus deduces that Staphylus is dead, 18.338–339:

> πότμον ἑοῦ Σταφύλοιο σοφῇ μαντεύσατο σιγῇ
> αὐτόματος,

> he divined untold the fate of his friend Staphylos, proclaimed by the eloquent silence.

This is inferior to Christ's unaided prognosis which is a recurrent theme in the fourth gospel.[30] Nonnus employs αὐτόματος of Christ in Nonn. *Par.* 6.185–186 αὐτόματος δέ / γινώσκων ὅτι κτλ. On the other hand, Gerbeau (1992, 40–41) convincingly compares Eur. *Alc.* 826–827 where the sad face of a servant prompts Heracles to the suspicion of Alcestis' death.[31] But the intertext of the passage may be richer, as the manipulation of the announcement of the Official's son's resurrection by his servants in *John* 4.51 ὑπήντησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὅτι κτλ. may suggest. Nonnus emphatically wipes out the *parole* in favour of facial expression, Nonn. *Par.* 4.230–232:[32]

> οὐδὲ μὲν ἀνὴρ
> δμῶας ἑοὺς ἐρέεινε γεγηθότας· ἐκ δὲ προσώπου
> υἱὸν ἑὸν ζώοντα σοφῇ γίνωσκε σιωπῇ,

> the man did not have to question his joyful servants. From their face in wise silence he recognized that his son was alive.

185 (to Erigone) μελιρραθάμιγγος ἐμῆς ἀκόρητον ὀπώρης / κλαῖε τεὸν γενέτην δεδουπότα, and the large scale merging of Zagreus and Dionysus in the last books of the epic (Vian 2003, 82–84).

29 Translations of the NT are from World English Bible.

30 Cf., e.g., *John* 2.25 οὐ χρείαν εἶχεν ἵνα τις μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκεν κτλ. See Livrea on Nonn. *Par.* 2.119 ᾔδεεν αὐτοδίδακτος.

31 For another point of affinity cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 18.348 πόθεν λάχες ἄτριχα κόρσην; ~ Eur. *Alc.* 512 τί χρῆμα κουρᾷ τῇδε πενθίμῳ πρέπεις;

32 See Accorinti 1995, 420–422. For the motif cf. also Nonn. *Dion.* 33.26–27.

In addition, the two passages are contrastingly associated by the parallelism between Nonn. *Dion.* 18.338 of Staphylus' death and Nonn. *Par.* 4.232 of an act of resurrection. Moreover, Dionysus asks for a long time about the sorrow of Staphylus' relatives and household (18.340 f.), although in the end he professes to know (18.362 γινώσκω σέο πῆμα). The motif is known from Christ's alleged ignorance, especially about Lazarus' tomb in *John* 11.34 ποῦ τεθείκατε αὐτόν; In the ensuing theological discussion such "ignorance" was taken as a symptom of Christ's humanity,[33] and so apposite to an imperfect god whom Dionysus represents.

Dionysus upon arrival at Botrys' palace (18.339 f.) calls Methe through Pithos whom he had met first, with which one may parallel Christ calling Mary, the sister of Lazarus, through Martha (who attends to practical hospitality and) whom he had met first, upon arrival at Bethany. Then Dionysus' defeated hope of celebrating Botrys' wedding together with Staphylus in 18.365 (ἐλπίδα δ' ἡμετέρην φθόνος ἥρπασεν) may be indebted to Callimachus as we gather from *Hec. Dieg.* XI.2 ὡς ἐψευσμένος τῆς προσδοκίας, that Theseus hoped to find Hecale alive at his return. In Nonnus it harbours the rhetorical *topos* of "funeral instead of wedding". But Dionysus' defeated hope is ironic both because it is said by a god soon to be addressed by Methe as Ἐλπὶς ἐμή (19.15), and especially in view of Dionysus' mock wedding with Botrys which follows (see below, p. 243 ff.).

Book 19 right from the start reaches high levels of mysticism. Botrys, like an initiate, is entirely silent (19.2). His abundant tears are adduced as the reason for his silence in 19.3 δάκρυσιν αὐτοχύτοις νικώμενος recalling Mary, the sister of Lazarus, in prostration, whose voice can barely travel δάκρυσι νικηθεῖσα (Nonn. *Par.* 11.116). In fact, like Lazarus, Botrys never says anything in the whole episode. Methe does, at long last: 19.4 οἰκτρὸν ἔπος κατέλεξε Μέθη χαίρουσα Λυαίῳ, "Methe spoke a piteous word of joy for Lyaios". For a poet with such a strong penchant for oxymora Methe's contrasting feelings finely render the division between the sorrow of death and the joy engendered by the hope of salvation placed in the divinity present, cf. especially Mary's divided mind when rushing delirious to meet Christ in Nonn. *Par.* 11.96 πένθεϊ λυομένη καὶ χάρματι, "divided between sorrow and joy". It is absolutely clear that any attempt to wipe out χαίρουσα (κλαίουσα Scaliger, σαίνουσα Keydell) is misguided.

The evidence to be produced would justify the hypothesis that Methe's first words to Dionysus (19.5–16) develops what a Dionysiac Mary, the sister of Lazarus, would have said (τίνας λόγους ἂν εἴποι) once liberated from the

33 See Wiles 1960, 142–144.

Biblical model. As with Lazarus, the death of Staphylus is announced in highly sentimental tones, 19.6–7:

> σὸν Στάφυλον, Διόνυσε, κατεύνασεν ἔμπεδος ὕπνος·
> σὸν Στάφυλον, Διόνυσε, Χαρωνίδες ἥρπασαν αὖραι,
>
> Staphylos, your friend, Dionysos … has sunk in an unbreakable sleep: Staphylos your friend, Dionysos, Charon's winds have carried away.

The repetition of the first hemistich is associated by Gerbeau (1992, 63) with the traditional *ailina* and it is true that the repetition of emotive words and the passionate invocation of Dionysus raise *pathos*. Yet, such features are specifically associated with Lazarus in Nonn. *Par.* 11.13–14 Λάζαρος, ὃν φιλέεις, ἐλελίζεται … νούσῳ· / ὃν φιλέεις, σκοπίαζε and Eud. *Cent.* I 1243–1245 πεύσεαι ἀγγελίης … / λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης … / λυγρῆς. This grievous repetition of torment finds a response in the jubilant repetition at the arrival of Dionysus in 19.23 = 25 Ἦλθες ἐμοί, φίλε Βάκχε, φίλον φάος, again indicating a division between funerary torment and hopeful prospect. The formulation in 19.6 κατεύνασεν ἔμπεδος ὕπνος is exactly paralleled at Nonn. *Par.* 11.49 Λάζαρον εὔνασε πότμος ὁμοίιος. Ὕπνος for "death" is very appropriate to a Lazarus context. The reference to Staphylus' νοῦσος in 19.9 πόσις δ' ἐμὸς ἔμπεσε νούσῳ is a novel turn after the general "death laid a hand on Staphylos" (18.329). Gerbeau (1992, 37 n. 2), unaware of the Biblical model, despairs that "cette maladie foudroyante doit demeurer mystérieuse" and suggests that Nonnus' model may be the sudden death of Tiphys by an unspecified disease in A.R. 2.851–857. Again the most sensible explanation would be that it is inspired by the νοῦσος from the Lazarus subtext.

Methe's "double sorrow" for the deceased husband and absent Dionysus is repeated several times, so as to become instrumental to her emotions, 19.8–11 "a double burden of sorrow fell on me: Bacchos … deserted me, my husband fell into sickness, and I cherished one common pain for both, Staphylos dying and Lyaios far away [καὶ Σταφύλῳ θνήσκοντι καὶ οὐ παρεόντι Λυαίῳ]", 34–35 "that I may not cherish a double grief, my husband perished and Dionysos gone." Such a combination may again glance at the high spirituality with which the Nonnian Mary's esoteric grief for the death of her brother is combined with her agonizing quest for the missing Christ.[34] Both feelings are united in her concise address to Christ in 117 ὦ μάκαρ, *εἰ παρέῃς* οὐ Λάζαρος εἴκαθε *πότμῳ*, "O blessed one, if you had been present, Lazarus would not have yielded to fate",

34 Nonn. *Par.* 11.70 = 100 πένθεος ἀγρύπνοιο, 73 ἐνδόμυχος Μαρίη μαστίζετο πενθάδι σιγῇ.

a verse which seems to provide the exact antecedent of Nonn. *Dion.* 19.11 (cited above). But these verses also express the mystic fusion of the deceased mortal husband with the god present as the new bridegroom of Methe (see below, p. 230).

Methe addresses Dionysus, whom she designates with the orgiastic epithet φιλεύιε (19.15). With the term Ἐλπὶς she attributes to the god a mystic designation, especially associated with alleviating sorrow and with eternal life.[35] Dionysus' response in 19.17 ὣς φαμένην ἐλέαιρε expresses compassion, a feature displayed by him elsewhere in the poem, but οἶκτος (Nonn. *Par.* 11.132) provoked by the tears of a woman and of the crowd following her is an overriding motif in the Lazarus story and its broader theological import. As a result of compassion, Dionysus furnishes Methe and Botrys with wine, to be ardently consumed, described in mystic terms for its soothing properties: 19.18 ἰκμάδα λυσιμέριμνον ἀλεξικάκου … οἴνου, "winejuice which resolves all cares and drives away all trouble." Ἰκμάς "liquid drop" expresses the mystic power of a liquid through which the faithful partake in the divine "substance" of the godhead. Λυσιμέριμνον expresses the ability of Dionysus' wine to alleviate grief at the death of a beloved one.[36]

In her second address to Dionysus Methe again begins in sentimental tones, pregnant with the hope of redemption: 19.23 = 25 Ἦλθες ἐμοί, φίλε Βάκχε, φίλον φάος. Φάος is explained by Gonnelli (2003, 368) as "ciò che per antonomasia si contrappone alla morte", *cl. John* 1.4. Methe acknowledges that through wine δάκρυον ἐπρήυνα (19.26). Relief from grief is a prerogative of Dionysus and the end of any mystic act, but this also touches upon a fundamental trait of the Lazarus tradition. However, the effect of a temporary respite from tears is deliberately inferior to the complete elimination of man's tears through Jesus' tear in *John* 11.35, a notion of which Nonnus makes use elsewhere in the *Dionysiaca*.[37]

Methe's total devotion reaches a climax when she declares herself ready to desert her family and property and to reduce herself from a queen to a simple Bacchant, Nonn. *Dion.* 19.27–31:

οὐ πόσιν, οὐ πατέρος στενάχω μόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ
Βότρυος, ἢν ἐθέλῃς, νοσφίσσομαι· ἀμφότερον γάρ

35 See Livrea 1989, 127–128, on Nonn. *Par.* 18.33 (Christ) ἀτέρμονος ἐλπίδα κόσμου; also Anon. *AP* 1.30.1 Χριστὲ … ἐλπὶς ἁπάντων. Lampe s. ἐλπίς D3b (eternal life), E2 (alleviating sorrow).

36 See Gerbeau 1992, 64; Shorrock 2011, 111.

37 See Shorrock 2011, 101–104, with reference to Nonn. *Dion.* 12.171 Βάκχος ἄναξ δάκρυσε, βροτῶν ἵνα δάκρυα λύσῃ.

Βάκχον ἔχω γενετῆρα καὶ υἱέα καὶ παρακοίτην.
ἕσπομαι, ἢν ἐθέλῃς με, καὶ εἰς τεὸν οἶκον ἱκάνω·
εἴην Βασσαρίδεσσιν ὁμόστολος,

I mourn no more for husband, no more for a father's death, even Botrys I will give up if it be your pleasure. For I have Bacchos as father and son both, and husband. I will go with you even to your house, if it be your pleasure. I would join the company of Bassarids.

Bacchants following Dionysus (e.g. in Eur. *Bac.* 55–71, 412–413) have forsaken their former lives but this principle is first explicitly set out as part of the cost of discipleship in *Lk* 14.26/33 "If anyone comes to me, and doesn't hate his own father, mother, wife, children, brothers, and sisters … whoever of you who doesn't renounce all that he has, he can't be my disciple."[38] In particular, 27–28 closely follow *mutatis mutandis* Luke's verse (14.26). This would explain the reference to Methe's father who is mentioned only here. At the end of the episode, Botrys and Methe indeed leave home and property to follow Dionysus (20.120).

Verses 28–29 reproduce an Iliadic motif, that of Andromache addressing her husband Hector, 6.429–430: "But Hector, you are father and honoured mother and brother to me, as well as my strong husband",[39] and one which enjoyed long philosophical associations in a spiritual sense.[40] In the Fathers Christ is occasionally called "a father and a mother" to those who are in need of Him.[41] Furthermore, Braden observed that 19.29 names the Trinity which Dionysus appears to comprise in one.[42] This would constitute a further indication of the notional background on which Nonnus draws.

Gerbeau admits that the combination of love and faith in Methe's second address to Dionysus evokes Christian mysticism. Verse 19.30, "I will go with you even to your house, if it be your pleasure" expresses "le consentement

38 The Methe-passage is discussed in this sense by D'Ippolito 1995, 226; Tissoni 1999, 271; Gigli Piccardi 2003, 71–72. For a similar case with senator Rogatianus, a zealot of Plotinus, cf. Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 7.31 f.

39 Translations of the *Iliad* are by M. Hammond.

40 Cf. Plut. *Coniug. praec.* 145b9 (make your wife familiar with the wisest lessons and she will hold you mother father etc.), Porph. *Marc.* 6 (mother father etc. is he who leads to god).

41 Evidence and discussion are in Shorrock 2011, 86–87.

42 Braden 1974, 853. For the Holy Spirit as παρακοίτης Braden refers to *Mt* 1.18 (Virgin Mary) πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

de la jeune épouse",[43] well paralleled by Leander's address to Hero in Musae. 148: "gather me up, your suppliant, and if you will, your husband."[44] Implicitly, Dionysus becomes Methe's new mystic "husband". There are other indications pointing in the same direction: as has been discussed above, Methe's sorrow involves an emphatic pairing of Dionysus and Staphylus in 19.8–11, 34–35 merging into one the deceased husband and the god present. The notion is also corroborated by the ambiguous wording in 19.34 χήρην μή με λίπῃς, in as much as χήρην may be taken either as an appositive to με ("don't leave me [who am] a widow") or as proleptic ("don't leave me [so as to become] a widow"). The latter possibility is likelier, as it derives support from Nonnus' style and the Iliadic model: *Il.* 6.431–432 ἐλέαιρε καὶ … μίμν' … / μὴ παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήῃς χήρην τε γυναῖκα: "feel pity for us, stay here … / so you do not make an orphan of your child and your wife a widow." It clearly harbours the notion of Christ as the new "bridegroom" of a widow, propounded by John Chrys. *Ad vid. jun.* 55: "since God received him [i.e. the deceased] at Himself, He [i.e. Christ] has become in his stead." At the same time, 19.30 seems to make a disguised allusion to the calling of Andrew and another disciple by Jesus as described in *John* 1.38–39: "Jesus … saw them following, and said to them, 'What are you looking for?' They said to him, 'Rabbi … where are you staying?' He said to them, 'Come, and see.' They came and saw where he was staying, and they stayed with him that day." This would express the central Christian notion of blessed dwelling in God's house together with Him under the same roof.

Such mysticism traces its roots to the immensely influential sufferings of the soul in quest of the *κάλλος* described in Plato's *Phaedrus*. The reproduction of motifs first set out in Plato in Methe's second address to Dionysus has remained unobserved but it is impressive:

- *Phdr.* 251c5 βλέπουσα πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς *κάλλος … λωφᾷ τε τῆς ὀδύνης καὶ γέγηθεν* ~ Nonn. *Dion.* 19.23–24 οὐκέτ' ἀνίη, / οὐκέτι πένθος ἔχει με Διωνύσοιο φανέντος
- 251e3 ἰδοῦσα … *κέντρων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ἔληξε, ἡδονὴν* δ' αὖ ταύτην γλυκυτάτην … *καρποῦται* ~ 19.23–24, cited above
- 252a1 ὅθεν δὴ *ἑκοῦσα εἶναι οὐκ ἀπολείπεται* ~ 19.30 Ἕσπομαι, ἤν ἐθέλῃς με
- a2 *μητέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἑταίρων πάντων λέλησται* ~ 19.27–28 οὐ πόσιν, οὐ πατέρος στενάχω μόρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ / Βότρυος, ἤν ἐθέλῃς, νοσφίσσομαι

---

43 Gerbeau 1992, 66. For the motif in Nonnus see Chuvin 1976, 157, on Nonn. *Dion.* 4.160 Ἕσπομαι, ἤν ἐθέλῃς, καὶ ὁμόστολος.

44 Translation by C.H. Whitman.

- a3 *καὶ οὐσίας δι' ἀμέλειαν ἀπολλυμένης παρ' οὐδὲν τίθεται* ~ 20.120 (Botrys) μέγαρον πατρῷον ὁμοῦ καὶ κλῆρον ἐάσσας
- a5 *πάντων καταφρονήσασα δουλεύειν ἑτοίμη* ~ 19.31–32 εἴην Βασσαρίδεσσιν ὁμόστολος· ἢν ἐθελήσῃς, / κουφίζω σέο θύρσα κτλ.
- a5 *καὶ κοιμᾶσθαι ὅπου ἂν ἐᾷ τις ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ πόθου* ~ 19.30 Ἕσπομαι … καὶ εἰς τεὸν οἶκον ἱκάνω
- a6 τὸν τὸ κάλλος ἔχοντα *ἰατρὸν ηὕρηκε μόνον τῶν μεγίστων πόνων* ~ 19.23–24 Ἤλθες ἐμοὶ … φίλον φάος· οὐκέτ' ἀνίη, / οὐκέτι πένθος ἔχει με κτλ.

Shortly before in the *Phaedrus* it is said that the divine in every manifestation is lovable due to its extreme beauty (250d6), and in Plotinus 6.9.4, 18 the vision of Being arouses an erotic feeling (οἷον ἐρωτικὸν πάθημα). Likewise, the soul upon viewing the Good is agitated and rises into a delirious and amorous state: Plot. 6.7.22, 8 (ψυχή) κινεῖται καὶ ἀναβακχεύεται καὶ οἴστρων πίμπλαται καὶ ἔρως γίνεται, "(the soul) is moved and dances wildly and is all stung with longing and becomes love." It is in conformity with these principles that Methe experiences the tribulations of θεῖος ἔρως. No wonder her warm welcome to Dionysus in 19.23–24 is inspired by formulas which can be amatory, such as Sapph. fr. 48.1, Theoc. 12.1–2 Ἤλθες, ὦ φίλε κοῦρε … / ἤλυθες. Dionysus had earlier, in 18.340–344 (342 τίς τεὸν ἔσβεσε κάλλος ἀθέσφατον;), provided an encomium of Methe's beauty.

As a response to the loss of Staphylus Dionysus institutes a song and pantomime contest (19.59 f., 136 f.).[45] For the song contest Attic Erechtheus and Orpheus' father Oeagrus offer to take part. Erechtheus is a σοφὸς … λυροκτύπος (19.97) who sings an "appropriate" hymn (19.99 ἄρμενον … μολπήν). It is not difficult to see why: Celeus offers hospitality to Demeter but dies afterwards and Demeter mourns beside his grave and consoles his son Triptolemus and his wife Metaneira with heart-charming words. This is a story associated with the founding myth of the Eleusinian mysteries. Erechtheus directly compares this story to the situation in Assyria: king Staphylus hosted Dionysus and after his death the god consoled his family. But the hymn becomes tense through the lurking comparisons with Staphylus/Dionysus (of the immediate future) and Lazarus/Christ (of a second-degree future). These couples represent three different ways of dealing with the sorrow of death, i.e. appeasement through words alone, then through wine, then in a radical fashion, by eliminating death itself.

45 "I funerali di Stafilo, re pacifico amante della poesia e della danza, fossero celebrati con giochi consoni al suo carattere e attinenti alla sfera dionisiaca," Tissoni 1999, 272.

The tear(s) of Deo in 19.87–88 for her host Celeus near his tomb are expressed in similar wording to the tear shed by Christ for his friend Lazarus near his tomb in Nonn. *Par.* 11.123–124.[46] The scene reflects the circumstances of Staphylus/Lazarus' deaths. Demeter, Dionysus and Christ, all arrive at the scene while the sorrow of death is still fresh and acute (Nonn. *Par.* 11.43 [Lazarus] ἀρτιθανῇ). It is tempting to relate the rare expression for Celeus' tomb νεοδμήτῳ παρὰ τύμβῳ to Christ's τύμβος … / … νεότευκτος (Nonn. *Par.* 19.216–217 < *John* 19.41 μνημεῖον καινόν).[47] The intertextual association of these notions would be founded on the respectively novel but contrasting ways in which a god faces human mortality symbolized by the tomb: Celeus' "novel tomb" next to whom words of futile consolation are heard, would call to mind another "novel tomb" turned from a symbol of death into a symbol of resurrection and eternal life.

The consolation of Celeus' relatives by Demeter is known only from Nonnus and even if it is not an invention of his own but relies on a recondite version or source, it serves the aim of strengthening the parallelism with Staphylus/Dionysus (and, further, the contrasting parallelism with Lazarus/Christ). Significantly, the lines describing Deo's consolation by design evoke the vain consolation of the crowd to the sisters of Lazarus, which is implicitly contrasted to the superior power of Christ to eliminate death. Compare Nonn. *Dion.* 19.89–90:

> παρηγορέουσα πάλιν θελξίφρονι μύθῳ
> Τριπτολέμου βαρὺ πένθος ἀπέσβεσε καὶ Μετανείρης,

> consoling them again with heart-enchanting words, she quenched the heavy grief of Triptolemos and Metaneira

with Nonn. *Par.* 11.68–69:

> ξυνὰ *παρηγορέων*, τάπερ *ἠθάδι πολλάκι μύθῳ*
> … ἀπεσείσατο κέντρα μερίμνης,

46 Nonn. *Dion.* 19.87–88 Κελεοῦ φθιμένοιο νεοδμήτῳ παρὰ τύμβῳ / ὄμμασιν ἀκλαύτοισι θαλυσιὰς ἔστενε Δηώ ~ Nonn. *Par.* 11.123–124 καὶ ἔστενεν αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς / ὄμμασιν ἀκλαύτοισιν ἀήθεα δάκρυα λείβων.

47 Νεόδμητος is Pindaric (*I.* 4.80) and in this sense a Nonnian hapax. The expression can only be paralleled with *GVI* 1409.1 (Nemausus, 2nd cent. AD?), cf. Quint. Smyr. 7.29 νεοκμήτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ. With Nonn. *Par.* 19.216–217 (Christ's) τύμβος … / … νεότευκτος cf. *SGO* 01/1301.3 (Myndos, 1st cent. BC/CE) μνημεῖον ν̣[εό]τευκτον.

> consoling them with the regular consolations which with an oft familiar expression drive away the … goads of distress

and Nonn. *Par.* 11.99–100:

> *καί μιν ἐλαφρίζεσκον ἀκεσσιπόνῳ τινὶ μύθῳ,*
> *πένθεος ἀγρύπνοιο παρήγοροι,*[48]

> the people were relieving her with a pain-healing word, consolers of the unsleeping grief.

On the other hand, Oeagrus is παυροεπής (19.103). In his δίστιχος ἁρμονίη (19.102) he predicts the immortalization of Staphylus, 19.104–105:

> εὐχαίτην Ὑάκινθον ἀνεζώγρησεν Ἀπόλλων,
> καὶ Στάφυλον Διόνυσος ἀεὶ ζώοντα τελέσσει.

> Apollo brought to life again his longhaired Hyacinthos, and Dionysos will make Staphylos live for ever.

The achievement of Dionysus, it is said, is greater than that of Apollo: Apollo has resurrected Hyacinthus whereas Dionysus will confer on Staphylus eternal life (ἀεὶ ζώοντα). Such a prediction is directly comparable to Jesus' prediction about Lazarus in *John* 11.25–26: "He who believes in me will still live, even if he dies. Whoever lives and believes in me will never die."

The hymn of Erechtheus is fourteen lines long (19.82–96). What the audience approves in it is the melody: 19.97–98 "all were alike enchanted with the melody." Yet, Erechtheus is defeated by Oeagrus' epigram, only two lines in length.[49] Oeagrus' brevity, however, has little to do with Callimachean ὀλιγοστιχίη,[50] but rather with the condensed power of the mystic word, exemplified in Christ's terse prediction about eternal life just cited. Oeagrus' short song is therefore quoted in direct speech against the indirect speech of Erechtheus'

48 The meaningless πάλιν in Nonn. *Dion.* 19.89, unhappily rendered by translators as "afterwards", may be better understood as a resurfacing of the subtext, cf. ἠθάδι πολλάκι μύθῳ, the gnomic Aorist ἀπεσείσατο and the iterative ἐλαφρίζεσκον.

49 This could be read as a self-reflective attitude of a Christian poet: he gives a role to the classical legacy (here represented by an Athenian) in a context singing of the superior prospect of eternal life.

50 Gerbeau 1992, 85 n. 1 and 166 on v. 103.

song. As Marta Otlewska-Jung explained, "clearly, Oeagrus' song wins not because of its poetic superiority, but because of its content and prophetic meaning: Staphylos indeed came back to eternal life as his name means 'cluster of grapes'."[51] Oeagrus had hardly finished his recital when the audience showed enthusiastic signs of approval, as if his short song was recognized to have a positive import on every man's destiny. In 19.108–111 the prospective of immortality comically excites Bacchus, and even Botrys (who may partly personify the resurrected youth of Bethany). In not dissimilar fashion, Gigli Piccardi (2003a, 378) sees an allusion to a Dionysiac rite where "gaiety explodes the moment it is recalled that life triumphs over death." Erechtheus' and Oeagrus' songs in principle deal with the same subject, i.e. man's mortality and the gods' varied involvement in his salvation. From this point of view, Oeagrus' response is far more advanced than Erechtheus', as the latter's song offers no vision for the future. It is the song looking forward to a better, more fulfilled future that wins the contest.

In introducing the pantomime contest in honour of Staphylus Dionysus recounts all eight games in honour of Patroclus in *Il.* 23 in the form of *recusatio*, to stress the originality of his own contest. The first contestant, Maron, is no less original: 19.181–182 εἰμὶ δὲ Βάκχου, / οὐ θεράπων Φοίβοιο. He rejects themes favoured by earlier mime (Titans, Cronus, Phanes and the offspring of Helios) to represent Ganymede, Zeus, the chorus of the other gods and Hebe, all scenes or figures of eternal youth (19.205–218). Whereas Dionysus' polemic is easily understood as an *emulatio* of Homer, the rejection of the traditional pantomimic themes has remained enigmatic.[52] But perhaps they are less so if the theological import of his choices is taken into account under the perspective of Christian *recusatio*. As Gerbeau (*l.l.*) rightly observed, the passage summarizes the first two tablets of Harmonia (Nonn. *Dion.* 12.43–63), whereas Ganymede and Hebe feature in the third tablet announcing the discovery of epoch-making wine. In treating this material Maron rejects the pre-Olympian themes and λιπὼν ξύμπαντα (19.209) focuses on a solidly Olympian ambience. His treatment stresses Dionysiac innovation with a theological orientation: Olympus is, after all, where Dionysus' ordeals on earth will eventually take him. This approach relates the lines to a theological perspective, suggesting a next generation of cultural innovation, the Christian one. This is sometimes expressed in poetry

51 Otlewska-Jung 2014, 93 highlighting Oeagrus' son Orpheus as a mystic poet in the *Dionysiaca*. Gonnelli 2003, 378–379 also observed that the epigram of Oeagrus does not only celebrate the god's consolatory properties, but effectively his vivifying power.

52 "[D]ans le cas présent, il ne semble pas justifié", Gerbau 1992, 92. On the enactment of figures of eternal youth see Delavaud-Roux 2009, 20–21.

in the form of *recusatio* denouncing the traditional themes of secular poets (the πρότεροι) in favour of poetry celebrating God and the Trinity.[53] In similar fashion, in the performance of Silenus, the ἔρις between Dionysus' wine and Aristaeus' honey, both civilising figures in the *Dionysiaca*, could remind the audience of the far superior πνευματικὴ τροφή of the Christian God. The γλυκερὸν ποτόν (19.214) is their common theme. So the contests seem to be constructed on Dionysiac innovations on top of which lies the substitution of trivial consolation with the promise of eternal life. In Maron's and Silenus' performances modern scholarship recognizes gestures of late antique Dionysiac "practices" (mysteries) particularly in Egypt, drawing attention to the association of theatre, and especially of pantomime, with cult in Dionysiac art.[54] These are, so to say, movements and gestures of immortality with a view to a future world.

3 The Baptismal Theme

The beginning of Nonn. *Dion.* 20 recapitulates and concludes the Staphylus/Botrys episode. The banquet opening book 20 is a *pendant* of the reception banquet in Nonn. *Dion.* 18.154–165, on the model of Lazarus, where earlier receptions are resumed and concluded at the opening of *John* 12. After the contests, 20.2 returns the setting to a context of affluent hospitality: Βότρυος ἀφνειοῖσιν ἐναυλίζοντο μελάθροις, "(the Satyrs with Dionysus) spent the night in the opulent halls of Botrys."

During the banquet at Botrys' residence there is a constant desire for more wine, 20.5–8:

ἀρυόμενοι δὲ κυπέλλοις
οἰνοχόοι μογέεσκον ἀλωφήτῳ παρὰ δείπνῳ·
καὶ πλέον αἰτίζεσκον ὀπάονας οἶνον ἀφύσσειν
δαιτυμόνες σαίνοντες,

the servers were busy ladling wine into the cups at the unremitting feast, and the banqueters ever kept coaxing the servants to draw more wine.

53 An outstanding example of Christian *recusatio* is Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.34.71–78, discussed by Demoen 1993, 242–244 and Agosti 2011, 280–282.

54 Gigli Piccardi 2003a, 378–379; Gonnelli 2003, 324. Delavaud-Roux 2009, 15 f. sees Maron's dance, who presents it as a funerary offering (19.171), as "une parodie de l'expression funéraire de la douleur" (p. 18).

The scene of the servants pouring wine to ever thirsty dinner guests is partly (20.7–8) formulated as a reminiscence of Callimachus (*Aet.* fr. 178.17–19 Harder: the Icus banquet). But verses 5–6 are of a Dionysiac nature familiar from the Nonnian wedding at Cana, esp. Nonn. *Par.* 2.42 (as soon as Christ's wine is produced by servants) οἱ δὲ χύδην ἀρύοντο παλιννόστοισι κυπέλλοις, "and they drew the wine in floods with oft-returning cups" which according to Livrea (2000, 277) expresses the divine ὑπέρχυσις ἀγαθότητος. The description of the banquet as "unremitting" (20.6 ἀλωφήτῳ παρὰ δείπνῳ) gives it a transcendent character. In general, profusion of wine is a feature of Bacchic initiation. In particular, the expression recalls a banquet of initiation in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.267 ἀλωφήτου χύσιν οἴνου, where the gods insatiably taste wine for the first time. Ἀλώφητος is used to describe the durability beyond the confinements of time of the transcendent gifts of God such as eternal life. The notion is akin to the ever-flowing waters of baptism.[55]

King Staphylus' death has plunged his family and servants into the mire of funerary grief. Methe's robe is dirty (20.12), Pithos' garments are "soiled with smears of ashes" (20.15) and Botrys' robe is "soiled with streaks of dust" (18.354). Nonnus appears to have in mind Achilles' mourning of Patroclus in *Il.* 18.23–25, "he took up the sooty dust in both his hands and poured it down over his head soiling his handsome face [~ Nonn. *Dion.* 18.356, of Botrys]: and the black ashes settled all over his sweet-smelling tunic." However, the implicit traditional motif of self-defilement with mud or dust as part of funerary torment[56] here acquires completely new connotations. The resulting defilement is clearly of a metaphorical nature as the persons affected take part like this in the second banquet until, during the banquet (20.11–15), Dionysus dresses Methe, Pithos and Botrys in new robes. Defilement in the mire of sin is a widespread Christian image.[57] Such images are often contrastingly associated with baptismal cleansing.[58]

---

55 Ἀλώφητος of eternal life: Nonn. *Par.* 10.36, 12.102. For the ever-flowing waters of baptism cf. Nonn. *Par.* 3.119–120 χεύμασιν ἀενάοις … ἄφθονον ὕδωρ, / ἄρκιον … πᾶσιν, *Or. Sib.* 4.165 ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε … ἀενάοισιν; see Lampe s. ἀέναος 1a.

56 See Parker 1983, 40–41; Richardson on Hom. *Il.* 22.414 κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον. The practice persisted until Late Antiquity if we are to believe Lucian *De luctu* 12.

57 Studied by Aubineau 1959. Another metaphor of the kind is the κονιορτὸς τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων to be washed away by baptism (Lampe s. κονιορτός).

58 Cf. Gr. Nyss. *De bapt.* PG 46.420C ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐνεκυλίσω τῷ βορβόρῳ· σπεῦσον, ἄνθρωπε, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν Ἰορδάνην … Χριστοῦ προτρέποντος, John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 1.3 (νύμφη) αἰσχρὰν … καὶ ῥυπαρὰν καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων κυλιομένην, οὕτως εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα εἰσήγαγεν.

The association of these notions with the Nonnian passage becomes apparent when it is realized that the proceedings unfolding in this scene constitute a studied nexus of allusions on the one hand to a baptismal and on the other hand to a nuptial and sexual subtext. In particular, divestment of the old, filthy "garment" and assumption of a new, unstained radiant one is a well-founded, widespread metaphor for cleansing from the filth of sins through baptism (not necessarily involving the use of water), mostly known from *Eph.* 4.22 ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς ... τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ... (24) καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, "that you put away ... the former man ... and put on the new man." Very often the context where these metaphors occur is similar to the one in Nonnus. John Chrysostom is most eloquent, *Catech. ad illum.* 4.12:[59]

> καθάπερ ἱμάτιον παλαιὸν ἀποδυσάμενοι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὸ φορτίον ... τὸ καινὸν τοῦτο καὶ φαιδρὸν ἱμάτιον καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περιέθεντο οἱ τῆς πλάνης ἐλευθερωθέντες,
>
> they have put away the burden of sins like an old garment ... those liberated from error put on this new bright garment and the royal robe.

In baptismal practice after the end of the fourth century the newly baptized were provided with a white robe to signify their new status as φαιδροὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ φωτεινοὶ τῇ ψυχῇ (Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 15). This "was interpreted by the Fathers as signifying the change from sin to innocence, from darkness to light, from slavery to Satan to liberation by Christ, from banishment from paradise to return to paradise, as the way to celestial beatitude, and assumption of the royal priesthood".[60] Interestingly, in picturial descriptions it is Christ himself who extends the new robes to the baptizant.[61] In Nonnus the "baptizants" approach

59 Cf. also *Zac.* 3.3–5, *Rev.* 7.14 (the multitude of every nation) οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτάς, Tert. *De bapt.* 13.2, John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 2.11 ἀποδυόμεθα καὶ ἐνδυόμεθα· ἀποδυόμεθα μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἱμάτιον τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καταρρυπωθέν, ἐνδυόμεθα δὲ τὸ καινὸν καὶ πάσης κηλῖδος ἀπηλλαγμένον. See Lampe s. βάπτισμα VIC4c "removal of garments, interpreted symbolically", d "assumption of baptismal robe". Clothing as baptism is a favourite image with Syrian authors (Brock 1982). In general, see Crncević 2000.

60 Ferguson 2009, 20, summarizing the discussion of Baudry 2001.

61 Gr. Nyss. *De bapt.* PG 46.420C ἀπόδυσαι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἱμάτιον ῥυπαρὸν ... δέξαι δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, ὅπερ ὁ Χριστός σοι διαπλώσας προτείνεται, John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 2.19 (Christ King) ἡμᾶς ... ἐνδύσει τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκείνην στολήν. This draws on *Is.* 61.10

Dionysus in turn, first the queen, next elderly Pithos, last young Botrys. This order does not seem to be dictated by a recognisable principle, although it may be significant that it inverts the order of baptism propounded by Hippol. *Trad. Apost.* 21.4–5: *ponent autem vestes et baptizate primum parvulos … postea baptizate viros, tandem autem mulieres.*[62]

Bacchus first adorns Methe with a purple robe, αὐχμὸν ἀποσμήξας (20.12). Ἀποσμήξας is a typically baptismal term in Nonnus and elsewhere.[63] Methe's αὐχμός like Pithos' τέφρη (20.15) represents man's mortality to be washed away by baptism. There is no reference to water. The cleansing of Methe and Pithos seems to be more of a spiritual nature. Then comes Pithos: 20.13 καὶ Πίθον ὅλον ῥυπόωντα καθήρας κτλ. Again every constituent of the wording seems to make a baptismal reference. Ὅλον implies a widely used formula of fall and salvation *in toto*.[64] Ῥυπόωντα glances at the ῥύπος of sin to be removed by baptism;[65] καθήρας is baptismal too.[66] Bacchus dresses Pithos in a white robe: 20.14 ἀργεννῷ παλίνορσος ἀνεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι. Παλίνορσος (= πάλιν) implies the restitution of Pithos to his "pristine" pure state, a notion often associated with baptismal ἀποκατάστασις after the primal sin. It is to be noted that while the masters are clothed in purple, their personnel is clad in white, like the νύμφη riding Methe's chariot λευκοχίτων (20.124). This would represent a distinction in attire according to Bacchic hierarchy, but it would also recall a differentiation in the vestment of high officials of the Church against lower ranks or the baptized laity. At the departure of the army Botrys leads a Bacchic contingent (20.123).

Subsequently, Dionysus throws away Pithos' old, filthy garment of sorrow: 20.15 ῥίψας πένθιμα πέπλα χυτῇ πεπαλαγμένα τέφρῃ "(Dionysus) threw away

---

ἀγαλλιάσθη ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσεν γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτήριον καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέν μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμῳ.

62 See Ferguson 2009, 330, 477.

63 Cf. Nonn. *Par.* 3.115 (Christ baptizing in Judaea) σμήχων ἀνδρομέης κραδίης ῥύπον, 9.41–42 σμήξας … κύκλον ὀπωπῆς / ἐξαπίνης φάος ἔσχε, and explicitly John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 22.5 πάντα τὸν ῥύπον τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀποσμηξάμενος καὶ ἀποδυσάμενος τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἱμάτιον καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βασιλικήν. See Lampe s. ἀποσμήχω 1, 3.

64 *John* 7.23 ~ Nonn. *Par.* 7.91 (89 σεσηπότα … νούσῳ) ζωγρήσας ὅλον ἄνδρα, *Par.* 13.44 (νίψον, ἄναξ) καὶ ὅλον δέμας, Cyr. Jer. *Myst.* 2.3 (baptismal anointment) ἀπ' ἄκρων κορυφῆς τριχῶν ἕως τῶν κατωτάτων.

65 Cf. (e.g.) Theodoret. *Interpr. xix epist. S. Pauli PG* 82.602b (βάπτισμα) ἐν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀποδυόμεθα τὸν ἐρρυπωμένον τῆς ἁμαρτίας χιτῶνα, Cyr. *Comm. Is. PG* 70.40d διασμήχει δὲ ὁ Χριστὸς διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος πάντα ῥύπον ἡμῶν ψυχικόν.

66 Cf. Nonn. *Par.* 1.25 (φῶς/λόγος) ὃς ἀνέρα πάντα καθαίρει, 3.26 (Jesus and Nicodemus) καθαροῖσι δέμας λουτροῖσι καθαίρων, 17.57 (God the disciples) πάντας ἀληθείης νοεραῖς ἀκτῖσι καθαίρων.

the mourning clothes soiled with smears of ashes." As with the baptismal metaphor in question, Pithos' release from it symbolizes the breaking away from the sorrow (πένθιμα) and mortality (χυτῇ πεπαλαγμένα τέφρῃ) of sin. Χυτός is intimately associated with death. In epic it describes appropriately the soil of a funeral mound (Schol. A *Il.* 23.256). In Nonn. *Par.* 11.61 Christ finds Lazarus ἄπνοον … χυτῇ στρωθέντα κονίῃ. Likewise, τέφρη, here probably a reminiscence from Achilles' mourning in *Il.* 18.25, in epic is the ash from the funerary pile but in Christian vocabulary the word metaphorically denotes what is left of man when he dies, in the same sense as χοῦς.[67] It is often associated with man's mortality from his dissociation from God and deprivation of His vivifying "breath".[68]

It is Botrys' turn. In Botrys' case Nonnus brilliantly imbues proceedings with profound theological connotations, 20.16–22:

> οὐκέτι δ' αὐτοχύτοισι παρήια δάκρυσι δεύων
> Βότρυς ἀνεστενάχιζε, Διωνύσῳ δὲ πιθήσας
> φωριαμοὺς ὤιξε θυώδεας· οἰγομένων δέ
> μαρμαρυγὴ σελάγιζε πολυγλήνων ἀπὸ πέπλων·
> κεῖθεν ἑλὼν Σταφύλου βασιλήια φαιδρὰ τοκῆος
> δύσατο πορφυρέῃ πεπαλαγμένα φάρεα κόχλῳ,
> καὶ θαλίης ψαύοντι συνειλαπίναζε Λυαίῳ.

> Botrys lamented no longer or wetted his cheeks with helpless welling tears, but at Bacchos's bidding opened his scented coffers; as they opened, sparkling gleams came from robes covered with gems. From these he took out and donned the brilliant royal garb of Staphylos his father, steeped in purple dye, and joined Lyaios at table to touch the feast.

First Botrys changes his sober mood (20.16–17). The dispensing of joy constitutes an essential feature of Dionysiac initiation. At the same time, baptism wipes out the tears introduced in human life with the fall of man and dispenses gaiety. Witness *expressis verbis* Cyr. Jer. *Myst.* 1.10:

---

67 Epic: Hom. *Il.* 23.251, Nonn. *Dion.* 21.140; see Chuvin 1976, 191–192, on Nonn. *Dion.* 5.545. Christian: (e.g.) *Sap. Sol.* 2.3 (once the πνεῦμα is gone) τέφρα ἀποβήσεται τὸ σῶμα, Gr. Naz. *AP* 8.222.1 Αἰαῖ … τέφρη γενόμην.

68 Cf. Clem. *Exc. Theod.* 1.3.2 (descent of the Holy Spirit) τὸν μὲν χοῦν, καθάπερ τέφραν, ἀπεφύσα καὶ ἐχώριζεν, ἐξῆπτε δὲ τὸν σπινθῆρα καὶ ἐζωοποίει, Gr. Nyss. *C. Eun.* 2.1.91 ἡ γὰρ γῆ δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ τέφρα τὸ ἄψυχον καὶ ἄγονον ἅμα διασημαίνειν.

> ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς παλιγγενεσίας λουτροῦ, ἀφεῖλεν ὁ Θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου· οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ πενθεῖς, ἐκδεδυμένος τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ πανηγυρίζεις, ἐνδεδυμένος ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου,
>
> at the holy bath of rebirth, the God wiped out every tear from every face; because you no loger mourn now that you have been divested of the old man; but you celebrate, now that you have put on the robe of salvation.[69]

Then Botrys, heeding an exhortation of Dionysus, opens the chests containing his father Staphylus' glittering garments (20.17–19). Nonnus' language indicates that he has in mind the scene of Priam taking out gleaming clothes from the royal coffers for the ransoming of Hector (*Il.* 24.228–229).[70] For a Christian reader it would be tempting to read the Homeric passage in the light of baptism as αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον (Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 16). Φωριαμοὺς θυώδεας in 20.18 constitutes the only reference to smell in the scene, against numerous references to the glitter of these clothes. In general, Syria is the country of perfumes (cf. Botrys in 18.351), but the fragrance of the garments Botrys is about to put on would suit both his fragrant "father" (see below) and the implicit baptismal context;[71] that fragrance symbolizes the ἀφθαρσία of the neophyte.

What is chiefly emphasized is the splendour of Staphylus/Botrys' garments: 20.19 "sparkling gleams came from robes covered with gems" and again in 20.101–102:

> ἑὸν δ' ἔνδυνε χιτῶνα
> Σιδονίης ἀκτῖνας ἀκοντίζοντα θαλάσσης,
>
> put on his tunic shooting gleams of the Sidonian sea.

This would insinuate the λαμπροτάτας … στολάς (Cyr. Jer. *Catech. ad illum.* 3.3) worn by the baptizant. In the Fathers these are regularly opposed to the filthy garments of sin.[72] Significantly, 20.102 is a resounding, if overlooked, echo of the mocking of Christ/King in Nonn. *Par.* 19.9–11:

---

69 Cf., in context, *Rev.* 7.17 (> *Is.* 25.8) καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, then [Gr. Nyss.] *In annunt.* 77 Montagna ὁ γὰρ κύριος ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι τὸν ῥύπον τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἀπέσμιξεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, οὐκ ἔτι κλαίω, οὐκ ἔτι πενθῶ.

70 First noticed by Shorrock 2001, 155–156. As in Homer the φωριαμοί contain fine πέπλοι (Hom. *Il.* 24.228–229, *Od.* 15.104).

71 Cf. Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 15 τότε ὑδάτων ἀπολαύσητε … ἐχόντων εὐωδίαν, Ps-Dion. Areop. *HE* 2.3.8 ἡ δὲ τοῦ μύρου τελειωτικὴ χρῖσις εὐώδη ποιεῖ τὸν τετελεσμένον.

72 Cf. Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 4 ἔκδυσαί μοι … ἀκαθαρσίαν, καὶ ἔνδυσαί μοι σωφροσύνης λαμπροτάτην

καί μιν ἀνεχλαίνωσαν ἐπὶ χροῒ πέπλα βαλόντες
Σιδονίης στίλβοντα σοφῷ σπινθῆρι θαλάσσης,
σύμβολα κοιρανίης καὶ ἐν ἄλγεσιν,

and they cloaked him by having thrown about his skin robes shining with the wise spark of the Sidonian sea, symbols of lordship even in sufferings.

These gleaming garments are a symbol of Christ's royalty in anticipation of his glorious resurrection.[73] Such an approximation is not merely verbal but profoundly doctrinal, as it draws on the immediate association of Christ's death and resurrection with baptism in *Rom.* 6.4–5: "We were buried therefore with him through baptism to death, that just as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life." The metaphorical significance of Botrys putting on the "garments" of his "kingly father" is thus illuminated. The example of gleaming clothes is set by Christ also after His release from his earthly "garment" in Nonn. *Par.* 20.82–83: "(Mary Magdalene) saw Christ shining with a god-built robe." So Botrys' robe is purple and "kingly" (Nonn. *Dion.* 20.20–21). In its colour Hopkinson sees a symbol of succession to Staphylus' kingship, but Gerbeau noted that purple is the colour of wine and of Dionysus "symbolizing a return to life and happiness."[74] The reading advanced here combines these interpretations in a different sense. Botrys' new purple garment constitutes a "return" to Botrys' "pristine" state before Staphylus' death: witness the emphatic contrast in 18.354–355 "Why do you wear these robes soiled with streaks of dust? Why do I not see your royal robes of Tyrian purple?" As baptism means "putting on Christ" and partaking in His death and resurrection, the tradition about the Redeemer's blood-stained tunic is probably also implicit: *Rev.* 19.13 περιβεβλημένος *ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι* [~ Nonn. *Dion.* 20.21 πορφυρέῃ πεπαλαγμένα φάρεα κόχλῳ].

The elusive Staphylus in his role as "king", "father" or "husband", is very much present in these lines: Methe is described in 20.11 as Σταφύλοιο γυναῖκα, and

στολήν, Gr. Nyss. *Cant.* 14.14 περιβόλαιον ῥυπαρὸν ἀπεδύσασθε ... καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἱμάτια ... περιεβάλεσθε, Gr. Naz. *Or.* 40.25 Ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἐμφώτειος ἐσθής, ᾗ λαμπρυνθήσομαι; Ps-Dion. Areop. *HE* 2.8 (after immersion in water) φωτοειδεῖς ἐσθῆτας ἐπιβάλλουσι τῷ τελουμένῳ, Ps-Macar. *Hom.* 2.68 τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ σκότους φορέματα ῥακώδη καὶ ἀκάθαρτα καὶ μιαρὰ ... ὅσους ἂν ἐξέδυσεν Ἰησοῦς ... ἐνέδυσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ κύριος ἐνδύματα βασιλείας φωτὸς ἀρρήτου ... ἐνδύματα φωτός, ζωῆς, θεϊκά.

73 The question is discussed in Accorinti 1987, 43–47.

74 Hopkinson 1994b, 4 n. 3; Gerbeau 1992, 41.

Botrys wears the garments Σταφύλου … τοκῆος (20.21). Βασιλήια … / … φάρεα would allude to a widely used notion of the robe a baptizant puts on as "kingly", because the baptizant "clothes himself in Christ".[75] In 20.21–22 δύσατο … φάρεα … / καὶ … συνειλαπίναζε Λυαίῳ the immediacy of the assumption of the new radiant robe and of the participation in Dionysus' banquet further suggests the metaphorical element of these proceedings.

4 Nocturnal Bliss: Nonnus and the Secret Gospel of Mark

The feast day comes to an end, 20.23–24: "While they were amusing themselves, the star of evening rose and rolled away the light of dance-delighting day." As the day is gone the events described become loaded with (homo)sexual and baptismal innuendos. First, Pithos and Maron climb into the same bed to sleep, exhaling an intoxicating breath of wine, 20.27–30:

> καὶ Πίθος ἄγχι Μάρωνος ἀνήιεν εἰς μίαν εὐνήν,
> νεκταρέης εὔοδμον ἀναβλύζων πόμα ληνοῦ,
> ἀλλήλους δ' ἐμέθυσσαν ἴσην πέμποντες ἀυτμήν
> πάννυχον.

> Pithos entered one bed with Maron, with drops still on his lips of the fragrant potion from the nectarean winepress; and breathing out the same breath they intoxicated each other all night long.

The two Satyrs parody two exhausted lovers serenely breathing affection into each other. Hopkinson adduced Theoc. 18.53–54: "sleep breathing [πνέοντες] love and desire into each other's breasts."[76] Verse 29 ἴσην πέμποντες ἀυτμήν may also be taken to express their reciprocal affection.[77] Ἀναβλύζων πόμα ληνοῦ plays humorously on the name of Pithos (in 18.150 there is a similar ploy). The ἀυτμή of the Satyrs is, therefore, ambiguous and appears to combine implications

75 Cf. John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 2.19, 25 ἐνδυσάμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βασιλικήν, 4.3 τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐνδυσάμενοι στολήν, 12 στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν περιέθεντο, Theodoret. *In Cant.* PG 81.60C οἱ τελούμενοι … οἱονεὶ σφραγῖδά τινα βασιλικὴν δέξονται τοῦ πνευματικοῦ μύρου τὸ χρίσμα, Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 15 (βάπτισμα) βασιλείας πρόξενον, Mac. Aeg. *Hom.* 15.35.

76 Hopkinson 1994b, 4 ("une parodie grotesque"). The translation is by N. Hopkinson.

77 Cf. Asclep. *HE* 986 = 36.7 Sens νῦν δ' ἴσος ἀμφοτέροις φιλίης πόθος, Theoc. 18.51–52 ἶσον ἔρασθαι / ἀλλάλων, Rufin. *AP* 5.97.1 = 36.1 Page, Bion fr. 12.1 ὄλβιοι οἱ φιλέοντες ἐπὴν ἴσον ἀντεράωνται.

about an actual kiss and its spiritual effect. Πάννυχον is ambiguous too: it is regularly used of blissful sleep all night long in epic but it is a cliché for lust as well.[78] The scene of an old Satyr, serenely exhaling "equal" breaths with a newly initiated Bacchic member, may suggest the exchange of kisses after baptism. After the ceremony the bishop gave the baptizant the kiss of peace and the newly baptized and older members of the community exchanged kisses: Justin *Apol.* 1.65.2 ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζώμεθα. These kisses are wholly spiritual: they express the spiritual community and kinship between older and newer members of the Church who have been imbued with the same spirit: *1 Cor.* 12.13 "For in one Spirit [ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι] we were all baptized into one body … and were all given to drink into one Spirit [ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν]". They denote the integration of souls and bodies in the bond of love and faith.[79]

But then comes a critical detail: Dionysus and Botrys spend the night together in the same chamber. Dionysus' nurse Eupetale prepares the sleeping couches of Dionysus and Botrys, 20.31–32:

> καὶ Βότρυι καὶ Διονύσῳ
> δισσὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἁλιπόρφυρον ἔντυεν εὐνήν,
>
> (Eupetale) prepared a double bed strewn with sea-purple, for both Botrys and Dionysos.

The scene faintly recalls conventional Homeric scenes of hospitality where serving girls leaving the feasting chamber δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι prepare the bed for a royal guest.[80] But the literary precedents of 20.32 ἔντυεν εὐνήν both come up *in eadem versus sede* in wedding contexts: in *Od.* 23.289 of Odysseus and Penelope's first night of reunion; in A.R. 4.1130 of Jason and Medea's first night of marriage. The practice of preparing the bridal bed was a common

---

78 Blissful sleep: Hom. *Il.* 2.61 παννύχιον εὕδειν, *sim.*, Nonn. *Dion.* 44.51. Lust: Nonn. *Dion.* 7.300–301 παννύχιος δέ / σῆς Κλυμένης ἀπόνοιο; also Agath. *AP* 5.296.4, Paul Sil. *AP* 5.283.1–2 Θεανώ / εἶχον ὑπὲρ λέκτρων πάννυχον ἡμετέρων, Anon. *AP* 5.2.3 διὰ νυκτὸς ὅλης; Kost 1971, 427, on Musae. 225 παννυχίδας … ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων.

79 Cf. Cyr. Jer. *Myst.* 5.3 σημεῖον τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ φίλημα τοῦ ἀνακραθῆναι τὰς ψυχάς, John Chrys. *De prod. Jud.* *PG* 49.383 (kiss) τοῦτο γὰρ συμπλέκει τὰς διανοίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖ σῶμα γενέσθαι ἓν ἅπαντας … οὐ τὰ σώματα ἀλλήλοις ἀναφύροντες, ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλλήλαις τῷ τῆς ἀγάπης συνδέσμῳ συνάπτοντες. On the spiritualisation of the baptismal kiss see K. Thraede, *RAC* VIII (1972), 505–519 s. Friedenskuss and *RAC* XXII (2008), 568–569, 572 s. Geisteskuss.

80 Cf., e.g., Odysseus at Phaeacia in Hom. *Od.* 7.334 f. See S. West on *Od.* 4.296–305.

part of wedding ceremonies and often central in sacred marriages.[81] On the first night of hospitality Botrys, Staphylus and Dionysus all sleep on their couches κεκριμένοι στοιχηδόν (18.164). The procedure is the same for the second night—except that now Staphylus is absent. The lines may therefore be compared with SGM 452.8 καὶ ἔμεινεν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην. Dionysus' spending the night before his departure with young Botrys while hosted by him in his wealthy residence, after the "resurrection" of his *alter ego* father Staphylus and after vesting him in a gleaming robe would seem to recall Jesus' nocturnal teaching of "the mystery of the kingdom of God" the night before his departure to a resurrected νεανίσκος, clad in a σινδών over his naked body, while hosted by him in his wealthy residence in the SGM. In the *Dionysiaca* Dionysus has male lovers (Ampelus, Hymenaeus) but the scene in question is unparalleled. The practice of baptismal indoctrination at night is known from Nicodemus (*John* 3.2) and according to Hippol. *Trad. Apost.* 20.9 catechumens spent the whole night before their baptism "being read to and instructed." Moreover, in Nonnus the proceedings are cryptically but noticeably suggestive of aspects of a wedding ceremony. "Wedding" is one of the baptismal metaphors.[82]

The role of Dionysus' nurse Εὐπετάλη "Leafy" connects well with such a context. In 20.30 she holds a torch to escort Dionysus and Botrys to their sleeping chamber. The choice of Eupetale is not fortuitous but rather recalls the bridal πέτηλα that regularly appear in Bacchus' weddings such as, e.g., with Nicaea or Ariadne.[83] A pun on Εὐπετάλη ~ πέτηλον occurs at Nonn. *Dion.* 14.398 = 29.234. Her description as "nurse" of Dionysus (τιθηνήτειρα Λυαίου) would approximate her to a mother conducting her son in a wedding ceremony. In Colluth. 379 τιθήνη is employed *tout court* for "mother". In the same line, Eupetale's torch in Nonn. *Dion.* 20.31 δαλὸν ἀναψαμένη represents a traditional feature of a wedding ceremony.[84] The circumstances are remarkably similar to

81 Cf., e.g., Xen. Ephes. 1.8.1 ἠκούσης τῆς νυκτὸς ... ἦγον τὴν κόρην εἰς τὸν θάλαμον μετὰ λαμπάδων ... καὶ εἰσάγοντες κατέκλινον. See Hunter 2003, 194, on Theoc. 17.133–134.

82 The guiding metaphor in John Chrysostom's first catechesis *ad illuminandos*: 1.1 παραγεγόνασιν ἡμῖν αἱ ... τῶν πνευματικῶν γάμων ἡμέραι. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις γάμον ὀνομάζων τὰ γινόμενα, cf. ibid. 6.24 γάμος πνευματικός ἐστι τὰ ἐνταῦθα τελούμενα, Ps-Clem. *Hom.* 8.22.4 ὁ τοὺς γάμους τῷ υἱῷ τελῶν πατὴρ ... ἐκέλευσεν ἡμῖν ... καθαρὸν ἔνδυμα γάμου περιβαλεῖν (ὅπερ ἐστὶν βάπτισμα).

83 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 16.274 (Nicaea) καὶ λέχος ἦν πετάλοισι κατάσκιον, 47.325, 457–459 (Ariadne); of Zeus and Semele 7.344–345. See Fayant 2000, 176 on the motif of lush vegetation at sacred marriage harking back to Hom. *Il.* 14.346–351.

84 For the nuptial δαλός in Nonnus cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 2.584, 7.287 (Zeus to Nyx) δαλὸν ἄειρε

an actual wedding ceremony: after the wedding banquet in the bride's house torches were carried in a procession to the groom's house where the marriage was to be consummated. The defeated hope of Dionysus of holding nuptial torches to light the bridal chamber (18.367 *χερσὶν ἀερτάζειν θαλαμηπόλον ἑσπέριον* πῦρ) together with Staphylus at Botrys' "consummated" wedding (τελειωμένων ὑμεναίων) appears now to acquire its full, ironic meaning. The knowledgeable reader should not, though, rush to conclusions. The game of ambivalence is self-conscious and controlled.

The fact that Botrys is cryptically but consistently sketched with effeminate characteristics points in the same direction.[85] The attention paid to features of his beauty seems to be out of place unless it becomes meaningful in context. Right from the start Botrys prepares the feast table (18.66–68), usually a serving girl's chore. His description as εὐχαίτης (18.64) in this context might fit with a traditional attribute of effeminate or female servants of god(s).[86] In the first banquet the description of Botrys' dance of initiation is very attentive to features of his beauty: Nonn. *Dion.* 18.134–139 "the cheeks of drunken Botrys were red ... still a boy with the down on his face, he ... bound his loosened locks with the unfamiliar ivy and wreathed it like a garland. Then interchanging step with step Botrys danced about ... changing feet right after left." And then his description by Dionysus at the end of book 18 is certainly the most sensational description of sorrow in extant Greek literature, 18.349–353:

> Τίς φθόνος ἠμάλδυνε τεὴν ἑλικώδεα χαίτην;
> Οὐ πλόκαμοι προχυθέντες ἐπ' ἀργυφέων σέθεν ὤμων
> ἀπλεκέες Τυρίοιο μύρου πέμπουσιν ἀυτμήν·
> οὐκέτι ...
> μαρμαρυγὴν ῥοδόεσσαν ὀιστεύουσι παρειαί.
>
> What envious hand tore your curly locks? Your tresses no longer fall free over your shoulders, glossy like silver, breathing Tyrian frankincense ... your cheeks no longer emit a rosy sheen from your face.

Διὸς προκέλευθον Ἐρώτων, then Musae. 308 δαλὸν Ἐρώτων. On nuptial torches see, e.g., Parisinou 2000, 30–34.

85 It is an amusing coincidence that the noun βότρυς is elsewhere of common gender (not in Nonnus).

86 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 8.94–95 Διὸς οἰνοχόον Γανυμήδεα ... / ... εὐχαίταν ~ 27.245, 27.248 (Hebe serving gods) καλλιέθειρα, Mary hosting Christ in Nonn. *Par.* 11.4 = 8, and the Homeric serving girls ἐυπλόκαμοι.

The features of Botrys' youthful beauty are not randomly chosen: they are the same that excite Dionysus to fall in love with Ampelus.[87] The god was planning to marry Ampelus (Nonn. *Dion.* 10.276–279). These characteristics appeal to Dionysus simply because they belong to a tradition of Bacchic beauty initiated by the θηλύμορφος (Eur. *Bac.* 353) god himself.[88] It may be relevant to note that Dionysus' effeminacy would compete with that of Jesus.[89] The roseate blush (cf. Calamus in Nonn. *Dion.* 11.378 and effeminate Helicaon in Nonn. *Dion.* 43.57–59) and the curly locks (cf. Hymenaeus in Nonn. *Dion.* 13.91–92 and Helicaon *l.l.*) are standard traits of youthful beauty. In Pl. *Charm.* 158c a blush enhances the attractiveness of Charmides: ἀνερυθριάσας οὖν ὁ Χαρμίδης … ἔτι καλλίων ἐφάνη. Dancing can have an erotic overtone too, such as Ampelus dancing in Nonn. *Dion.* 11.238–242 before the eyes of jealous Dionysus.

Unlike Pithos and Maron, Dionysus and Botrys, queen Methe sleeps alone in the neighbouring chamber "away from the Satyrs and apart from Bacchos" (20.33–34). The potential for a "straight" couple is thus dismissed. The fact that Methe sleeps apart from Dionysus emphatically contrasts with the god's reputation for raping hostesses. The lines also implicitly contrast the chastity of Bacchants against the promiscuity of Satyrs.[90] The Dionysus-Botrys couple is ambiguously placed between the two. But this awkward emphasis on the isolation of men and women may glance at the strict segregation of sexes in rituals before and after baptism "lest the case of salvation becomes an occasion of perdition". This rule was strictly observed.[91]

---

87 Witness Nonn. *Dion.* 10.176 ἥλικος ἠιθέοιο ῥοδώπιδι θέλγετο μορφῇ, 179–180 ἐρευθομένοιο γενείου / … χιονέης … κύκλα παρειῆς, 181–183 ὀπισθοπόροιο δὲ χαίτης / βότρυες εἰλικόεντες ἐπ' ἀργυφέων θέον ὤμων / ἀπλεκέες, 184–186 παρελκομένων δὲ κομάων / ἀκροφανὴς ἀνέτελλε μέσος γυμνούμενος αὐχήν / καὶ σέλας ἠκόντιζε λιπόσκιος, 190 ἐκ ποδὸς ἀργυφέοιο. Note the resemblence of Dionysus' address to Ampelus in Nonn. *Dion.* 10.213 γινώσκω τεὸν αἷμα, καὶ εἰ κρύπτειν μενεαίνεις and to Botrys in 18.359 γινώσκω σέο πῆμα, καὶ εἰ κρύπτειν μενεαίνεις.

88 Cf. Eur. *Bac.* 235–236 ξανθοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν εὔοσμος κόμην, / οἰνωπός, ὄσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων, 438 οἰνωπὸν γένυν, 455–457 πλόκαμός τε γάρ σου ταναὸς … / γένυν παρ' αὐτὴν κεχυμένος, πόθου πλέως· / λευκὴν δὲ χροιὰν … ἔχεις.

89 Jesus' effeminate attributes in late antique representations "including small protruding breasts, sloping shoulders, wide hips and long curling hair" are discussed in Jensen 2000, 124–128 (124).

90 For the promiscuity of the Satyrs cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 14.104, 33.154, 249; see Gerlaud 2005, 245.

91 Hippol. *Trad. Apost.* 18.6 *fideles … salutent invicem, viri cum viris et mulieres cum mulieribus; viri autem non salutabunt mulieres*, Cyr. Jer. *Procat.* 14 καὶ ὅταν ἐπορκισμὸς γένηται … ἄνδρες μετ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν […] διεστάλθω τὰ πράγματα, ἄνδρες μετ' ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν· μὴ γένηται ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῆς σωτηρίας, πρόφασις ἀπωλείας.

During the night Dionysus sees an exhortatory dream (20.35 f.), as happened after the first banquet (18.170 f.), urging him to march against impious Lycurgus of "Arabia". The next morning Dionysus and Botrys wake up together (20.99 θεὸς ἀνεπήλατο λέκτρων and 101 καὶ θρασὺς ἄνθορε Βότρυς), as happened after the first night of hospitality in 18.196 f., 202 f. Botrys puts on his new, regal clothing in a scene that corresponds to Dionysus' putting on his armament after the first night of hospitality (18.196 f.). The analogy further implies the martial character of Botrys' attire. The qualification of Botrys as θρασύς in 20.101 seems to express martial prowess inspired by devotion to the leader: in 18.44 θρασύς Botrys whips the chariot horses, in high spirits after Dionysus has accepted Staphylus' invitation. The adjective qualifies Dionysus' *erômenos* Hymenaeus after he is healed by the god in Nonn. *Dion.* 29.167; the healed ("baptized") man born blind in his dialogue with the Pharisees in Nonn. *Par.* 9.74; and Peter, Christ's determined defender, at the scene of His arrest in Nonn. *Par.* 18.51. It may again be relevant that, according to the Fathers, baptism grants a spiritual, martial strength.[92]

Associated with this is a metaphor of baptism as "recruitment" in the "army" of God.[93] Indeed the last we hear of Botrys and his mother is at the departure of the Bacchic army in Nonn. *Dion.* 20.120–124: "So Botrys quitted his father's palace and estate, clad in his purple, and driving his chariot-and-four by the side [σύνδρομος] with grape-loving Dionysus, with slaves following behind. Methe his mother was in a mulecart with silver wheels, and beside her was a white-robed maiden [νύμφη / λευκοχίτων]." Dionysus has sealed their lives for ever. The truly missionary verses 120–121 are reminiscent of *Lk* 5.11 "they (the disciples) left everything, and followed him." Σύνδρομος of a devoted companion of a god recalls Call. *Lav.Pal.* 110 (Actaeon) μεγάλας σύνδρομος Ἀρτέμιδος; in this sense it is a word of the Fathers and of the *Paraphrasis* too.[94] The resemblance to Hymenaeus' utter devotion to his lover Dionysus, after he is healed by him from a battle injury, may be suggestive: Nonn. *Dion.* 29.167–168 "the boy rushed boldly forward [θρασὺς ... κοῦρος]. He followed Lyaios, and never fell behind Bacchos now, striking and striking the enemy", 174 "so the boy kept

---

92 Cf. Cyr. Jer. *Myst.* 3.4 μετὰ τὸ ἱερὸν βάπτισμα ... ἐνδεδυμένοι τὴν πανοπλίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἵστασθε πρὸς τὴν ἀντικειμένην ἐνέργειαν καὶ ταύτην καταγωνίζεσθε, λέγοντες· "Πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι με Χριστῷ", John Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 3.11, Marc. Erem. *De bapt.* PG 65.997a διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενος, ἔχεις δύναμιν καὶ ὅπλα καθαιρεῖν αὐτούς.

93 Cf. Cyr. Jer. *Catech. ad illum.* 3.3 μέλλετε στρατολογεῖσθαι τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ, Bas. Sel. *Vit. et mir. Thecl.* 1.28 πολλοὺς ... σφραγισαμένη καὶ στρατολογήσασα τῷ Χριστῷ; Lampe s. στρατιώτης 1b, στρατολογέω, στρατολογία.

94 E.g. Nonn. *Par.* 18.73 [ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής] / Χριστῷ σύνδρομος; see Lampe s.v. B.1–2.

beside Bacchos [ὁμόδρομος] the wine-god as he went." Botrys is ἐρευθήεις (121) according to Koechly because of his tunic; according to Hopkinson (1994b, 188) because of his name; it may be that the colour of his complexion is due to Botrys being sealed with the Bacchic initiation which he experienced the day (and night) before.

In principle Nonnus could have been aware of the SGM. He was active in Alexandria. Because of the influence Cyril's *Commentary on John* exercised on the *Paraphrasis* there is a general feeling that he might have belonged to a circle close to the Alexandrine Patriarch. The following list of correspondeces between the Staphylus/Botrys episode and the SGM lists notional and narrative affinities. Direct verbal reproduction is not to be found, partly because of the Nonnian idiom's distance from koine Greek, partly because of Nonnus' choice or mode of reception. In view of the recondite nature of the SGM and the prevailing norm, a recollection from memory is envisaged:

- Nonn. *Dion.* 18.335 Διόνυσος ἐδύσατο Βότρυος αὐλήν ~ SGM 452.6 ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου
- Nonn. *Dion.* 19.2 (Botrys) κοῦρος,[95] 19.19 παιδὶ νέῳ ~ SGM 450.3, *al.* (youth of Bethany) νεανίσκος
- Nonn. *Dion.* 19.27 f. (< Pl. *Phdr.* 251e3) ~ SGM 450.4 ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρξατο παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἵνα μετ' αὐτοῦ ᾖ
- Nonn. *Dion.* 19.36–37 (Botrys) διδασκέσθω δὲ χορείας / καὶ τελετὰς καὶ θύσθλα ~ SGM 452.9 ἐδίδασκε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ
- Nonn. *Dion.* 20.2 (Dionysus and retinue) Βότρυος ἀφνειοῖσιν ἐναυλίζοντο μελάθροις ~ SGM 452.6 (Christ and retinue) ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ νεανίσκου· ἦν γὰρ πλούσιος
- Nonn. *Dion.* 20.16–22 (Botrys' robing) ~ SGM 452.8 περιβεβλημένος σινδόνα ἐπὶ γυμνοῦ
- Nonn. *Dion.* 20.23–24 τοῖσι δὲ τερπομένοισιν ἀνέδραμεν Ἕσπερος ἀστήρ / φέγγος ἀναστείλας χοροτερπέος ἠριγενείης ~ SGM 452.7 καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης (ἔρχεται ὁ νεανίσκος πρὸς αὐτόν)
- Nonn. *Dion.* 20.31–32 καὶ Βότρυι καὶ Διονύσῳ / δισσὴν ἀμφοτέροις ἁλιπόρφυρον ἔντυεν εὐνήν ~ SGM 452.8 καὶ ἔμεινεν σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην
- Nonn. *Dion.* 20.99 θεὸς ἀνεπήλατο λέκτρων (20.146 Ἀρραβίης ἐπέβαινε) ~ SGM 452.10 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστάς (ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου).

95 Botrys κοῦρος in 19.2 is seen by Gonnelli (2003, 366) as a link with the previous book ending with Botrys' unaccomplished wedding. If it resonates with the SGM's νεανίσκος it would foreshadow Botrys' ensuing "wedding".

In conjunction with these parallels the following notes may be appended as well: the description of Staphylus in 19.5 ὑμετέρης ἄγρυπνον ὀπιπευτῆρα χορείης, "the sleepless watcher of your dances" seems inaccurate: "l'expression est un peu inexacte, puisque la fête du ch. XVIII s'est terminée à la tombée de la nuit" remarked Gerbeau (1992, 158). But the incongruity may not be quite innocent as it may predict the nature of Botrys/Staphylus' spending a night with Dionysus against the background of the νεανίσκος of the SGM summoned by Christ to his chamber to be instructed at night.

The reaction of the νεανίσκος in SGM 452.5, "the young man looked at him intently and loved him; and he began pleading with him that he might be with him", may be eloquently taken up by Methe: 19.30 "I will go with you … if it be your pleasure", 34 "Leave me not a widow". For a late antique reader the intent look and immediate love of the youth for Christ in the SGM might have inspired a reading suggesting Methe's Platonic *erôs*. Methe generously offers not only herself but also her son (and prince) to the service of the god, and invites Dionysus to "teach" him his "rites"[96] (Nonn. *Dion.* 19.36–37 διδασκέσθω … / … τελετάς ~ SGM 452.9 ἐδίδασκε … αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸ μυστήριον κτλ.). In Nonn. *Par.* διδάσκειν is used with baptismal connotations in 1.112 βαπτίζων ἀδίδακτον … λαὸν ἀλήτην, 3.25 Ἰησοῦς … ἄνδρα διδάσκων, 58 ἀδίδακτος … νόος ἀνδρῶν.

Conceivably, there might be alternative possibilities to account for the conclusion of the Staphylus/Botrys episode: (a) the coda of the story is invented as a literary embellishment, (b) it constituted part of the (lost) original tale, or (c) it is borrowed from a lost, popular Christian narrative. The first is hardly attractive for this author, an heir to Callimachus' ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω (fr. 612 Pf.). Nonnus is known not for inventing stories but for reshaping them. The second possibility is methodologically flawed as it adds a postulated feature to a postulated story. We know nothing about that postulated story and hence of the nature and the extent of Nonnus' intervention in it. In comparable cases where more information is available, such as the Icarius and Erigone episode, Nonnus' re-elaboration of a tale can be thoroughgoing. The third possibility is conceivable since Nonnus' attention to apocryphal gospels and "novelistic" apocryphal Christian literature has generally been observed,[97] but in this par-

96 Methe even offers Pithos: Nonn. *Dion.* 19.40–41 μή μιν ἐάσσῃς / σῆς τελετῆς ἀδίδακτον.

97 On Nonnus and the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* see Golega 1930, 102 n. 1; Swete 1893, XXXV n. 1, 7–8; Livrea and Accorinti 1988, 275. On dead virgin Bacchant Chalcomede and a necrophile Indian in Nonn. *Dion.* 33/35 and *Act. Jo.* 63–86 see Gerlaud 2005, 252–258; Accorinti 2015. On Nonn. *Dion.* 9.101–110, 13.8–15 and the *Protevangelium of James* 38.4–39.8 see van Opstall 2013, 25–27. The question by all means deserves further exploration.

ticular instance it completely lacks documentation. In that hypothetical case the bearing on the authenticity of the SGM could be indirect.

5 Conclusion

The preceding analysis suggests that Nonnus modelled part of the local story he knew on the Biblical story of Lazarus. For that part, the episode in the *Dionysiaca* seems to display the same motifs, themes, wording and concerns not to be found in John but rather in Nonnus' versification of John. The lines read better if one admits chronological priority for the *Paraphrasis* chapter. At the same time, it looks as though Nonnus uses the precedent in the SGM (for him perhaps a version of the Lazarus story) as a subtext to construe part of the Staphylus/Botrys episode, and especially the end of it. The baptismal context, the narrative sequence and the nocturnal sleeping of Dionysus together with young Botrys in the same chamber, which had been prepared in a way recalling a wedding ceremony, indicate that Nonnus concluded his version with the help of the SGM. It would seem that in this case, as in so many others, a Biblical model is evoked to highlight Dionysus as an imperfect precursor of Christ. The proceedings constitute a fine illustration of how Nonnus constructs narratives meaningful to his audience. The above analysis also suggests that Nonnus "read" the events transpiring in the SGM as a baptismal initiation, as indeed Morton Smith argued they are.[98] Baptismal themes are ubiquitous in the *Paraphrasis*; apparently they were a matter of constant concern to the paraphrast. But Nonnus is also aware of the controversial nature of the text and artfully retains its ambiguity. He would reckon with the possibility that part of his audience would be likely to recognize the allusion.

There is, as far as I am aware, one more recent attempt to implicate ancient texts so as to illustrate the authenticity of the SGM. Yuri Kuchinsky adduced two Coptic sources by Abu-ʾl-Barakat (fourteenth century) and Macarius (tenth century) which claim that Jesus had baptized the apostles just before Holy Week.[99] According to the exposition of Foster (2005, 49) those who regard the SGM as a forgery fall into three classes, i.e. those admitting that it is (a) an ancient forgery passed down under the name of Clement, (b) an eighteenth century forgery, or (c) a twentieth century forgery, most likely by Morton Smith

98 Smith 1973, 167–188. Smith's (and others') view was challenged by Brown 2005, 145–146. Brown explains the "mystery of the kingdom of God" as "advanced theological instruction".

99 In a paper entitled "Thomas Talley in support of Secret Mark" accessible at http://www.globalserve.net/~yuku/bbl/talley.htm (accessed October 22, 2016).

himself. The present paper has little to add to the question of the (in)authenticity of Clement's letter, although admittedly the authenticity of the SGM would lend some support to the letter's claim for authenticity. The possibility that this part of the letter is a modern forgery might now look less likely.

PART 3

Nonnus of Panopolis in Context

CHAPTER 14

Nonnus and Pindar

Daria Gigli Piccardi

The important question of imitation of Pindar by Nonnus has not yet been the subject of closer studies,[1] although a careful collection of *loci similes* in the commentaries of the *Dionysiaca*, both in French and in Italian, has been provided. This does not mean that no other or perhaps less obvious Pindaric echoes may yet be found within the folds of the redundant language of the Dionysiac poem: it seems superfluous to recall that the different metres which shape the works of the two poets represent a significant watershed; therefore, literal quotations cannot be expected at first sight and scholars will be obliged to rely on their sensibility to recognize them. This invites us to tread a different path, namely that of the definition of more general stylistic and structural principles, of lexical and syntactical aspects as well as of mythological themes, so that we finally can appreciate in the *Dionysiaca* the presence of the "Aonian lyre" (Nonn. *Dion.* 25.18) beside the "inspired trumpet of Homer" (Nonn. *Dion.* 25.269).

For this purpose we will proceed to analyze the two proems of the *Dionysiaca*: the proem in the twenty-fifth book, which contains the only mention of Pindar in relation to a statement of poetics, but also that in the first book, which, in my opinion, is equally important for the evaluation of the influence of the lyric poet on Nonnus, mostly because of its dithyrambic inspiration in a Pindaric manner. Then we will go on to study the traces left by Pindar on the figurative world of Nonnus, not so much in relation to the semantic field of metaphors, but rather concerning the formation of some typical metaphorical expressions in Nonnus, which are to be regarded as heirs to analogous Pindaric *syntagmata*. We will close our study with some remarks concerning the presence of structural pinciples in Nonnus generally considered as Pindaric, such as *transitio ex abrupto*, and the significance of the association/opposition factor in composition. But first we must recall that Pindar's reception in the epic genre dates from Callimachus,[2] a poetological affinity that was already noted by

1 Previous remarks on this subject may be found in Vian 1976, XLV; Hopkinson 1994a, 13 and 27; Tissoni 1998, 17 and Gigli Piccardi 2003, 49–50, 107 f.

2 Newman 1985, 169–189; at p. 189 he notes: "But the most powerful impulse given by Pindar was paradoxically towards epic."

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_016

ancient writers (one example being the famous beginning of Palladas' epigram *AP* 9.175 Καλλίμαχον πωλῶ καὶ Πίνδαρον) as well as by ancient philolologists: Eustathius in his *Introduction* to his lost commentary to Pindar[3] mentions the desire for novelty in Pindar quoting *Aitia* fr. 1.26 Pfeiffer.[4] So in the recognition of possible Pindaric echoes in Nonnus, scholars will have to pay attention to Callimachean impact as a potential intermediary.[5]

First of all I think that, in consideration of the fact that scholars of Nonnus agree in acknowledging a Neoplatonic influence on the cultural formation of the Panopolites, the influence of Neoplatonic philosophy, as far as the aesthetic value of Pindaric poetry is concerned, has to be observed. It is reasonable to think that the philosophers of the Academy in Late Antiquity count themselves among the admirers of a poet cited by Plato in *Menon* 81a10 ff. as a poet truly inspired by the gods.[6] From the Platonic point of view, Pindar possesses the only quality worthy of poetry, that of singing the praise of the gods and the heroes. Moreover, Pindar is the best representative of the poetics of ἐνθουσιασμός as shown in the *Ion*; it is exactly in these terms that the author of the *Sublime* (33.5)[7] speaks of him and in his commentary to *Phaedrus* 245a (p. 98.28–30 Couvreur) Hermias still cites Homer and Pindar together as οἱ

3 See Kambylis 1991 and Negri 2000.

4 § 23 Πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὄγκον αὐτῷ ἡ φάσις, καὶ οὐδὲ λαλεῖν ἐθέλει κατὰ τοὺς πλείονας, ἀλλ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἐξαίρετον τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ξενόφωνον, τάχα που καὶ αὐτῷ θελήσαντι πατεῖν ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά, εἴποι ἂν Καλλίμαχος.

5 See Hopkinson 1994a, 27: "The cursory conclusion is thus to be seen as part of the self-proclaimed Pindaricism of Nonnus, or of his Alexandrianising tendencies."

6 Οἱ μὲν λέγοντές εἰσι τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ τῶν ἱερειῶν ὅσοις μεμέληκε περὶ ὧν μεταχειρίζονται λόγον οἵοις τ' εἶναι διδόναι· λέγει δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ὅσοι θεῖοί εἰσιν. On Pindar and Plato see des Places 1949; further hints in Duchemin, 1955, 19 f. and Giuliano 2008, 165 ff. Pindar was also frequently cited in Christian apologetic literature for his gnomic verses: see Opelt 1967, 284–298, who notes the change that occurred in the Pindaric quotations in the Christian writers during the fourth century. It is worth quoting Opelt's conclusion at the end of her study, p. 298: "Die 'Säkularisierung' und Banalisierung von Pindarzitaten bei den christlichen Schriftstellern des 4. Jahrhunderts kontrastiert mit der erneuten Zuwendung zu dem religiösen Dichter Pindar in der neu begründeten Hymnendichtung des Synesios von Kyrene und der Psalmenparaphrase des Pseudoapollinarios von Laodikeia. Neben Homer war der Thebaner Vorbild und Rivale der jungen Dichtung. Dieses Kapitel der Wirkungsgeschichte Pindars aber verlangt eine besondere Untersuchung." I would like to add the quotation of a Pindaric γνώμη in the *Theosophia Tubingensis*, a collection of theological oracles written presumably under the reign of Anastasius in Alexandrian milieu: § 79 Erbse ὅτι κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἀπίστοις πιστὸν οὐδέν (fr. 233 Sn.-M.).

7 ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἔνθεοι, ὅτε μὲν οἷον πάντα ἐπιφλέγουσι τῇ φορᾷ, σβέννυνται δ' ἀλόγως πολλάκις καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀτυχέστατα.

ἔνθεοι ποιηταί. The self-designation as σοφός (in the sense expressed in the *Sixth Paean* fr. 52 f.51–55 Sn.-M.) and as μάντις, προφήτης, "interpreter of the gods",[8] makes him a champion of the inspired poetry in the vision of Proclus, who considers poetry "as a form of cognition above and beyond that of the rational intelligence",[9] the contents of which is no more about past, present and future according to the Hesiodic definition (*Theog*. 38), but in concern with theological truth. The inspiration of the poet, in his opinion, is an experience of the same kind as the mystical union of the prophet and of the Dionysiac μανία.[10] Indeed this is the most evident connection with Pindar in the two proems of the *Dionysiaca*, namely his Theban origin and consequently his involvement in the Dionysian-dithyrambic atmosphere.[11]

At the beginning of book 25 Nonnus, with a series of associations, passes from the seventh year of the Indian war to the seven doors of Thebes and then to the Theban Pindar who, as a new Amphion (i.e. in an Orphic manner), breathes life into stones, in order to say that the imitation of Pindar will be suitable to animate Homeric epic themes: 25.18–21

> Ἀονίης ἀίω κιθάρης κτύπον· εἴπατε, Μοῦσαι,
> τίς πάλιν Ἀμφίων λίθον ἄπνοον εἰς δρόμον ἕλκει;
> οἶδα πόθεν κτύπος οὗτος· ἀειδομένης τάχα Θήβης
> Πινδαρέης φόρμιγγος ἐπέκτυπε Δώριος ἠχώ.[12]

> I hear the twang of the Aonian lyre. Tell me, Muses, what new Amphion is pulling dead stones to a run? I know where that sound comes from: surely it is the Dorian tune of Pindar's lyre sounding for Thebes.
>
> transl. ROUSE 1940

---

8 On Pindar as a prophet see Duchemin 1955 and Suarez de la Torre 1990, 347–358.

9 See Sheppard 1980, 172 ff.

10 See e.g. *Comm. in Rem publ.* 178.12–14 and 24 ff.

11 This is the setting of the problem in Hopkinson 1994a, 13: "(…) the joint Boeotian origin of Pindar and Dionysus is seen to be a further reason for Nonnus' importation of the lyric stance into epic."

12 Cf. Pi. *O.* 1.17 Δωρίαν (…) φόρμιγγα, *O.* 3.5 Δωρίῳ (…) πεδίλῳ, fr. 67 Sn.-M. Δώριον μέλος, and fr. 191 Δωρίαν κέλευθον ὕμνων. In late antique literature Doric is felt connected with a solemn type of philosophical poetry, as its use in the *Hymns* of Synesius indisputably proves: on the relation of the Doric dialect with the philosophical-oracular poetry see now Gigli Piccardi 2013, 163–171. The Doric dialect is connected with the name of Orpheus in Iamb., *VP* 243.21: after having asserted that Doric is the most ancient dialect, Iamblichus concludes: κεχρῆσθαι δὲ τῇ Δωρικῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, πρεσβύτατον ὄντα τῶν ποιητῶν.

Another interesting Pindaric aspect of this proem is that Nonnus too, like Pindar before him in the *Epinician Odes*, identifies the struggle of Dionysus against the Indians (in the case of Pindar the successful competition of his victors) with his personal struggle as a poet.[13] When he speaks of himself in 25.267 as σὺν Διὶ καὶ Βρομίῳ κεκορυθμένον, we can perhaps presume a deeper meaning, ideological and ethic at the same time. Dionysus, just like the victor in the *Epinician Odes*, is worthy of praise for his virtues, which not only concern his war to be celebrated in verse, but also his world of values.[14] We may argue from all this that the union of Homer and Pindar as models is to be considered as the foundation of a Dionysiac epic—a subjective,[15] perhaps even almost a militant,[16] epic.

The proem of the first book of the *Dionysiaca* includes some interesting elements pointing in this direction. The poet's insistent requesting the Muses-Maenads to bring him the Bacchic tools creates the religious atmosphere of a Dionysiac rite and recalls the same ecstatic and frenzied scene described in the second *Dithyramb* of Pindar. By means of the acquisition of the narthex, of the cymbals and the nebris—a real orphic dress ceremony[17]—the poet becomes an officiant, a necessary act in view of the realization of the best artistic results, obtained by the contact with the divinity. In both pieces, a repeated anaphora provides the rhythm of the ὄργια: in the Pindaric *Dithyramb* the anaphora of ἐν δέ[18] leads the different moments of the rite to a synchrony and a similar effect in the Nonnian proem is to be attributed to the obsessive repetition of ἄξατε (1.11 and 34), τινάξατε (1.11), σφίγξατε (1.36) δότε (1.39), ὀπάσσατε (1.40). Such imperatives addressed to the gods are present also in the *Dithyramb* intended for the Athenian *agones*, fr. 75 Lavecchia: v. 1 δεῦτ' ἐν χορόν, 'Ολύμπιοι (…), v. 2 ἐπί τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί, v. 5 οἰχνεῖτε πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν, v. 6 ἰοδέτων λάχετε στεφάνων, v. 8 ἴδετε and so on. The expression ἄσθμα

---

13 See also Hopkinson 1994a, 13: "This participatory stance, novel in epic, is familiar from the victory odes of Pindar, whose narrative strategy of identifying his own poetic struggles with the successful competition of his victors has been well documented."

14 One cannot ignore that this aspect is indeed remarkable with regard to the so-called "Nonnian question". See Gigli Piccardi 2003, 66–83 for an account of my personal view of the problem.

15 On the Nonnian epic as subjective see Brioso Sanchez 1994–1995, 9–30.

16 The substance of the lyric-Pindaric poetry might be regarded as an element triggering a more intimate participation of Nonnus in his cultural-religious project.

17 See fr. 238 K =541F Bernabé and in relation with Nonnus Gigli Piccardi 1985, 171–172 and 2003, 125–126.

18 Cf. *Dith.* II 70b, 10, 11 and 15 Lavecchia.

κεραυνοῦ in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.2, which owes something to κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων / πῦρ of *Dith.* II 70b, 15–16 Lavecchia can be considered a linguistic echo of the presence of this model in the mind of Nonnus. Another important poetical statement in the name of Pindar is to be found in the proem: the principle of ποικιλία is expressed with a clear Pindaric echo: ποικίλον ὕμνον in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.15 which imitates Pi. *N.* 5.42 ποικίλων ἔψαυσας ὕμνων.[19] Thereby Nonnus places himself under the aegis of the *auctoritas* of Pindar in order to express this important aesthetic principle and to inform the readers of the central importance of Pindaric poetry in his work.[20] This is very important, because ποικιλία is normally a characteristic of epic and most of all of Homer: in the beginning of his *Introduction*, Eustathius also distinguishes epic from lyric because of its superior variety.[21] But the case of Pindar is different in that he excels also in this stylistic peculiarity (but we will return to this point later).

In conclusion, we must point out two important results: firstly, Nonnus was still able not only to read the *Dithyrambs* of Pindar, but to consider them in some way the emblem of Pindaric poetry. This point is remarkable, because, according to the thesis of Jean Irigoin,[22] in Late Antiquity only the *Epinician Odes* could be read in full, whereas a partial survival of the other poems was ensured only through anthologies and through the antiquarian interest of scholars and collectors.

Secondly, both the overlapping of Pindar with Amphion in the proem of book 25 of the *Dionysiaca*[23] and the initiatory atmosphere of the first proem

---

19 Other important places that illustrate the stylistic principle of ποικιλία, often associated with the metaphor of weaving, are: Pi. *O.* 6.86–87 πλέκων / ποικίλον ὕμνον, fr. 179 Sn.-M. ὑφαίνω (…) ποικίλον ἄνδημα, on which see the remarks of Gianotti 1975, 114 ff. See also Pi. *P.* 9.76–78 and the remarks on these verses of Hamilton 2001, 126 ff.

20 Both Tissoni 1997, 17 and Faber 2004, 246 emphasize the Pindaric character of Nonnian ποικιλία.

21 Eustath., *Intr.* 2.1 K: ἡ δὲ λυρικὴ διαχείρισις, ἐν ᾗ προλάμπει ὁ κατὰ τοὺς σεμνολογοῦντας μεγαλοφωνότατος Πίνδαρος, ἐξαιρετόν τινα ἑτεροιότητα ᾠδικὴν ἔχει παρά γε τὰς παλαιὰς οὐ ποικίλως ἐγκροαίνουσα, καθὰ τρέχοι ἂν Ὅμηρος καὶ οἱ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὁδὸν ἁπλουστέραν ἑλομένη τινὰ καὶ ὀλιγοσχιδῆ (…) and 2.3 K: (the lyric poets) οὐκ ἔχουσι πολυειδῆ θαμὰ τρωπᾶν ῥητορείαν κατὰ τὸν πολύφωνον Ὅμηρον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μισθωτούς τινας ἐνί τινι προσανέχουσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ προσώπῳ.

22 Irigoin 1952, 93–105. Some relevant studies have been dedicated to the effects of Pindaric poetry on writers of the imperial and late antique age: as regards Plutarch see Cannatà Fera 1992; on Aelius Aristides see Bowie 2008, 9–30, and on Himerius see Stenger 2008, 348–367.

23 The whole myth of the foundation of Thebes is represented on Dionysus' shield and

raise the question of whether Nonnus perceived Pindar's poetry as Orphic. The similarity of the figures of Amphion and Orpheus was a matter of fact in antiquity[24] and we know very well that the Neoplatonists—above all Proclus—were involved in using and commenting Orphic literature.[25] However, the possibility of an Orphic reading of Pindar's work is an issue which is still open to debate: in this regard, some passages in the second *Olympian Ode* and in some fragments of the *Threnoi* are in discussion,[26] concerning the conception of the afterlife and of the fate of the soul *post mortem* as well as Pindar's elitist notion of poetry that only the συνετοί can understand. But we can also refer to Hardie's interpretation of the *Hymn to Zeus* and Enrico Livrea's recent proposal of reading some important details of the fourth *Pythian Ode* in this sense.[27] In addition, the evaluation of Pindar as poet-symbol of ἐνθουσιασμός and the Dionysian background of his conception of poetry may have had an influence on the reception of the Theban poet in Late Antiquity, and particularly in Nonnus, as tending towards Orphism.

I also believe it would be of primary importance to try to understand the quality of the reception of the Pindaric poetics in Late Antiquity, namely the ἀρεταί of his style that were particularly appreciated, in order to establish some guidelines that may help us with our survey. In this regard, Eustathius' *Introduction* to his lost commentary on Pindar is precious, as an original collection of the rhetorical-grammatical tradition (Didymus, above all), gathered in the late antique and Byzantine scholiography through a progressive process of epito-

---

described in Nonn. *Dion.* 25.414–429. See the commentary on this proem in Agosti 2004, 72–73.

24 Amphion is a character analogous to Orpheus, because both are involved with the magic power of music: their closeness was underlined by Hor., *ars* 391–396: *silvestris homines sacer interpresque deorum / caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus, / dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones; / dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis, / saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda / ducere quo vellet.* See also Paus. 6.20.18 (= *Orph.* 964T Bernabé): ἠξίου δὲ οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Θρᾶικα Ὀρφέα μαγεῦσαι δεινόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπᾴδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς πέτρας. See also Ps. Callisth., *Hist. Alex. Magn.* rec. E 12.6 (46.2 Trumpf) = *Orph.* 965T Bernabé and some shorter hints in Luc., *Imag.* 14 and Himer. 38.83, p. 158 Colonna.

25 See Brisson 1987, 43–103.

26 Cf. fr. 129–130 Sn.-M. = 58 a–b Cannatà Fera and her cautious remarks at pp. 163–183. Bernabé 2004 does not hesitate to include them among the Orphic fragments (fr. 439V–446V). See also Lloyd-Jones 1985, 245–283. About the issue of the impact of Orphism on Pindaric poetry see the useful compilation of Santamaría Álvarez 2008, 1161–1184.

27 See Hardie 2000, 19–40 with my remarks in Gigli Piccardi 2003, 390, comm. on Nonn. *Dion.* 5.85–87, and Livrea, 2006, 9–34.

mizing.[28] Chapters 3–24 are devoted to the examination of stylistic peculiarities of Pindaric poetry: here we may measure the distance between Eustathius' analysis and the *scholia*, particularly in the appreciation of some ἀρεταί considered as negative by ancient critics. I refer to the ἀσάφεια criticized in the *scholia* as a deviation from a normal (i.e. prose) standard, especially in relation to difficult metaphors, in line with the σαφήνεια recommended for use by Aristotle. On the contrary, Eustathius dedicates an organic and in depth exposition to ἀσάφεια in Pindar,[29] describing its distinctive characteristics as follows: (a) syntactical anomalous dispositions,[30] (b) metonymical expressions,[31] (c) excessive use of circumlocutions,[32] (d) concision and linguistic innovation.[33] Moreover, he speaks of Pindar's skill in creating allegories[34] and praises his πολύνοια and ἀμφιβολία.[35] Whether this new position of Eustathius towards Pindaric ἀσάφεια is his prerogative or was already present in ancient commentaries, is a highly discussed issue:[36] in the *scholia* the difficulties in the interpretation of Pindar's text lead to normalization, not, as in Eustathius, to the praise of the text. All that we can note is that Eustathius' position is surely in agreement with the late antique poetics of αἴνιγμα, an enigmatic concept of σοφία which has to be decoded.[37] In this regard the success of oracular religious poetry in the last cen-

28 See Negri 2000, 12 ff.

29 *Intr.* 11–14 K.

30 11.1 K: γίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ἀσάφεια, ἣν ἐπίτηδες πολλὴν ἐπισύρεται, ἔκ τε συντάξεων ἀσυνήθων κατ' ἰδιότητα σχήματος φίλην αὐτῷ, ἃς ἀναστρέφειν χρὴ πρὸς ὀρθότητα φράσεως (…).

31 11.1 K: (…) ἐκ τοῦ χρᾶσθαι ἀντὶ ὅλων τοῖς μερικοῖς, ὃ ζηλοῖ ὡς μάλιστα καὶ Λυκόφρων ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον.

32 13.1 K: ἔστι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν λίαν περιφραστικὸν ἀσαφὴς ὁ Πίνδαρος, ὃ τεχνᾶται δεξιώτατα, εἰς ἑαυτόν τε τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

33 14.1 K: ὅτι δὲ ὥσπερ ἡ πυκνὴ περίφρασις παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσάφειαν ποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ συντομία, καθ' ἣν καὶ στενολεσχεῖ που ὁ ἐν πολλοῖς πλατύνεσθαι τεχνώμενος, 15.1 K: καὶ ἡ καινότης δὲ τῶν διαλέκτων, δι' ἧς καινοφραδής ἐστι καὶ ἀλλότοκος εἰς ἀκοήν, ἡ τοῦ βιβλίου δηλώσει ἀνάγνωσις.

34 17.1 K: ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἀλληγορικὸς ὁ ἀνὰ χεῖρα μελοποιὸς καθ' ἑκατέραν ἀλληγορίαν, τήν τε κατὰ ῥήτορας, ἣν καὶ Ἑρμογένης οἶδε καὶ οἱ ὁμηρίζοντες, καὶ ἣν πραγματεύονται οἱ τὰ μυθικὰ θεραπεύοντες.

35 20.1 K: οὕτω δὲ στρυφνῶς φράζει ταῖς ἐννοίαις κατὰ πολύνοιαν ὡς ἔργον εἶναι πολλαχοῦ μιᾷ τινι σταθερῶς ἐννοίᾳ ἐνευστοχῆσαι τὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντα διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ οὕτω νοεῖσθαι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰ ἐν χρησμοῖς ἀμφίβολα.

36 See Most 1985, 11–25 who considers Eustathius as the spokesman of the 'philological' approach to Pindaric poetry of ancient scholiographers. On the contrary, Fuhrmann 1972, 47–72 and Fitzgerald 1987, 203.1 agree in considering Eustathius the first theorist of the Pindaric obscurity.

37 On the poetics of αἴνιγμα see Struck 2005, 147–165.

turies of antiquity comes to mind, and it seems that it was not at all a marginal phenomenon in late antique culture, but a live branch that left its traces in contemporary epic.[38] It is impossible to say more, because there is no clear identification of late antique trends and concepts of exegesis in the Pindaric corpus of *scholia*.[39]

As for ἀμφιβολία, it is opportune to recall the predilection of Pindar and Nonnus for the fluctuation between geographic reality and anthropomorphism: Eustathius points out this feature as a new type of obscurity (24.3 ἀσάφειαν καινήν) and cites the case of Cyrene in the ninth *Pythian Ode*: the identity of the name of the city and that of the virgin huntress allows the transition from the birthplace of the victor, Telesicrates, to the mythological story of Apollo's love for Cyrene. In Pi. *P.* 9.4 the epithet διώξιππος ('expert in the chariot') referring to the city of Cyrene provides the starting point for the story of Apollo and the eponymous nymph; the recurrence of sexual-agricultural metaphors in this ode is also of interest: Eustathius 24.3 speaks of δυαστικὸν ἐνφάντασμα, "two-way image", which can also be found in other passages in Pindar,[40] a type of ἀμφιβολία particularly congenial to Nonnus' style. It will be sufficient to recall the narration of the first appearance on Earth of the city of Berytus, which is intertwined with the birth of the eponymous nymph Beroe in books 41–43 of the *Dionysiaca*. An overlap that determines some narrative choices of the poet: when, for example, Nonnus, in the long monologue of Dionysus (42.282–312), makes use of sexual metaphors based on agriculture to underline that Beroe the virgin and the city of Beroe in the fertile land of Lebanon are one and the same.[41]

Pindar's preference for metaphorical periphrasis noted by Eustathius can explain the Nonnian predilection for the creation of numerous formulaic expressions of this type. Let us consider the *syntagmata* formed by noun + genitive with metaphorical meaning: some examples will suitably illustrate this point. The phrase μνηστήρ + genitive is used by Nonnus to refer to the plough in Nonn. *Dion.* 7.83 σταχύων μνηστῆρι σιδήρῳ, and Deriades' sword is named γάμων μνηστῆρι σιδήρῳ in Nonn. *Dion.* 34.188.[42] In his *Introduction* (16.1), Eustathius

38 Gigli Piccardi 1985, 211–253; 2009, 71–78; 2011, 63–81; 2012a, 273–281 and 2012.

39 See Deas 1931, 1–78.

40 Cf. fr. 195 Sn.-M. and especially fr. 52 f.135–139 ff. Sn.-M.

41 An analysis of the agricultural-sexual metaphors in this episode can be found in Gigli Piccardi 1985, 21–29.

42 See Gigli Piccardi 1985, 97. Cf. already Triph. 459 μνηστῆρες ἀέθλων referred to the Achaean leaders, not to inanimate objects as in Pindar and Nonnus (on Pindar and Triphiodorus see

quotes a similar expression as typical for Pindar: he recalls μναστὴρ στεφάνων (fr. 20 Sn.-M.), perceived as a variation of the compound epithet μνασιστέφανος, attribute of ἀγών in fr. 19 Sn.-M.[43] In order to evaluate the use of such expressions in post-Nonnian epic and the consciousness of their Pindaric origin, I want to recall the denomination which John of Gaza gives of his teachers as Καλλιόπης μνηστῆρες, ἀκοντιστῆρες ἀγώνων in *Tabula mundi* 1.77 Fr. (= 102 Lauritzen) which is actually an *imitatio cum commutatione* (a chiastic imitation). Μνηστῆρες ἀγώνων is, in fact, Pindaric and Καλλιόπης ἀκοντιστῆρες is Nonnian, not to the letter, but in its formation.[44] Moreover, the appositive phrase κῆρυξ + genitive also is Pindaric, and recurs many times in Nonnus' verses with varied applications,[45] but it is remarkable that both of them use this image to qualify a poet.[46] Another interesting case is the phrase τιθήνα + genitive, which used metaphorically occurs for the first time in Pi. *P.* 1.20, where Etna is called πάνετες / χιόνος ὀξείας τιθήνα. In the *Dionysiaca* there are some instances of the *syntagma* referring to places.[47] A special instance is the expression κληΐς + genitive, used to describe the control of a divinity over her area of influence, a metaphorical periphrasis that starts with Pindar and is very popular later in Orphic poetry (the *Orphic Hymns*, the *Hymns* of Proclus, *Orphic Argonautica* and Nonnus).[48] But beyond the influence of Pindar in individual cases, it is important for our purpose to understand how the typology of such expressions was perceived as Pindaric on the basis of Eustathius' evidence. So we may now have a closer look at the innovation that these Pindaric echoes have caused in the basically Homeric formulaic style of the Nonnian epic.

Cannatà Fera 2003, 193–198). Cf. also Jo. Gaz., *tab. mund.* 1.77 Fr. = 102 Lauritzen Καλλιόπης μνηστῆρες.

43 We may add Pi. *P.* 12.24 where the polycephalic nomos is defined εὐκλεᾶ λαοσσόων μναστῆρ' ἀγώνων and also Pi. *I.* 2.4–5 where the summer is called Ἀφροδίτας εὐθρόνου μνάστειραν ἁδίσταν ὀπώραν.

44 I recall expressions like ἀκοντιστῆρες Ἐρώτων (Nonn. *Dion.* 7.264, 41.255) and similar ones in the *Dionysiaca*, on which I refer to Gigli Piccardi 1985, 59–63.

45 See Gigli Piccardi 1985, 75–76, 155 and 252.

46 In *Dion.* 25.253, Nonnus invokes Homer in these terms Ἀχαιίδος ἄφθιτε κῆρυξ, and Pindar defines his own role as a poet in Pi. *N.* 4.73–74: ἀεξιγυίων ἀέθλων / κᾶρυξ and in the second *Dithyramb* fr. 70b, 4 Lavecchia κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων.

47 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 41.396 Βηρυτὸς βιότοιο γαληναίοιο τιθήνη and 13.466–467 πλούτοιο τιθήνας / Σάρδιας εὐώδινας. Other cases are less striking inasmuch as they admit more articulate imitations: I am thinking of the periphrasis with μάρτυς, κυβερνητήρ, οἰστευτήρ + gen. and so on, about which see Gigli Piccardi 1985, 252 and *passim*.

48 See the commentary of Ricciardelli 2000 to *Orph. H.* 18.4, pp. 309–310, and Gigli Piccardi 1985, 164.

The analysis of the analogies between the two poets concerning the origin of images is troublesome, because in Nonnus' times most of them already are codified by a long poetic tradition. However, at least one point is worth to be noted, namely the metaphor of the bow and the arrows, used by Pindar in order to hint at his ability to reach the target with his art; in Nonnus' reuse the metaphor more generally points at the spiritual 'arms' of his creativity. This Pindaric image, present in more extended form in Pi. *O.* 2.83 ff. (the ὠκέα βέλη … φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν),[49] is too famous to require a commentary: Eustathius quotes these lines frequently to illustrate Pindar's poetics, and his artistic abilities are summarized in the technical-rhetorical term of εὐστοχία.[50] In the epigram *AP* 9.198,[51] Nonnus mentions his 'speaking weapon', ἔγχει φωνήεντι, suitable for exterminating the Gigantes, and in the second proem in 25.270 he speaks of his 'noetic spear', νοερῷ δορί, with which he would eliminate what remains of the Indians.[52] The image is the same, but using the adjective νοερός, Nonnus seems to accentuate the incorporeal and intellectual nature of the weapons used in his personal battle against entities that threaten to plunge mankind into the abyss of materiality.[53]

Let us now turn to the similarities in composition, that is in structural principles. In Eustathius' view, Pindar's stilistic ποικιλία is determined by the poet's ability to extend or to restrain speech: the πλατυσμός, the art of digression, μέθοδος παρεκβατική,[54] more or less connected with the main theme of the ode, is perceived not as a fault of composition, as can be seen in the *scholia*, but as a means of proving erudition and expressive strength. Conversely, the συντομία, the *brevitas*, finds its realization in the use of compound epithets that allow the most effective expression of thought.[55] It is not difficult to

49 Cf. also e.g. Pi. *O.* 1.112, 2.9, 9.5–14, 13.95; Pi. *N.* 6.28, Pi. *I.* 2.3, 5.47, Pi. *P.* 1.12. On this metaphor in Pindar see Simpson 1969, 437–473 and Gianotti 1975, 66 ff.

50 3.1 K: αὐχοῦσι δὲ ὅμως καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πολὺ τὸ σεμνὸν ὅσοι τοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ποίησιν σκοποῦ πρὸς εὐστοχίαν κατατοξάζονται, ὧν ὑπέρκειται Πίνδαρος πολλὰ μέν, ὥς γε αὐτὸς ἂν εἴποι βέλεα φωνεῦντα ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος φέρων (…).

51 Νόννος ἐγώ, Πανὸς μὲν ἐμὴ πόλις, ἐν Φαρίῃ δὲ / ἔγχει φωνήεντι γονὰς ἤμησα Γιγάντων.

52 Nonn. *Dion.* 25.264–270: ἀλλά, θεά, με κόμιζε τὸ δεύτερον ἐς μέσον Ἰνδῶν, / ἔμπνοον ἔγχος ἔχοντα καὶ ἀσπίδα πατρὸς Ὁμήρου, / μαρνάμενον Μορρῆι καὶ ἄφρονι Δηριαδῆι / σὺν Διὶ καὶ Βρομίῳ κεκορυθμένον· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμοῖς / Βακχιάδος σύριγγος ἀγέστρατον ἦχον ἀκούσω / καὶ κτύπον οὐ λήγοντα σοφῆς σάλπιγγος Ὁμήρου, / ὄφρα κατακτείνω νοερῷ δορὶ λείψανον Ἰνδῶν.

53 This parallel has already been put forward in Gigli Piccardi 2003, 49–50.

54 4.2 K: καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἁμάρτημα γραφῆς τῷ Πινδάρῳ, ἀλλὰ τέχνης μέθοδος παρεκβατικὴ χαρτὰ ποιούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ λόγου ἅρμα ἐλαυνούσης μακρότερον πρὸς ἔνδειξιν πολυμαθείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος γραφικῆς.

55 20.3 K: ἔστι δὲ δεινὸς καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἓν ἐπεκτείνειν παραφράσεσι καὶ περιφράσεσι καί τισιν

recognize in these two Pindaric ἀρεταί main features of Nonnian style: on the one hand, the mythological and ecphrastic digressions, the structural-narrative driving force of the *Dionysiaca*, and on the other hand the great importance of compound epithets as expressive concentration often to the detriment of syntactical straightness. To what extent the πολυείδεια, a narrative element for obtaining the *amplificatio* and *brevitas*, is congenial not only to Dionysus (as polymorphic divinity) but also to the poet celebrating the god, is shown by the enigmatic proem of Aelius Aristides' *Hymn to Dionysus* XLI 1–2 K:

> Ἡγείσθω μὲν [αὐτὸς] Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ φήνας τὸ ὄναρ, ἡγείσθω δὲ Διόνυσος αὐτός, ᾧ χορεῦσαι δεῖ, Ἀπόλλων τε μουσηγέτης, τοῦ μὲν πατὴρ, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφός, ὡς λόγος. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν τελέους ὕμνους τε καὶ λόγους περὶ Διονύσου Ὀρφεῖ καὶ Μουσαίῳ παρῶμεν καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν νομοθετῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὡσπερεὶ συμβόλου χάριν, ὡς οὐ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἄρ' ἦμεν, συμμέτρῳ τῇ φωνῇ προσείπωμεν τὸν θεόν· πάντως δὲ καὶ μήκη καὶ βραχύτητες καὶ ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει φίλον αὐτῷ.
>
> Let Asclepius himself, who caused the dream to appear, guide us. Let Dionysus himself, in whose honor we must dance, guide us, and again Apollo, Leader of the Muses, the father of the former and brother of the latter, as is the tale. Let us leave to Orpheus, and to Musaeus, and to the ancient lawgivers the complete hymns and speeches about Dionysus. But let us address the god with a suitable address as if to prove that we are not of the uninitiated. Indeed, length and brevity, and everything in nature is dear to him.[56]

Here the suitable voice for the celebration of the god is characterized by μήκη καὶ βραχύτητες καὶ ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει φίλον αὐτῷ. The language is deliberately mystic and polysemous, but the idea is that the ποικιλία of the god's nature is fittingly expressed by the πολυείδεια of the style, conceived in its alternation between length and conciseness.[57] So we can infer that Pindar and his style are all the more congenial to celebrate Dionysus.

One of the most distinctive features of Pindaric style is the well known *transitio ex abrupto*, the capacity to pass from one theme to another in the total

ἑτεροίαις μεθόδοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ συναιρεῖν εἰς κομιδῇ βραχύ. Ὁμήρου γοῦν χάλκεον οὐρανὸν φαμένου καὶ θεῶν ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς καὶ χρύσεον δάπεδον, αὐτὸν ἐπιτεμῶν ταῦτα συνεῖλεν εἰς τὸ χαλκεόποδα θεῶν ἕδραν τὸν οὐρανὸν φάναι.

56 Transl. Behr 1986.

57 See also Gigli Piccardi 2003, 107–108.

absence of preparatory elements or passing formulae that serve as connectors between the thematic sections.[58] This famous peculiarity of Pindar may be compared with the frequency with which Nonnus makes unexpected changes of subject or of important episodes within a verse usually at the point of bucolic caesura. The following is a brief collection of passages in order to demonstrate this Nonnian peculiarity.

In Nonn. *Dion.* 3.97 the episode of the prophetic crow of Callimachean memory begins suddenly—ἔνθα τις ὄρνις, interrupting the progressive approach of Cadmus to the palace of Harmonia. In the same position in the verse, in 6.249–251 (—Ἑπταπόρου δὲ / αἰθέρος ὑδατόεντος ἀνωίχθησαν ὀχῆες / Ζηνὸς ἐπομβρήσαντος) Nonnus starts the long episode of the universal deluge, which is very important with regard to the economy of the entire poem. The same happens in the story of Ampelus, which is full of eschatological meanings, in 10.141 (—ὑψιπόρου δὲ / φεύγων Ἠελίοιο μεσημβρίζουσαν ἱμάσθλην [...]) and in the episode of the four Seasons in 11.485 (—Ἀσταθέος δὲ / θυγατέρες Λυκάβαντος, ἀελλοπόδοιο τοκῆος, / εἰς δόμον Ἠελίοιο ῥοδώπιδες ἤιον Ὧραι [...]), which continues for the most part of the twelfth book of the *Dionysiaca*. In Nonn. *Dion.* 18.289 ff. the narration of the mythological archaeology from the past combats of Zeus and Ares against terrible monsters, told by Staphylus to Dionysus, to the present day, i.e. the hospitality offered to Perseus by the Assyrian king, is given within the same verse:—Θηροφόνον δὲ / υἱὸν ἐγὼ Διὸς ἄλλον ἐμῷ ξείνισσα μελάθρῳ / χθιζὰ γὰρ εἰς ἐμὸν οἶκον ἐύπτερος ἤλυθε Περσεύς (...). On the contrary, we may notice the Nonnian tendency to give unity to two formally separate sections of the poem by means of verbal and structural correspondence: a clear example of this is the end of the first book of the *Dionysiaca* and the beginning of the second.[59]

These few examples are sufficient to underline Nonnus' desire to rank himself with Pindar in this typical structural characteristic: the breaking of the metrical unit underlines the abrupt nature of a passage and echoes that 'bitty' staccato[60] which is a hallmark of Pindar's impressionistic manner. However, we must observe that the artistic effect of this phenomenon, eradicated from the ὀλιγοστιχία of lyric poetry and transferred to the raging torrent of the Nonnian epic, is not the same; it is decidedly less effective and often tends to increase the apparent disorder of the narration and the sensation of finding oneself in front of a shattered composition.

58 Cf. the famous statement on poetics in Pi. *P.* 10.53–54: ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων / ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον.

59 Vian 1976, 69 had already noticed the Pindaric origin of this stylistic device: "Ce rejet voulu, à la mode pindarique, établit un lien tres étroit entre les chants 1 et 2."

60 This definition is in Newman 1985, 172.

Finally, a similarity in the structural criteria[61] is to be noticed in the importance given by both poets to the association/opposition technique in constructing the narration. From the catalogue through which Nonnus presents the subject of his poem in the first book, carried out along the lines of Proteus' metamorphoses, a further Pindaric element emerges concerning the important role that the two principles of 'association' and 'polar thinking'[62] play in the construction of the *Dionysiaca* and also of the *Epinician Ode*. The different guises assumed by Proteus in his metamorphoses evoke as many analogous episodes of the poem, which are introduced in an anthitetical articulation of peace/war events, not in a chronological sequence. We may recall the *Fourth Pythian Ode*, the longest of the surviving Pindaric compositions, as the most suitable to demonstrate this structural articulation. The myth of the Argonauts is narrated through detached episodes which do not follow a chronological order but rather the poet's will to underline a particular narrative detail that allows the transition to the encomiastic and historical theme of the ode. So the sudden contraction in the narration of important moments in the myth[63] (the conquering of the Golden Fleece and the return journey of the Argonauts in vv. 249–254) demonstrates how the associative principle prevails over the plausibility of the story.

As far as the linguistic level is concerned, Eustathius stresses Pindar's creativity, particularly in the case of compound epithets: in 16.1 of his *Introduction*, he defines him as ἐπιθέτων πόριμος ἐπινοητής by giving many examples,[64] and in 9.5 he characterizes him thus: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὡς τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις παμποίκιλός

61 Regarding Nonnus see Duc 1990, 181–191 who is inclined to enhance the importance of Hellenistic poetry and of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as structural models of Nonnus' poem. As for Pindar see Hummel 2001, 41–50.

62 For this definition see Newman 1985, 171 ff.

63 Cf. Pi. *P.* 4.247 ff. μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτὸν· ὥρα / γὰρ συνάπτει καί τινα / οἶμον ἴσαμι βραχύν.

64 In the catalogue given by Eustathius we must underline some epithets coined by Pindar that possibly have influenced the making of other similar compound-adjectives in Nonnus. For example, there is no doubt that ὀρεσίκτυπος in Pi. *O.* 10.81 originated the Nonnian *hapax* ὀρίκτυπος that occurs in Nonn. *Dion.* 14.29 and 24.143; in the same way αἰολοβρόντης of Pi. *O.* 9.42 may have originated the Nonnian *hapax* αἰολόμολπος (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.223), αἰολόμυθος (*Dion.* P 8) and the use of the rare αἰολόφωνος (Nonn. *Dion.* 8.233). Instead of the Pindaric ἀλιερκής (Pi. *O.* 8.25) Nonnus uses the rare variant ἀλιστεφής (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.455, also in *Orph. A.* 145). Very interesting is the case of the adjective κισσόδετος, neologism and *hapax* in Nonn. *Dion.* 14.262, which seems the result of overlapping the Pindaric ἰόδετος in *Dith.* fr. 75.6 Lavecchia and of κισσοδότα (al. κισσοδᾶη) ibid. v. 9.

ἐστι, a creativity sometimes achieved through variation[65] of already extant epithets. There is no need to dwell upon the wealth of adjectives in the *Dionysiaca*: Nonnus has been defined the 'Midas of epithets' and his creativity in this field is well known. It is sufficient to glance through Peek's *Lexikon* to realize the great presence of compound epithets πρῶτον εἰρημένα. So, here too, we can notice a characteristic of the Homeric epic, i.e. the topical recurrence of compound epithets, enlivened by a desire for originality in the name of Pindar.

Finally we should examine the coincidences in the choice made by the two poets concerning the particular variant of a myth. Two examples are sufficient (the first already noticed, the other a new one) to indicate some passages where Nonnus adopts mythological variants which appear also in Pindar or, in any case, where it seems possible to presume an influence of Pindar when creating new details of a story. The first example is the myth of the invention of the *aulos*: in 40.227–233[66] Nonnus inserts the 'aition' whereby Athena invented this instrument when she heard the moans of the Gorgons after Perseus had killed their sister Medusa.

> Καὶ Κλεόχου Βερέκυντες ὑπὸ στόμα δίζυγες αὐλοὶ
> φρικτὸν ἐμυκήσαντο Λίβυν γόον, ὃν πάρος ἄμφω
> Σθεννώ τ' Εὐρυάλη τε μιῇ πολυδειράδι φωνῇ
> ἀρτιτόμῳ ῥοιζηδὸν ἐπεκλαύσαντο Μεδούσῃ
> φθεγγομένων κεφαλῇσι διηκοσίῃσι δρακόντων,
> τῶν ἄπο μυρομένων σκολιὸν σύριγμα κομάων
> θρῆνον πουλυκάρηνον ἐφημίξαντο Μεδούσης.

> The double Berecyntian pipes in the mouth of Cleochos drooned a gruesome Libyan lament, one which long ago both Sthenno and Euryale with one manythroated voice sounded hissing and weeping over Medusa newly gashed, while their snakes gave out voice from two hundred heads, and from the lamentations of their curling and hissing hairs they uttered the 'manyheaded dirge of Medusa'.

65 16.3 K: ὅλως δὲ καὶ ἡ φιλοτιμία τῶν καινοφώνων ἐπιθέτων ἐπιτετήδευται τῷ Πινδάρῳ τὰ πλείω ἐκ παραποιήσεων καὶ ὁμοιώσεων παλαιῶν. 4 καὶ δοκεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ κἀνταῦθα μὴ ἐθέλειν ποιηταῖς ἑτέροις φανερῶς ἐπακολουθεῖν, εἰ δέ που καὶ ἀλῷ ἐφεπόμενος, ἔχειν ἐκτροπάς τινας, δι' ὧν ἄλλην τινὰ τρέπεται παρὰ τὰς λεωφόρους.

66 See also the shorter account in Nonn. *Dion*. 24.35–40.

This same tale recurs in the well-known ode Pi. *P.* 12.6–12[67] against a different vulgate, too famous to be recalled now.[68] Nonnus speaks of θρῆνον πουλυκάρηνον in 40.233 in order to designate the melody originated by the moaning of the serpents of Medusa's head cut off by Perseus: the rare θρῆνον πουλυκάρηνος[69] might recall the κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον of Pi. *P.* 12.23. We find the same explanation in the *scholion* to *P.* 12.39 as the first possible one of this aition: ἀλλ' εὑροῦσα τὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ μέλος μετέδωκε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔχειν, καὶ ὠνόμασε τὸ μέλος πολυκέφαλον νόμον· ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν δρακόντων πλείους ἦσαν κεφαλαὶ αἱ συρίξασαι (…). The v. 231 φθεγγομένων κεφαλῇσι διηκοσίῃσι δρακόντων might echo Pindar, *Dith.* II fr. 70b.18 Lavecchia: μυρίων φθογγάζεται κλαγγαῖς δρακόντων.[70]

Finally, I intend to put forward the possibility of influence of the first *Pythian Ode* upon an unattested detail of Nonnus' Typhonomachy. After describing the bewitching power of the music of the χρυσέα φόρμιγξ and its hypnotic effect upon the thunderbolt, the eagle and Ares in the unforgettable opening lines of the first *Pythian Ode*, Pindar goes on to describe the action of this power over the entities fighting the gods, and here we find the mention of Typhoeus with the powerful vision of his burial under Aetna (Pi. *P.* 1.25 ff.). Nonnus might have been reminded of this association between the monster and the power of music when he introduces Cadmus into his Typhony, who, disguised as a shepherd and playing his syrinx, seduces Typhoeus, thus allowing Zeus to retrieve the lightning. If the intervention of Cadmus into this myth derives from Pisander,[71] the deceit based on the power of music is unique. It is reasonable to think that this could have been a suggestion of the passage in Pindar, especially as some other details point in this direction. Typhoeus is defined ἑκατοντακάρανος by Pindar in Pi. *P.* 1.16 and similarly Nonnus speaks of a monster ἑκατὸν κομόωντα καρήνοις in *Dion.* 2.624. Moreover, we must also note the Τυφὼς Κίλιξ ἑκατόγκρανος of Pi. *P.* 8.16 and the Κίλιξ Τυφωεύς in Nonn. *Dion.* 1.155. Also remarkable is the definition of the power of the music of Cadmus the

67 Cf. also *schol.* to Ov., *Met.* 4.618 ff.

68 It is sufficient to recall here Aristot., *Pol.* 8.1341b 6.8: εὐλόγως δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων μεμυθολογημένων· φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εὑροῦσαν ἀποβαλεῖν τοὺς αὐλούς. Οὐ κακῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει φάναι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην τοῦ προσώπου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δυσχεράνασαν τὴν θεόν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν οὐθέν ἐστιν ἡ παιδεία τῆς αὐλήσεως, τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ τὴν ἐπιστήμην περιτίθεμεν καὶ τὴν τέχνην.

69 The same adjective in the form πολυκάρηνος occurs also in *AP* 16.91.4 of the hydra.

70 This reference was first advanced by Lavecchia 2000, 163 and accepted also by Accorinti 2004, 100.

71 The information is in Olympiod., *in Plat. Phaed.*, p. 172, 1–12 Norvin (= fr. 15 Heitsch): see Vian 1976, 27 and Gigli Piccardi 2003, 113 for further remarks.

false shepherd in the beginning of the second book of the *Dionysiaca*, v. 10, as φρενοθελγέα ῥυθμὸν ἀοιδῆς, and at v. 19 as πηκτίδος ἡδὺ βέλεμνον, both recalling Pi. *P.* 1.21 f. κῆλα δὲ καὶ / δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας (…), in relation to the fascinating effect of the lyre on Ares. We may conclude that, as in Pindar the lyre of Apollon produces a cosmic harmony which fascinates both the gods and their enemies, so in Nonnus it is to the lyre's music that is entrusted the important role of restoring the universal order.

In conclusion, Pindar acquires a fundamental role in the troubled relationship which Nonnus establishes with Homeric tradition, a role of renewal of the traditional epic in order to create a veritable Dionysian epic and, to echo Eustathius, so that we may hear alongside the πολυφωνία of Homer the μεγαλοφωνία of Pindar.

CHAPTER 15

Christodorus of Coptus on the Statues in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople. Text and Context

*Mary Whitby**

A distinctive feature of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is its emphasis on the gaze of the voyeur, whether an independent external onlooker like the unnamed Achaean seaman who is amazed at the bull Zeus carrying off Europa (1.92–126), or a character inside the narrative such as Actaeon viewing Artemis bathing naked (5.303–307).[1] The rhetorical technique of *ekphrasis* directs and informs the viewer's gaze, helping to make sense of potentially confusing or overwhelming material;[2] and Ruth Webb has convincingly argued that it is central to *ekphrasis* to persuade the audience of the correct interpretation of its subject.[3]

1 The *Ekphrasis* of Christodorus and the Statues in the Zeuxippon

Against this background of the gaze and its interpretation, this paper explores the *ekphrasis* preserved as the second book of the *Palatine Anthology*. In it Christodorus of Coptus, who flourished under the Emperor Anastasius (491–518), describes a collection of eighty statues in the Zeuxippus bath- and gymnasium-complex,[4] located close to the imperial palace in the heart of Constantinople. The statues fall into three groups:[5] eleven represent classical gods and demi-gods, thirty-three historical literary and political figures,[6] and the

* I am grateful to Katerina Carvounis, Ine Jacobs and Elizabeth Potter for help with bibliography, and to Janet DeLaine and especially Jonathan Bardill for advice on matters of archaeology. Jonathan Bardill's meticulous detailed comments have been particularly valuable.

1 Actaeon is in turn spied by one of Artemis' nymphs whose shriek of horror alerts Artemis (5.307–311).

2 See further below, sec. 3.

3 E.g. Webb 2009, 48–49.

4 See further below, n. 23.

5 See further below, sec. 2.

6 Including five or six lyric poets (one statue depicts either the prophet Alcmaeon or the poet Alcman: see below sec. 3), five early Greek philosophers, five epic, comic and tragic poets, as well as statesmen. There are four Romans: Julius Caesar and Pompey, Apuleius and Virgil.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_017

remainder mythical characters, including twenty-five connected with the story of Troy.[7] Towards the end of the poem, in describing the statue of the Roman general Pompey (lines 398–406), Christodorus links Pompey's family to that of Anastasius, who is complimented on his conquest of Isauria,[8] following on from his illustrious Roman predecessor. This suggests that Christodorus' poem was either a bid to gain imperial attention through flattering reference to the ancestry of an emperor of undistinguished background,[9] or that it was an imperial commission, perhaps in response to some refurbishment or rearrangement of the statue collection.[10]

The Zeuxippus baths, reputedly begun by Septimius Severus (emperor 193–211) and completed by Constantine who "adorned it with columns and varied marbles and works of bronze,"[11] were destroyed in the fire of the Nika Riot of 532.[12] Although refurbished by Justinian,[13] there is no further mention of the

---

7 See Appendix, p. 287 f.

8 This provides a *terminus post quem* of 497/8 for the date of the poem, see further below, n. 86. On the identification of Pompey, see Kaldellis (2007, 377–397), arguing against Bassett's suggestion (1996, 504; 2004, 55, 182) that he is Anastasius' nephew Pompey who was consul in 501.

9 On Anastasius' background and possible links with Pompey, see Cameron 1978; Kaldellis 2007a, 377–381; Croke 2008. For the poem as a bid to win favour, see Jeffreys 2006, 131; Bär 2012.

10 See further below, sec. 4.

11 Malalas p. 321 Bonn κοσμήσας κίοσι καὶ μαρμάροις ποικίλοις καί χαλκουργήμασιν, *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 328 (p. 529 Bonn); Mango 1959, 37–42. Manderscheid (1981, 9) found the second century to be the period of great bath-building and statue decoration. But the Severan inauguration of the Zeuxippon may be a later fiction: Mango 2003, esp. 599–602 and 2004, 75. Bardill (2004, 67–69), who provides a concise and clear survey of the archaeological evidence with plans, doubts the Severan origin, see especially his n. 163.

12 Proc. *Wars* 1.24.9. Cedrenus describes the statue collection in conjunction with the Nika fire (647.22–648.21), mentioning that it included "bronze statues of all the lofty wise men, poets and orators and all those celebrated for their courage" (648.13–15 στῆλαι δε ἦσαν ἐκ χαλκοῦ πεποιημέναι τῶν σοφῶν ἁπάντων τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ ῥητόρων, καὶ ὅσοι ἐπ' ἀνδρίᾳ διαβόητοι); he includes a long description of the representation of Homer, which is not obviously related to that of Christodorus, e.g. in Cedrenus Homer has his hands linked under his breast (648.6–7), whereas in Christodorus he has placed his hands one on top of the other and rests on a staff (343–344). Mango in Mango, Vickers and Francis 1992, 90–92, shows that Cedrenus preserves information about monuments of Constantinople, some of which derives from Constantine the Rhodian (mid-10th c.), who wrote a poem on the Seven Wonders of Constantinople. For more recent bibliography on this topic, see James 2012, 4–9, esp. 6 (by I. Vassis) and 136.

13 Proc. *Aed.* 1.10.3.

statue collection, so Christodorus' poem is our chief evidence for it. When the area was excavated in 1927 and 1928 by a British Academy team led by Stanley Casson and David Talbot Rice, three statue bases were found, a matching pair and a third of another design.[14] The unpaired base is inscribed with the name of Aeschines,[15] and one of the pair with that of Hekabe—both figures in Christodorus' catalogue. The other base, however, carries no inscription,[16] a point to which Anthony Kaldellis draws attention in a recent study of the poem.[17] Kaldellis argues that Christodorus' poem cannot be taken as straightforward testimony to eighty identified statues arranged in a programmatic sequence, but rather the poet may be inventing some of the identifications, particularly those for the large group of Trojans: this sequence, he suggests, should be linked with Christodorus' own status as a poet in the Homeric tradition.[18]

Interpretations of this poem over the last thirty years have broadly fallen into two groups, those that see it as a guide to understanding a lost antique statue collection in the capital with a programmatic message,[19] and those like Kaldellis who have emphasized the literary background underlying the descriptions, casting doubt on the authenticity of Christodorus' identifications of the statues.[20] While agreeing that Christodorus' poem cannot be taken at

14 Casson and Talbot Rice 1929, esp. 5–17 on the excavations (which revealed two buildings—a circular, probably domed, chamber, and an apsed building looking out onto a marble court), and 18–21 on the statue bases. The matching pair of bases were not found *in situ* and had been reused. See also Mango 1959, 37–42, Bardill 2004, 67–69.

15 Misspelled ΑΙΣΧΗΝΗΣ. Casson (1929, 18) described the lettering on the two bases as identical and suggested that the tenons on the top of the Aeschines base indicated a statue of bronze (19). He dated the bases on stylistic grounds to the period 400–500 (20).

16 This base has instead a small inscribed vase-like design. The bases are conveniently shown together in Casson 1929, figs. 8–11; also Bassett 2004, pls. 8, 10, 17, 18.

17 Kaldellis 2007a, 372.

18 The longest description is devoted to a representation of Homer who is described as "my father" (311–350). Bär (2012, 456) draws attention to the parallel with Nonn. *Dion*. 25.264–265 where the poet, in invoking the Muse, also refers to Homer as "my father".

19 Stupperich 1982, Bassett 1996, 2004, 50–58, 160–185, Martins de Jesus 2014. Prose literary sources (Cedrenus and Zonaras) have persuasively been used as a basis for identifying a programmatic arrangement in the private collection of antique statues in the palace of Lausus, destroyed by a fire in 475: Mango, Vickers and Francis 1992; see also Bardill 1997; Guberti Bassett 2000. The Lausus statues, however, unlike those described by Christodorus, are explicitly identified with famous ancient artworks: convenient account with illustrations, Bassett 2004, 98–120, 232–238.

20 Tissoni 2000 (who, however, also includes valuable iconographic evidence); Kaldellis 2007a; Bär 2012.

face value as a straightforward factual account of the collection, I want to argue that there is value in relating it to an archaeological as well as to a literary context: late antique iconography in bathhouses and elsewhere, on which there is much excellent recent work,[21] provides a useful independent control for Christodorus' account of the Zeuxippus collection. And study of the techniques and objectives of ecphrastic description, likewise illuminated by excellent recent studies, can assist understanding of the possible context for and analysis of the poem. For example, recent work on literary *ekphrasis*,[22] shows how it uses Homer to aid interpretation of an image: it is likely that Christodorus also deploys this technique, which flatters the audience by reference to a shared culture. I suggest that a fruitful approach to improved comprehension of Christodorus' poem is to strike a balance between, on the one hand, analysis of the conventions of *ekphrasis* and, on the other, comparison with other late antique iconographic bathhouse programmes.

2 Links with Late Antique Iconographic Schemes

The Zeuxippus baths, like many others in Asia Minor, combined a bathing establishment with a gymnasium.[23] This combination perhaps intensified the cultural and social associations of bathing. So, for example, the baths of Faustina at Miletus, which were also of this type, included a 'Musensaal' used for recitations, in which representations of the nine Muses and Apollo were found *in situ*.[24] Archaeological work on a number of imperial baths indicates that

21 I draw particularly on Manderscheid 1981 (survey of bathhouse statuary), Marvin 1983 (statuary of the baths of Caracalla), Yegül 1992, 2010 (archaeological studies of bathhouses), Bol 2011 (baths of Faustina at Miletus). Jacobs 2010 and Sterling 2012 are valuable surveys; and see now Kristensen and Sterling 2016. (I thank Jonathan Bardill and Ine Jacobs respectively for drawing these to my attention.)

22 For example in Philostratus' *Imagines* and Lucian's *The Hall*: Elsner 1995, 21–38; Newby 2002, 2009; Webb 2006.

23 The lemma in the *Palatine Anthology* refers to the Zeuxippus as a "public gymnasium" (δημόσιον γυμνάσιον), but other sources speak of baths (e.g. Malalas, p. 321 Bonn τὸ λεγόμενον Ζεύξιππον δημόσιον λουτρόν, cf. *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 328, p. 529 Bonn); cf. Bassett 1996, 494; Yegül 2010, 184–186. On the bath-gymnasium complex, see Yegül 1992, 250–313, 2010, 154–180; for the baths of Faustina at Miletus: Bol 2011, 80 f. The Zeuxippon occupied a very spacious site: Mango 1985, 26 suggests the complex was larger than is usually indicated on plans of the area; cf. id. 1959, 40.

24 Bol 2011, 81–83. Yegül (1992, 416) identifies a similar feature in the East Baths of the Hellenistic gymnasium at Pergamum. Manderscheid (1981, 34) observed that this iconography

sculptural displays were concentrated in certain rooms, typically the central hall, the *frigidarium* and the *palaestra* colonnades, whereas sculpture is not found in the *caldarium*.[25] Statues displayed included both free-standing figures and groups on bases, but many were also set up in niches: so, for example, Marvin calculated that the baths of Caracalla had 108–112 niches for statues in the main building, of which most were concentrated around the two *palaestrae*.[26] In the West Baths at Cherchel in Algeria fifty statues and five statue groups were found, some still standing on pedestals or in niches.[27] Since the baths of Zeuxippus were also very large, it is possible that the eighty statues described by Christodorus could have been arranged in a single area, especially if some of the figures were displayed in niches.

As for the types of figures in Christodorus' collection—mythological characters, historical figures and gods—all three are paralleled in the archaeological record, but the very striking omission is that of contemporary portraits: inscriptions and portrait heads in archaeological finds elsewhere indicate that patrons and donor figures featured prominently in bathhouse displays,[28] and indeed we know from the historical record that the baths of Zeuxippus included at least one honorific statue, that of Leo I's widely respected doctor Jacob the Cooler.[29] It is arguable that such figures were displayed in a different area of the baths from that described by Christodorus, but at the very least this omission indicates that Christodorus does not give a complete catalogue of the Zeuxippus statuary.

Taking each of Christodorus' three types in turn, there are further indicative features. Among mythological figures, a favourite representation in bathhouse schemes is that of Heracles: at the baths of Caracalla, for example, five different representations of Heracles are attested, including the famous Farnese

is not common, citing only the example of Agnano in addition to Miletus. See further below, n. 73.

25 E.g. Marvin 1983, 350–353 (Caracalla), Bol 2011, 79–88 (baths of Faustina, Miletus). Bassett (1994, 500) postulates that Christodorus' display was concentrated in the *frigidarium*. It has been suggested that the heat of the *caldarium* might soften the wax that was used in Roman paint: Marvin 1983, 352.

26 Marvin 1983, 350–353; several surviving statues from the baths of Caracalla have dowel holes at the back to secure them to a niche, ibid. 358, 367, etc.

27 Stirling 2012, 68, 73–75, cf. ead. 2016, 265–266.

28 Bassett 2004, 55, Jacobs 2010, 271. See, for example, Smith 2007 on the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias.

29 Malalas 370.9–10 ἡ σύγκλητος εἰκόνα συνεστήσατο ἐν τῷ Ζευξίππῳ, cf. *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 467, p. 595 Bonn. Bassett (2004, 52) uses the latter passage, which has the plural εἰκόνας, as evidence for the dating of the collection described by Christodorus, in my view mistakenly.

Heracles in which the aged hero rests after completing his last labour of capturing the apples of the Hesperides.[30] Christodorus too describes a Heracles holding the golden apples (lines 136–138), but his Heracles is a young man, indicating a version that placed this labour early in Heracles' career; interestingly this type is paralleled in an extant bronze statue.[31] However Christodorus juxtaposes Heracles (138 ἐγγύθι δ' αὐτοῦ) with Auge, priestess of Athene, whom Heracles raped. Tissoni is surely right to argue that this is a combination inspired by Christodorus' literary imagination rather than a representation that combined these two separate incidents in Heracles' life.[32] As for Christodorus' Trojan sequence, there are parallels elsewhere for individual figures: so, for example, while accepting that identification is controversial, Miranda Marvin argues that the colossal male figure carrying a dead child over his back from the baths of Caracalla represents Achilles and Troilus, in a brutal depiction of an episode from the fall of Troy, which is also the theme of Christodorus' sequence.[33] But I have found no parallel for the scale of the Trojan sequence of twenty-five statues described by Christodorus; it may be significant, however, that Christodorus' Trojans include a number of heroic male nudes and draped female figures.[34]

A similar point can be made about the large group of intellectuals and historical figures in Christodorus' collection. Although isolated parallels can be found—a fine late-third-century philosopher from Sardis,[35] busts of Socrates and Menander from the baths of Scholasticia at Ephesus[36]—Marvin comments on "the relative scarcity among bath sculptures of literary figures".[37] She notes that such figures are often honoured elsewhere: so, for example nine striking fifth-century tondo or shield portraits found at Aphrodisias were displayed,

30 Marvin 1983, 355–358, 379 Heracles "ubiquitous in bath culture"; DeLaine 1997, 266f.

31 Louvre, Br 387 (MNB 1044) 4th c. BC, originating from Thrace: cited and discussed by Tissoni 2000, 148.

32 Tissoni 2000, 147–148. Christodorus pairs a number of other mythological figures, including Poseidon and Amymone, Pyrrhus and Polyxena and many of the Trojan sequence, but these may well have been independent free-standing figures: certainly the bases discovered in the 1920s excavation are designed for individual statues. See further below, n. 60.

33 Marvin 1983, 359–363. Smith (2007, 215–218) describes heroic groups from the Trojan story (Achilles and Penthesilea, Menelaus with the body of Patroclus or Ajax and Achilles, etc.) from the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias, suggesting that these high quality works from the 1st/2nd centuries were famous local monuments relocated in the pool area of the bath.

34 See further below, sec. 3.

35 Yegül 1986, 146.

36 *LSA* nos. 2107 Socrates (dated 370–450) and 680 Menander (mid/late 4th c.).

37 Marvin 1983, 378. The discussion of Lenaghan (2016, 261–266) vindicates this conclusion.

not in a bathhouse, but probably in a Neoplatonic philosophical school.[38] A stylistically uniform set represents Pindar, Alexander the Great, Alcibiades, Pythagoras, Apollonius of Tyana, and an unknown philosopher;[39] the other three are Socrates, Aristotle and a young pupil.[40] Of the uniform group, some of the representations have their names inscribed on the lower rim (Pindar, Pythagoras, Apollonius, Alcibiades), but Alexander does not, his appearance and attributes being sufficient to identify him.[41] This provides a parallel for the three bases recovered in the Zeuxippus excavations, of which two had names inscribed (Aeschines, Hekabe), but one did not.

Four of the Aphrodisias figures, Pindar, Alcibiades, Pythagoras and Aristotle, also feature in Christodorus' selection (though Socrates, perhaps surprisingly, is absent). Other late antique representations of philosophers and intellectuals can also be related to Christodorus: for example a late antique mosaic from Seleucia in Pamphylia depicts Homer (with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*) surrounded by Anaxagoras, Pythagoras, Pherecydes, Demosthenes, Heraclitus, Hesiod, Lycurgus, Solon, Thucydides, Herodotus and possibly Xenophon among others.[42] Of these, all but Anaxagoras, Lycurgus and Solon are among the figures described by Christodorus.[43] So his historical figures, even those less familiar like the cosmographer Pherecydes[44] or Pindar of whom very few representations are known,[45] cohere with the taste for classical *paideia* evident elsewhere in late antique depictions.

If we turn to the gods in Christodorus' collection, the picture becomes more complex. Manderscheid, who catalogued sculptures in baths of the imperial

38 Discovered in the early 1980s and analysed by Smith 1990, 127–155. Smith identified the building on the basis of the tondo portraits.

39 Probably a single commission. Smith ibid. suggests that the philosopher should be identified with the founder of the Aphrodisias school.

40 Smith suggests that the last is probably another contemporary portrait, perhaps the son of the school's founder.

41 Similarly Aristotle's name is inscribed, but that of the distinctively snub-nosed Socrates is not.

42 Discussed by Smith 1990, 151, Lenaghan 2016, 264; cf. Cameron 1995, 275–276, Tissoni 2000, 226. The mosaic is now in the museum of Antalya. I am grateful to Katherine Dunbabin for discussion of this mosaic.

43 Further examples of similar material in late antique mosaics from East and West: Smith 1990, 151–153, Lenaghan 2016, 261–266.

44 Tissoni 2000, 226–227.

45 Smith 1990, 134, Tissoni 2000, 243. Two late antique epigrams (*AP* 9.629 and 9.809) suggest that Pindar may have appeared elsewhere in baths: see Sterling 2012, 78.

period, found that 72 % (from a total of 560) were gods.[46] The most frequent, starting with the most popular, were Bacchus/Dionysus (30 %), Venus/Aphrodite (23 %), Asclepius and Hygieia (18 %), Apollo and the Muses (12 %), Hercules (10 %) and water divinities (7 %). In Christodorus, gods form the smallest of the three statue-groups. He mentions no healing divinities, nor Bacchus/Dionysus, though he does have a Poseidon (whom he pairs with Amymone),[47] three statues each of Aphrodite and Apollo, and a Heracles (discussed above), along with a hermaphrodite,[48] Hermes, god of the *palaestra*, and Artemis. Christodorus' description of Hermes clearly identifies him with the late classical 'Sandalbinder' type,[49] while a half-draped Aphrodite suggests the Aphrodite of Arles or Venus de Milo figure.[50] Furthermore the three images each of Apollo and Aphrodite would be consistent with an authentic collection.[51] Three different statues of Aphrodite have been found in different rooms of the baths of Faustina at Miletus: one interpretation is that she was represented in various stages of undress in parallel with the bathers' own *déshabillage*.[52]

46 Manderscheid 1981, 28.

47 See Tissoni 2000, 114–117, esp. 117 on the iconography of Poseidon holding a dolphin. Amymone is identified with Beroe in Nonn. *Dion.* 42–43, where the story is treated at length.

48 The hermaphrodite figure is found in other baths: see Tissoni 2000, 131 who notes an inscription attesting a statue of Hermaphroditus in the gymnasium at Athens in the 2nd c. BC; Manderscheid (1981, 127, nos. 520, 521) catalogues two hermaphrodites from the baths at Caesarea (late 1st/2nd c.); the identification of two possible hermaphrodite figures from the baths of Caracalla is now regarded as uncertain: Marvin 1983, 373 = DeLaine 1997, 267 no. 36 and DeLaine 1997, 267 no. 44 = Manderscheid 1981, 73, no. 47.

49 *AP* 2.297–302; Bassett 1996, 497; ead. 2004, 172 f. A Hermes torso survives from the baths of Caracalla: Marvin 1983, 367; DeLaine 1997, 266, no. 10; Manderscheid 1981 has examples from North Africa (nos. 314, 315, 362, 363, 393, 411, etc.).

50 Aphrodite 1, lines 78–81: see Bassett 1996, 497, ead. 2004, 165.

51 Compare the multiple representations of Heracles in the baths of Caracalla (n. 30 above), and for multiple images of divinities, Jacobs' inventory (2010, 293–294). Tissoni (2000, 198) suggests that Apollo 2 (lines 266–270) has characteristics of the famous Belvedere Apollo. For Apollo and the Muses in bathhouses, see above at n. 24, below n. 73. See also Bär (2012, 457) on the significance of Apollo as Homer's companion.

52 Bol 2011, 79–88. The figures are contemporary with the construction of the baths in the Antonine period. Stages of undress: Ortwin Dally, lecture in Oxford, June 2013. Auinger and Rathmayr (2007, 246) note "at least" three representations of Aphrodite from the baths of Vedius at Ephesus, and at least three figures of Venus were found at Cherchel (Sterling 2012, 74).

Christodorus' account of Artemis (lines 306–310), however, deserves attention. She has her tunic hitched up to her knee, a pose that is iconographically recognizable,[53] though she is seldom found in bathhouses.[54] But Francesco Tissoni noted that Christodorus' description is modelled on lines from Callimachus' *Hymn to Diana* (11–12), including the very rare word λεγνωτόν (at the same place in the line) to describe the decorated border of her garment.[55] Here, then, Christodorus is at least as strongly influenced by literary learning, as by iconographical features.

So what conclusions can be drawn from this tentative iconographic contextualization? Christodorus describes proportionately fewer gods than are usual in bathhouse schemes, and many of the standard deities are absent; yet the multiplication of figures like Apollo and Aphrodite is reflected in the archaeological material. Some representations match well-known iconographical types, but Artemis also reflects literary sources. As for the historical figures, the culture of *paideia* that they suggest is consonant with that in other late antique representations, with considerable overlap in the people depicted, but such a large collection of intellectuals is unusual in a bathhouse. And the Aphrodisias tondo portraits offer a precedent for a display with some figures identified by name and others not. Even if some of the identifications are merely postulated by Christodorus,[56] they cohere with contemporary taste as represented in surviving plastic arts.

3 Links with the Late Antique Ecphrastic Tradition

In describing Artemis, Christodorus comments on missing attributes of the goddess. She is called οὐρεσίφοιτος,[57] "haunting the mountains" (306), but then we are told that she does not have the expected bow and quiver of the huntress goddess (307 f.). In other cases too Christodorus focuses on missing attributes.

53 Tissoni (2000, 212) compares the Diana of Versailles, a type known from the 4th c. BC onwards.

54 Examples at Italica, Sufela, Cales and Cherchel (Caesarea): Manderscheid 1981, nos. 35, 114, 439, 535; Bassett 1996, 501.

55 Tissoni 2000, 211–212, and 67 on Christodorus' extensive use of Callimachus; cf. esp. *AP* 2. 308–309 ἦν δ' ἐπὶ γούνων / παρθένιον λεγνωτὸν ἀναζωθεῖσα χιτῶνα, and Call. *Dian.* 11–12 ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα / ζώννυσθαι λεγνωτόν.

56 See further below, p. 281 ff.

57 Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 48.310; the compound occurs 24 times in Nonn. *Dion.*: Tissoni 2000, 211.

So, Pyrrhus/Neoptolemus, who is represented twice (56–60, 192–194), is naked and devoid of the weapons.[58] The first statue gazes up, as if towards Ilium, while the second has a hand raised in victory and looks towards a vanquished Polyxena. No other statue of Pyrrhus is known,[59] but, interestingly, one of the exercises in *ekphrasis* of a statue attributed to Libanius describes a naked Pyrrhus, clad only in a helmet, slaughtering Polyxena.[60] Christodorus' Telamonian and Locrian Ajax are also naked, beardless and unarmed.[61] He here appears to be guiding his audience in the interpretation of a statue whose identity is far from obvious, using the familiar Trojan story. This view draws support from the inclusion in the Trojan sequence (lines 246–255) of four counsellors (Panthous, Thymoetes, Lampon and Clytius), otherwise known only from *Iliad* 3 (146–153), where they accompany Priam in the *teichoskopia* scene. Likewise two wrestlers (222–227), not out of place in a gymnasium, are identified as Dares and Entellus, otherwise known only from book 5 of Virgil's *Aeneid* (362–484), thus demonstrating Christodorus' familiarity with Virgil's Latin epic as well as Greek versions of the Trojan story.[62]

58 57 f. ὅσον ἤθελε χερσὶν ἑλίσσειν / τεύχεα χαλκήεντα, τὰ μή νύ οἱ ὤπασε τέχνη, "how he longed to wield in his hands the bronze weapons that art did not give him" (tr. Paton); cf. 192–194.

59 In vase painting he is represented as a warrior: Tissoni 2000, 112; Bassett 2004, 183.

60 Libanius, *Progymnasmata* 18 (Foerster 8.508–511). Christodorus, however, specifically mentions that his Pyrrhus has no helmet (192–193 οὐκ ἐπὶ χαίτης / ἱππόκομον τρυφάλειαν ἔχων). Libanius' previous description (17) of a Trojan woman has considerable overlap with the description of Polyxena. Lib. *Progymn.* 18 (511.3–5) clearly states that one base holds the statues of Neoptolemus and Polyxena, but figures described as interacting by Christodorus may well be free-standing statues rather than groups, the pairing being his own invention; cf. n. 32 above.

61 Telamonian Ajax (271–276) is naked, beardless, has no helmet but wears his hair in a diadem, is without sword and sevenfold shield. Libanius, *Progymnasmata* 23 (524–527) describes a statue of a naked Ajax, but it is the mad Ajax of Sophocles' play. Christodorus' Oilean Ajax (209–214) is similarly naked and beardless. This Ajax is described as "a huge bulwark (πελώριον ἕρκος) of the Locrian land" in a phrase applied by Homer to Telamonian Ajax (*Il.* 3.229). Tissoni (2000, 173, 200) suggests that Christodorus confuses the two Homeric Ajaces, but this seems hard to credit. Is there a more elaborate game here, perhaps to keep the audience on their toes? Tissoni analogously postulates a learned "mistake" in Christodorus' allusion to Aglaus as father of Polyidus: Tissoni 2000, 196–197.

62 Cf. Tissoni 2000, 178 f. Creusa (148–154), wife of Aeneas lost at Troy, is also best known from Virgil, *Aen.* 2. Virgil himself is the last statue described in the poem, suggesting Christodorus' allegiance, cf. n. 78 below.

Sometimes Christodorus challenges the identity of a statue. The collection includes a number of laurel-crowned figures whom he systematically identifies as prophets.[63] But Christodorus suggests that one is in fact Amphitryon, whose wreath is a sign of victory over the Taphians (367–371).[64] Conversely a figure that has the name Alcmaeon (393 Ἀλκμάων κεκλημένος οὔνομα μάντις) is reidentifed as the lyric poet Alcman because he does not wear the prophet's laurel wreath (394–397).[65] Similarly Christodorus claims to be unable to tell whether a statue of a wrestler (228–240) represented Philo, Philammon or Milo. Here the similarity of the names suggests that Christodorus is unable to make out the inscription; alternatively it may simply be a further elaborate show of erudition.[66]

What are we to make of all this? In her careful study of *ekphrasis*, Ruth Webb analyses the dynamics of the genre, beginning from the textbook definition that "*ekphrasis* is a descriptive speech, bringing the subject vividly before the eyes".[67] This 'vividness' is achieved by drawing on a body of internal images (φαντάσματα) that is common to speaker and listener, so that the speaker evokes a picture in the mind's eye of his listener, who is expected to engage actively and respond emotionally to what he hears.[68] Studies of the *Imagines* of the third-century sophist Philostratus have shown how the speaker aims to educate the viewer—in this case the young son of his host—through an interpretation of the image viewed. So he reminds the lad that a depiction of Scamander is based on Homer, and then instructs the boy to turn away, so as to consider only the events on which it draws. The aim is to persuade the viewer that he can understand and interpret the object seen.[69]

This seems to me to provide a key to understanding Christodorus' techniques, especially with figures that do not possess the attributes that the audi-

63 Palaiphatus (36–37), Polyidus (40–42), Amphiareus (259–262), Aglaus (263–265). The more famous Homeric prophets, Calchas (53–55) and Chryses (86–92) are not distinguished by laurel wreaths; Chryses wears a fillet. On this topic, cf. Kaldellis 2007a, 373–375.

64 Tissoni, however, observes (2000, 235–236) that the wreath as a symbol of victory in war is a Roman rather than a Greek habit, said by Pliny (*NH* 15.126.1) to date back to Crassus.

65 Kaldellis (2007, 374) suggests that Christodorus' iconographical interpetations are a means of establishing his scholarly credentials before his audience.

66 Tissoni (2000, 180–182) notes, however, that in fact Philo and Philammon were boxers rather than wrestlers.

67 Webb 2009. Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 36 ed. H. Rabe: ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων ἐναργῶς τὸ δηλούμενον (Ruth Webb's translation, 2009, 201).

68 Webb 2009, esp. chs. 4 and 5.

69 Jaś Elsner comments: "It does not much matter if the artist intended his picture to be of the Scamander or not." Philostratus, *Imagines* 1.1, with Elsner 1995, 23–36, quoting p. 31.

ence might expect. Faced with a collection of statues that included a number of beardless naked youths,[70] figures wreathed in laurel,[71] and draped women,[72] Christodorus gives them life and meaning by relating them to the familiar material of myth, often the Trojan story, or to the shared Hellenic historical past. One might speculate that the figures identified by Christodorus as the female poets Sappho (69–71) and Erinna (108–110) were conceived originally as Muses who accompanied Apollo.[73] Hesitation in some identifications is part of the lively interaction between speaker and audience, where the speaker challenges his listener's powers of interpretation and knowledge and the viewer is invited to participate in the business of identification, and often, like the *voyeur* in Nonnus, to be amazed at what he sees.[74] Nonnus' Achaean seaman speculates on the identity of the bull he sees carrying a woman across the sea. But Christodorus provides a clear identification for representations that might puzzle or confuse the viewer.[75]

4 Conclusions and Context

What, then, can we conclude about the statue collection in the Zeuxippus baths and Christodorus' poem on it? The historical and archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that a statue collection existed there[76] and parallels can be drawn with other late antique bathhouse schemes—more, certainly, than I have adumbrated.[77] It is likely that the Zeuxippon contained an identifiable

70 Cf. Marvin 1983, 379 on the popularity of "idealized young men" in the baths of Caracalla, though nude figures, both male and female, were often 'edited out' of late antique displays: Sterling 2016, 285–286.

71 Might these originally have been laurel-wreathed city officials?

72 E.g. Hecuba (383–385), Polyxena (199–200). Cf. Yegül 1986, 146 on this type in the baths at Sardis. Casson (1929, 20) already suggested that the Hecuba statue may have been a Hellenistic funeral monument rechristened.

73 Boll 2011, 81–83, cf. above n. 24: the Muses were depicted in a range of poses (ead. 88). For possible Christian reinterpretation of pagan statuary in the fourth century, see (e.g.) Bardill 2012, 268–269.

74 E.g. 82, 117, 168, 209, 243, 288.

75 We may add that the correct identification of surviving statuary from baths remains today a matter of scholarly contention, as is clear from Marvin's 1983 discussion of the sculpture in the baths of Caracalla.

76 Sec. 1 above.

77 Sec. 2 above. Jacobs' useful inventory (2010, 293–294) catalogues sculpture from ten bathhouses in Asia Minor, including the Zeuxippon. Sterling 2012 is a useful assessment.

core of images of gods and probably some portraits of figures representative of classical Greek culture, as well as mythological figures; but that many others had no specific identification beyond the one that Christodorus evoked. His choices reflects late antique taste, in which reference to a common Greek—and Roman—cultural *paideia* constituted a flattering and unifying form of praise,[78] apposite for the emperor Anastasius, who is described by John Lydus as "intelligent and educated" (συνετὸς καὶ πεπαιδευμένος).[79] Although there is evidence for statuary connected with Troy elsewhere in Constantinople, for example in the Forum of Constantine,[80] the preponderance of Trojan figures among Christodorus' statues may be related to the literary ethos of the era and more particularly of Anastasius' court, rather than being intrinsic to the collection.[81] Elizabeth Jeffreys has pointed out that the *Rape of Helen* by Christodorus' contemporary and fellow-Egyptian Colluthus belongs to exactly this period and context, and that the chronicle of John Malalas, which was also taking shape in the early years of the sixth century, devotes a disproportionate amount of space to the story of Troy.[82]

Colluthus' poem is of almost identical length to that of Christodorus—the former just under four hundred lines, the latter slightly over—and Jeffreys has also observed that, rather than presenting a straightforward narrative, Colluthus' poem uses the epyllion technique and offers "a series of set-piece, highly visual scenes which fall short of a full narrative and demand the complicity of the audience to appreciate his purpose".[83] This exactly matches my view of Christodorus' poem, which Silvio Bär has argued is itself an epyllion.[84] Both

78 See Bassett, 2004, 57–58 and more generally Borg 2004. Bär (2012, 457–458) has good remarks on the continuity of Greek *paideia* into Byzantium through Rome, as represented by the two final statues, Homer Byzantinus and Virgil, which follow that of Pompey; Kaldellis (2007, 381–382) similarly argues that this concluding group of statues indicates that the end of the poem is complete.

79 *De mag.* 3.48. See Nicks 2000 on Anastasius' promotion of literary men in government and the general cultural freedom of the reign, where writing in both Greek and Latin flourished freely.

80 Bassett 2004 68–71, 205–207.

81 The latter was argued by Stupperich 1985 and Bassett 1996, 2004.

82 Jeffreys 2006, esp. 128–133. Jonathan Bardill reminds me that Malalas is the earliest source to mention that Constantine acquired the Palladium, originally from Troy, and buried it under his column at the foundation of Constantinople: Malalas 13.7; see further Bardill 2012, 252.

83 Jeffreys 2006, 132.

84 Bär 2012. A further epyllion from this time, but with no known connection to Anastasius

Christodorus and Colluthus hailed originally from Egypt and, although most of their works are lost, their respective notices in the tenth-century Suda lexicon indicate that they belonged to the group identified fifty years ago by Alan Cameron as "wandering poets", well-educated itinerants who moved from one city to another composing occasional poetry to meet the demands of patrons and to earn a living.[85] Both Christodorus and Colluthus also wrote more overtly panegyrical works, now lost—in Christodorus' case a five-book *Isaurica* on Anastasius' Isaurian campaigns (which ended in 497/8), while Colluthus composed a *Persica* (of unspecified length), usually associated with the Persian campaign that concluded in 506.[86]

The comparable and compact length of the two poems is compatible with the view that they were tailored for performance. We are well informed about other slightly later poems that were certainly performed: John of Gaza's *Description of the cosmic painting in the winter bath*, recently placed in the first quarter of the sixth century by Delphine Lauritzen,[87] is divided into two sections of 360 and 342 lines respectively, each preceded by an iambic prologue, the second of which makes clear that the speaker returns after an interlude. Paul the Silentiary's *Description of Hagia Sophia*, precisely dated to January 563, begins with two iambic prologues with a total length of 134 lines; there follow 275 hexameters, then a further six-line iambic passage marked a break in the

---

or Constantinople, is Musaeus' *Hero and Leander* (343 lines): see, e.g., Hopkinson 1994c, 136–140; Hollis 2006, 154f.

85 Cameron 1965, revised 2016; Jeffreys 2006, 131.

86 This might indicate that Colluthus succeeded Christodorus as court poet to Anastasius: Tissoni (2000, 22) argues that Christodorus' silence about Anastasius' Persian expedition of 503–506 suggests that he wrote before it happened. However, Tissoni goes on to argue (2000, 22–36) that Christodorus' career continued for another twenty years: he dates Christodorus' two epigrams on John of Epidamnus (*AP* 7. 697–698) after 517 and postulates his authorship of *AP* 9.656, which he locates after 515, and of *AP* 1.10 on Anicia Juliana's church of St Polyeuktos. While agreeing that these works have linguistic affinities (Whitby 2003), I am not confident of the attribution of *AP* 1.10 to Christodorus (Whitby 2006). For further dating arguments for Christodorus, based on the relationship of his poem with the Porphyrius epigrams, see Cameron 1973, 151–154; on his relationship with the panegyrics of Procopius of Gaza and Priscian, see Tissoni 2000, 21–22.

87 Lauritzen 2011, 64, citing her unpublished thesis (2009), 2015, XII–XVIII. Cameron 1993a argued that the poem referred to a winter bath in Antioch and must predate the 526 earthquake there, but Lauritzen (2015, XXII–XXIV) argues convincingly that the bath described by John was in Gaza. See also Renaut (= Lauritzen) 2005 for discussion of John's poem alongside *ekphrases* by his close contemporaries Procopius of Gaza and Choricius, stressing the reality of the performance and of the artworks and buildings described.

performance before the final section of 612 hexameters.[88] George of Pisidia's *Persian Expedition*, entirely written in iambic trimeters to celebrate the 622 campaign of the Emperor Heraclius, is divided into three "hearings" (ἀκροάσεις), respectively of 252, 375 and 460 lines.[89]

In the case of Colluthus and Christodorus, however, no iambic prologues survive, though they were certainly the norm for occasional poetry of this period.[90] Alan Cameron has proposed that poems which do not have the typical iambic prologue designed to put the audience in a favourable mood were "put into circulation without a public performance".[91] This might substantiate the view expressed by some recent critics that Colluthus' and Christodorus' poems were what Jeffreys describes as "master pieces", that is show pieces designed to demonstrate their composer's skills.[92] However, as early as 1881 Baumgarten suggested that an iambic prologue might have been lost when Christodorus' poem was incorporated in the *Greek Anthology*.[93] In my view, it remains an attractive hypothesis, whether or not it ever had an iambic prologue, that Christodorus' poem, with its open panegyric of the emperor, prominently positioned towards the end of the poem (398–404), was performed, perhaps, as suggested above,[94] to mark a refurbishment of the Zeuxippus baths or rearrangement of the statue collection, typical of the period.[95] Statues tended to be concentrated in central parts of the baths, and in some cases were moved there from elsewhere in town: such relocation could include endowing statues with new meaning.[96] If Christodorus' poem marked such an event, then

88 See further Whitby 1985.

89 Cf. Cameron 2004, 346–347 = 2016, 178. The similar length of Christodorus' poem to sections of these works suggests that it is likely to be more or less complete. There are small variations between the Palatine and Planudean versions, but Bassett's hypothesis (1996, 495; 2004, 53, 55) that difficulties can be explained by positing lacunae is unconvincing. See n. 78 above for the view that the end of the poem is complete and below on the statue of Deiphobus as an appropriate opening for the *ekphrasis*.

90 The seminal work is Viljamaa 1968; also Cameron 1970.

91 Cameron 2004, 347 = 2016, 178.

92 Jeffreys 2006, 131; cf. Bär 2012.

93 Baumgarten 1881, 8.

94 Sec. 1.

95 There is considerable archaeological evidence for bath refurbishments elsewhere in the late antique period, e.g. Hadrianic baths at Ephesus (Smith 2007), baths of Scholasticia at Ephesus (Yegül 1992, 291); baths of Faustina at Miletus (Bol 2011, 87); the statues at Aphrodisias were rearranged throughout the Byzantine period (Ortwin Dally, lecture in Oxford, June 2013). See further Sterling 2012, 2016.

96 Marvin 1983, 377–378; Jacobs 2010, 271–274, citing her remark on p. 271; Sterling 2016, 266.

a showy celebration might appropriately distract attention from possible difficult circumstances such as down-sizing of the Zeuxippus baths, much as Paul the Silentiary's poem on Hagia Sophia was composed to celebrate Justinian's rebuild after the dome of his first church collapsed following an earthquake. And Christodorus' re-imagining of the identities of some of the statues would be an appropriate rejuvenation (using Jacobs' term) at such a moment. Recitation was in Late Antiquity indubitably the major medium for literary dissemination of occasional works such as an *ekphrasis*, and Christodorus' lively interaction with his subjects is ideally suited to *viva voce* presentation.[97]

Where then might Christodorus have presented his poem? It is sometimes assumed that his audience was led in a kind of tour around the Zeuxippus collection, pausing before each statue.[98] Certainly the complex was large enough to accommodate a crowd, but the idea is surely impractical—groups are slow-moving and often fall behind their guide. Performance in a chamber or outdoor space of the capacious Zeuxippon—ideally that in which the statues were displayed—before a seated audience is a more practical and plausible scenario.[99] We know that Paul the Silentiary began reciting his poem on Hagia Sophia in the imperial palace, but that after the first iambic prologue the recitation moved to the patriarchal palace.[100] And indeed Ruth Webb makes the salutary observation that the notion of a tour was fundamental to the *progymnasmata* definitions of *ekphrasis* as a λόγος περιηγηματικός, literally "a speech that leads around", though the expression is usually weakly translated as "a descriptive speech".[101] She further notes that this "tour" often moved from outside to the inside of a building, an observation which is consonant with Christodorus describing first the statue of Deiphobus, who is said to be poised as he was when he met Menelaus rushing at him "in front of his house which was being

97 Cf. n. 87 on the Gaza *ekphrases*.

98 As Philostratus in the *Imagines* leads his audience on a tour of his host's art gallery in Naples—but this scenario has often been thought fictional.

99 So Kaldellis 2007a, 369. Renaut 2005 argues that the Gaza *ekphrases* were performed *in situ*. If she is right, this would provide a parallel for the recitation of an *ekphrasis* in a bathhouse, since John of Gaza's poem describes a cosmic representation in the winter bath. We know of other crowd-pulling events staged in the Zeuxippon, the trial of Isocasius for paganism, *Chron. Pasch.* 595–596 Bonn (s.a. 467) and an unsuccessful attempt by the monothelite monk Polychronius to demonstrate to the fathers of the Sixth Ecumenical Council his ability to raise men from the dead (see Mango 1959, 39); cf. also the summons to the Zeuxippon of the patriarch Paul prior to the announcement of his deposition (Socr. *Eccl. Hist.* 2.16).

100 Whitby 1985.

101 Webb 2011, 27.

pillaged" (AP 2.3–4). This opening picture also signals the focus on Trojan figures, many of them connected with the fall of Troy, who are chiefly clustered in the centre of the poem.[102]

Were the statues described by Christodorus identical with those installed in the baths by Constantine? We cannot know, although, as others have noted, Christodorus specifically alludes in some cases to the bronze of the statues, and elsewhere to their sparkle, suggesting that they were made of bronze, as recorded for the Constantinian collection, and as suggested to the 1920s excavators by the statue bases discovered.[103] But archaeological studies have shown that bathhouse statue programmes were constantly rearranged, and new pieces added:[104] Christodorus is interpreting for his audience what was visible to them in the early sixth century, by which time the identification of many pieces might well have been puzzling.

The literary background is crucial to this poem which, however, relates to an archaeologically attested provenance at a particular historical moment: all three elements need to be balanced in any attempt to interpret it. There are many uncertainties and doubtless irresolvable problems: what I have tried to do is to suggest a possible framework in which to explore it.

Appendix: Catalogue of Statues Described by Christodorus

Plain text = mythological figure (T = Trojan), **bold = historical**, *italic = god*, **BOLD CAPS = ROMAN**, / = paired figures

1. Deiphobus (T)
2. **Aeschines**
3. **Aristotle**
4. **Demosthenes**
5. **Euripides**
6. Palaephatus (prophet)
7. **Hesiod**
8. Polyidus (prophet)
9. **Simonides**
10. **Anaximenes**
11. Calchas (T; prophet)
12. Pyrrhus (T)
13. Amymone /
14. *Poseidon*
15. **Sappho**
16. *Apollo 1*
17. *Aphrodite 1*
18. **Alcibiades**

102 It is in my view unwise to attempt to reconstruct the precise arrangement of the statues from Christodorus' poem, as Stupperich 1982 attempted to do; Bär (2012, 453) suggests an arrangement in "permeable clusters".

103 Bassett 1996, 100, n. 27; Kaldellis 2007a, 362–364; Casson 1929, 19–20.

104 Note 95 above.

19. Chryses (T; prophet)
20. JULIUS CAESAR
21. **Plato**
22. *Aphrodite 2*
23. *Hermaphrodite*
24. **Erinna**
25. **Terpander**
26. **Pericles**
27. **Pythagoras**
28. **Stesichorus**
29. **Democritus**
30. Heracles
31. Auge
32. Aeneas (T)
33. Creusa (T)
34. Helenus (T)
35. Andromache (T)
36. Menelaus (T)
37. Helen (T)
38. Odysseus (T)
39. Hecuba (T)
40. Cassandra (T)
41. Pyrrhus 2 (T) /
42. Polyxena (T)
43. Ajax (Locrian) (T)
44. Oenone (T) /
45. Paris (T)
46. Dares (Virgilian wrestler) /
47. Entellus (Virgilian wrestler)
48. Wrestler
49. **Charidemus**
50. Melampus (prophet)
51. Panthous (*Il.* 3 counsellor)
52. Thymoetes (*Il.* 3 counsellor)
53. Lampon (*Il.* 3 counsellor)
54. Clytius (*Il.* 3 counsellor)
55. **Isocrates**
56. Amphiareus (prophet)
57. Aglaus (prophet)
58. *Apollo* 2
59. Ajax (Telamonian) (T)
60. Sarpedon (T)
61. *Apollo 3*
62. *Aphrodite 3*
63. Achilles (T)
64. *Hermes*
65. APULEIUS
66. *Artemis*
67. **Homer**
68. **Pherecydes**
69. **Heraclitus**
70. **Cratinus**
71. **Menander**
72. Amphitryon
73. **Thucydides**
74. **Herodotus**
75. **Pindar**
76. **Xenophon**
77. Alcmaeon/**Alcman**
78. POMPEY THE GREAT
79. **Homer Byzantinus**
80. VIRGIL

CHAPTER 16

An Attempt to Remove the Asia-Europe Opposition. Καύκασος in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis

Nestan Egetashvili

The main subject of the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis is Dionysus' expedition to India. Dionysus has to carry out the task Zeus gave him in order to be accepted in the realm of Olympus: to use his thyrsus to drive out the savage and arrogant race of Indians from Asia, to fight against king Deriades, the son of the river Hydaspes, and to teach the sacred dances of the vigil and the cultivation of the purple fruit of the vine (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.3–7). Dionysus assembles an army of immortals and mortals and goes to war. On his way to India, he comes across Phrygia, which was situated in the central part of Asia Minor, and Ascania—a place in Bithynia (Nonn. *Dion.* 14.269–284). The first battle takes place near the Astacid Lake (Nonn. *Dion.* 14.295–385). Describing the battle, Nonnus calls the rivals of Dionysus 'Indians', which probably means that he uses the word *Indians* as a general expression for *Asians*.

Heading from Phrygia to the east, Dionysus goes across the Caucasus (Nonn. *Dion.* 21.310–314):

> Καὶ ταχὺς ἤλασε δίφρον ἑώιον εἰς κλίμα γαίης
> τεύχεσιν ἀστράπτων ἅτε Φωσφόρος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πέτρην
> Καυκασίην λοφόεντα διαστείχων κενεῶνα
> ἠῴης παράμειβε φεραυγέα πέζαν ἀρούρης,
> Ἠελίου βαλβῖδα μεσημβρίζουσαν ὁδεύων.

> Quickly he [Dionysus] drove his car to the eastern clime of the earth, gleaming in his armour like the Morning Star, crossed over the rocky crest of Caucasos and through the valleys, and over the lightbringing region of the dawnland he went on towards the midday goal of the sun.[1]

1 All translations of the *Dionysiaca* are by Rouse 1940.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_018

Travelling through Asia, Bacchus reaches the country of the Alybes, a tribe residing in Asia Minor.[2] Dionysus meets here a shepherd, Brongus, who lives in the cliffs. The god offers him to taste wine and then teaches him how to cultivate vine (Nonn. *Dion.* 17.1–97).

Leaving Asia Minor, Dionysus goes to Assyria. The Assyrian king Staphylus invites the god to his palace. In response to the king's hospitality, Dionysus names grape bunches after Staphylus, drunkenness after Staphylus' wife Methe, and grapes after his son Botrys (Nonn. *Dion.* 19.43–58).

From Assyria Dionysus goes to the Arabian city of Nysa ruled by Lycurgus, who persecutes Dionysus, and extremely frightened, he disappears into the Eritrean Sea (Nonn. *Dion.* 20.353). This calls to mind a passage in Homer's *Iliad*, where Dionysus chased by Lycurgus jumps into the sea as well (Homer, *Il.* 6.133–138). Both passages, in the *Dionysiaca* and in the *Iliad*, bear traces of the well-known traditional rite of initiation, or else the disappearance in the waves is an indication of ritual death.[3]

As Dionysus approaches the borders of faraway India, he sends a messenger to the Indian king Deriades, who refuses to accept Dionysus' gifts, because he does not worship the gods of the Olympian pantheon (Nonn. *Dion.* 21.241–273); therefore, Bacchus is forced to conquer India with the power of his thyrsus. The battle of decision takes place near the Hydaspes River. Hydaspes, who is a tributary from the east of the Indus in the *Dionysiaca*, is also the river god, the son of Electra and Thaumas, and the father of Deriades, and the supreme god of the Indians (Nonn. *Dion.* 23.77–257). The episode echoes the combat between Achilles and the river Scamandrus in the *Iliad*,[4] and in the *Iliad* this is the only scene where Achilles reveals fear. Heroes crossing rivers by swimming in the *Odyssey* (and, by the way, also in the Indian epic poem *Ramayana*) often have to struggle against sea dragons too. Generally, in antiquity the struggle of gods with monsters—dragons and snakes—is a central issue in mythology. Therefore, the struggle between Dionysus and the Hydaspes also has a cosmogonic component.

Having defeated the Indians, Dionysus returns to Arabia, where he teaches the Arab peoples how to cultivate vine (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.291–310). Then he goes to Syria, where he visits Tyrus, the native city of Cadmus (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.311–336). Travelling in Lebanon, Bacchus plants and nurtures a vine in the wedding palace of Aphrodite (Nonn. *Dion.* 41.1–9). Then Dionysus goes to

---

2 Presumably, Strabo referred to them as Chalybes and Homer as Halyzones.

3 Jeanmaire 1951, 76.

4 Hom. *Il.* 21.1–384.

Europe: Εὐρώπης πτολίεθρα μετ' Ἀσίδος ἄστεα βαίνων, "passed from the towns of Asia to the cities of Europe" (Nonn. *Dion.* 43.449). Having visited the Greek cities of Thebes, Athens, and Argos, where he is worshipped as a god, Dionysus reaches his final destination—the Olympus—through the Caucasus (Nonn. *Dion.* 25.370–373):

> (…) ἀρεσσάμενος δὲ τραπέζῃ
> θυμὸν ἑὸν παλίνορσος ἐμάστιε νῶτα λεόντων,
> νόστιμον εἰς Φρυγίην ὀρεσίδρομον ἅρμα νομεύων.
> Καυκασίων δ' ἤλαυνε παρὰ πρηῶνας ἐναύλων.

> Once more he touched up the flanks of his lions with the whip, and guided the hillranging car on the road back to Phrygia. He drove along the heights above the Caucasian valleys.

For the purpose of this study, we will focus on the passages of the poem linked to this region. It is noteworthy that in ancient times Greeks were well aware of the existence of the Caucasus. Aeschylus mentions Καύκασος in the *Prometheus Bound*[5] and Herodotus describes the geographic location of the region as follows: "On the side towards the West of this Sea the Caucasus runs along by it, which is of all mountain-ranges both the greatest in extent and the loftiest."[6] According to Theocritus, "(t)he Caucasus is spread from the country of Armenians to Colchis."[7] In the *Argonautica* Apollonius of Rhodes mentions the high mountains of Caucasus situated close to the bay of Pontus, where "with his limbs bound upon the hard rocks by galling fetters of bronze, Prometheus fed with his liver an eagle."[8]

Therefore, Nonnus provides substantial information concerning the Caucasus. In the *Dionysiaca* the myths of Prometheus chained to a rock in the Caucasus region (Nonn. *Dion.* 2.297–300) can be found as well as the story of Phrixus and Helle (Nonn. *Dion.* 10.99–101); and there is also mention of the Argo: (…) Λαοκόωντι πανείκελος, ὃς πάρος Ἀργοῦς, / νηὸς Ἰησονίης, ἐπιβήμενος εἰς χθόνα Κόλχων / σύμπλοος ὡμάρτησε κορυσσομένῳ Μελεάγρῳ, "like Laokoön, who

---

5 A. *Pr.* 719, transl. Sarishvili.

6 Hdt. 1.203, transl. Qaukhchishvili.

7 Urushadze 1964, 328. Theoc. *Id.* 7.77: ἢ Ἄθω ἢ Ῥοδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον ἐσχατόωντα.

8 A.R. 2.1246–1249, transl. Urushadze; the poet Dionysius the Periegete (second century AD), for example, similarly associates the Caucasus with Dionysus (*Periegesis* 700–705): Lightfoot 2014a, 417–419.

long ago embarked in the Argo, Iason's ship, and sailed with Meleagros to the Colchian land" (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.87–89). The poet also knows (…) Αἰήτῃ βριαρῷ σημάντορι Κόλχων, "Aietes the redoubtable ruler of the Colchians" (Nonn. *Dion.* 29.202), for whom Hephaestus made fire-breathing animals, and he knows the magician's talents of Circe and her ability to cure people with herbs (Nonn. *Dion.* 37.418–419). Thus, it is obvious that Nonnus is aware of the region and the places where the events of the ancient myths were generated: he knows, for example, that Colchis and the river Phasis are in the Caucasus. But, as a matter of fact, the *Dionysiaca* provides information other than traditional on the Caucasus. In addition to Dionysus' travelling across the Caucasus on his way to India, Nonnus also mentions the Caucasus as being situated in India. When Indian fighter Morrheus falls in love with Chalcomede, he is ready to leave his homeland and follow the Bacchic maiden. But in doing so, he makes a choice between the Caucasus and the Tmolus, a mountain in Lydia, in other words, he chooses between his very own and Chalcomede's homeland. This is what Indian Morrheus says (Nonn. *Dion.* 33.255–256):

> Τμῶλον ἔχειν ἐθέλω μετὰ Καύκασον· ἀρχέγονον δὲ
> Ἰνδὸν ἀπορρίψας ἐμὸν οὔνομα Λυδὸς ἀκούσω.
>
> I want to leave Caucasos and dwell in Tmolos; let me throw off my ancient name of Indian and be called Lydian.

It is obvious that here India and the Caucasus are identified with each other. There are similar examples in other passages too. Ares is one of the gods supporting the Indians in the battle scenes. Once he is addressed in the following manner (Nonn. *Dion.* 36.259–261):

> Ἆρες, Ἄρες, λίπε τόξα καὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ σέο λόγχην,
> Ἆρες, ἐσυλήθης, λίπε Καύκασον· ἀνδροφόνους γὰρ
> ἀλλοίας Διόνυσος Ἀμαζόνας εἰς μόθον ἕλκει.
>
> Ares! Ares! Leave your bow and shield and your spear! Ares, you are conquered! Leave the Caucasos, for Dionysos is bringing another sort of Amazons into the field, to kill men.

Ares supports the Indians against Dionysus, and the battle takes place in India.

The idea of India obviously is connected with the region where Helios starts his day-long journey, a region located in the remote east (Nonn. *Dion.* 21.313–314):

> Ἠῴης παράμειβε φεραυγέα πέζαν ἀρούρης,
> Ἠελίου βαλβῖδα μεσημβρίζουσαν ὁδεύων.
>
> … through the valleys and over the light-bringing region of the dawnland he [Dionysus] went on towards the midday goal of the sun.

However, it should also be taken into account that this passage reminds us of a passage from Homer's *Odyssey*, where the island of Aeaea is mentioned, ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης / οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο, "where Eos the dawn / has her house and dancing floor: to the place where the sun rises." (Hom. *Od.* 12.3–4). Since Nonnus generally has a good knowledge of Homer's poems, this phrase could not have remained unknown to him.

Ancient Greeks linked Aeaea-Colchis to the sun. They believed that Aeetes was the son of Helios. Poems by Apollonius of Rhodes and the so-called Pseudo-Orpheus narrate the journey of Argonauts to the country of the sun (Colchis).[9] In the tragedy of Euripides, Medea says: Ἥλιος / πατρὸς πατήρ, "Helios, my father's father."[10]

Taking this into account, it is quite clear that Greeks viewed Colchis as a remote area in the east, the place, where the sun rises. For example, such a view is unambiguously stated by Plato[11] and Theocritus. The latter calls the Caucasus "extreme land" (Καύκασον ἐσχατόωντα).[12] However, it is known that relations of the Greek world with eastern countries became stronger and the geographic knowledge of the Greeks expanded in the Hellenistic era. Emergence of information about far away countries, including India, shed a new light on unfathomable world. However, the Caucasus continued to be regarded as the most remote place in the East; old and new perceptions of the world were intertwined, and therefore the name of Caucasus was transferred to a mountain in India. In this context, Strabo says (Str. *Geogr.* 11.5.5):

> For instance: they transferred the Caucasus into the region of the Indian mountains and of the eastern sea which lies near those mountains from the mountains which lie above Colchis and the Euxine; for these are the mountains which the Greeks named Caucasus, which is more thirty thousand stadia distant from India (…). And although it was a more glorious thing for Alexander to subdue Asia as far as the Indian mountains

9 Urushadze 1964, 63–64.
10 E. *Med.* 954–955.
11 Pl. *Phd.* 109a–b.
12 Theoc. *Id.* 7, 77; Грабарь-Пассек 1958, 77.

> than merely to the recess of the Euxine and to the Caucasus, yet the glory of the mountain, and its name, and the belief that Jason and his followers had accomplished the longest of all expeditions, reaching as far as the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and the tradition that Prometheus was bound at the ends of the earth on the Caucasus, led writers to suppose that they would be doing the king a favour if they transferred the name Caucasus to India.[13]

In addition, Hindukush and Pamir peaks were also called Indian Caucasus.[14] A passage in the *Anabasis* by second-century historian Arrian reads as follows: "Alexander's fighters called what was really mount Parapamisus in Bactria by the name of Caucasus, in order to enhance Alexander's glory."[15]

We can see that Nonnus was well aware of the region, which means that the poet quite deliberately identifies Caucasus with India, which might be due to his artistic method of doubling and obscuring. Linking the Caucasus both to Colchis and India in the *Dionysiaca* is not just an insignificant detail; Dionysus introduced the cult of wine in India, and the cultivation of the vine already was associated with the Caucasus. Therefore, Nonnus presents the Caucasus as a symbol of viticulture and wine-making, and, as a matter of fact, viticulture in the Caucasus region can be dated back to the 5th and 4th millennia B.C.[16]

In addition, it is noteworthy that, as is generally agreed, the Dionysian cult came to Greece and was established there either from Anatolia or from the regions in the northern part of the Balkans, most probably from Thrace. For a long time it was generally agreed that the process took place in a comparatively later period, at least in the so-called post-heroic age, mostly because Dionysus plays a minor role in the Homeric epic. However, the name of the god is attested in Mycenaean documents, and so Dionysus obviously was known as early as in the Mycenaean age. So far, three Mycenaean inscriptions have been discovered with the name of the god represented as *di-wo-nu-so-jo* (PY Xa 102), *di-wo-nu-so* (PY Xa 1419) and *di-wo-nu-so-jo* (one recent inscription from Khania). Evidently, already in the Bronze Age the cult was spread not only in continental Greece but also on the Cretan island. Remarkably, Mycenaean texts imply links with both wine and with Zeus. The question is: where did the cult originate from? According to Rismag Gordeziani, linguistic analysis shows that the Dionysian

13 Transl. H.L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo. With an English Translation by* H.L.J., Cambridge, Ma. 1928.

14 Chuvin 1991, 286.

15 Arr. *An.* 5.5.3.

16 Gamkrelidze 1984, 651.

world offers quite a number of interesting lexical formatives. For instance, the name of Διόνυσος is perhaps the most common term among Greek formatives connected with the cult. Its attested use in Mycenaean texts points to its fairly old origin. The name is commonly believed to be a composite consisting of two components, Διός and νῦσος. Its first element should be considered either the genitive of the theonym Ζεύς, or the nominative of δῖος ('divine'). The νῦσος-element can be understood as 'male child', 'son', or 'born' (see below).

According to the mythological tradition, the origin of the name may be linked to the name of Dionysus' nurse Νῦσα. The majority of sources mention Nysa as the place where Dionysus was brought up. Later on, several places with the name Nysa claimed the honour of being the place where the god spent his childhood. Stephanus of Byzantium mentions ten cities with the same name located in Helicon, Thrace, Caria, Arabia, Egypt, Naxos, India, the Caucasus, Libya, and Euboea. According to Gordeziani, *nusos* could be a pre-Greek formative meaning 'child', 'born'. In this case, a parallel can be drawn with Kartvelian languages where the *šw-* root is commonly known. This root, connected with common Kartvelian participial or derivational prefixes *na-*, *ne-*, *ni-*, can produce different formatives denoting 'child', 'born': Georg. na-š-ob-i / na-šw-i 'born', etc.

On the other hand, the etymology of Βάκχος, the synonymous name of the god, is unclear. The semantics of the formative reflects the impact connected with the earthly activities of the god. A person possessed by Dionysian ecstasy is called Βάκχη, Βακχίς, Βακχεύς. The majority of adjective or verbal stems derived from this stem refer to the raucous actions of individuals possessed with Dionysian ecstasy. For example, Rismag Gordeziani believes that Edzard Furnée was quite right as he pointed to important parallels with Georgian formatives like *baki*, *bakiaoba*, *baki-buki* ('boasting', 'blustering', 'aplomb').[17] According to Furnée, the stem is eastern Mediterranean and could have penetrated Georgian language after the dissociation of Kartvelian languages.[18]

One of the most interesting terms is οἶνος, 'wine'. The majority of scholars believe that the word is present in many different language families of congeneric stems. Some scholars suggest that the source for all the stems is Indo-European *u̯ei-* (*Hu̯ei-*).[19] Correspondingly, the Georgian formative *γvino* 'wine' that is reconstructed at the common Kartvelian level (Georg. *γvino*; Mengr. *γvin-i*; Laz. *γ(v)in-i*) is also believed to be of Indo-European origin. How-

17 Gordeziani 2006, 105–116.
18 Furnée 1982, 22–23.
19 Gamkrelidze 1984, 647.

ever, in the opinion of other scholars, the starting point is either the earliest Mediterranean or even Kartvelian stem.[20] According to Chantraine, the stem at first could have entered one of the Indo-European languages in the archaic period and afterwards spread into quite a large group of Indo-European languages.[21] Walde-Hoffmann in fact have the same opinion.[22] It looks as if the stem entered Indo-European languages in different forms independently and at different times, from a common source. Recently, Fähnrich put forward convincing arguments concerning the links between two common Kartvelian stems: *γwin-* and *γun-* (Georg. *γun-v-a* 'bending'; Mengr. *γun-u-a* 'bending'; Laz. *γun-i* 'hive'; Svan. *u-γwn-a* 'elbow').[23] These facts imply organic links with Georgian linguistic domain and provide even stronger basis for assuming the South Caucasus as the birthplace of wine.

Rismag Gordeziani analyzes a number of interesting lexical formatives connected with the Dionysian world and considers that linguistic data reveal intrinsic links between the cult of Dionysus and the pre-Greek world. One of the basic and most important linguistic components (at least from the second millennium B.C.) was presumably Kartvelian or quasi-Kartvelian language. This of course does not mean that the Dionysian cult was simply borrowed from the Caucasus. Its formation undoubtedly took place in the Aegeis, and apart from Georgian components, the development process should certainly involve other components as well (Thracian, Greek, etc). However, its relationship with Kartvelian language is distinguished for its highly systemic character at the linguistic level and evidently reflects the language environment of Aegeis-Anatolia in the second millennium B.C.[24]

Let us now go back to the text of the *Dionysiaca*, which provides the information that Dionysus' campaign against Indians lasted for seven years (Nonn. *Dion.* 25.6–9). India is the seventh country on Dionysus' journey to the East, just as mount Olympus is the seventh location on his way back from India. Before reaching India, he traverses six regions—Phrygia, Bithynia, Caucasus, Assyria, Arabia, and the Sea of Eritrea. After Dionysus has defeated Deriades, his route once again leads him across six regions—India, Arabia, Phoenicia, Caucasus, Phrygia, and several Greek cities. Therefore, we can assume that, in a certain way, Nonnus links Dionysus' journey with the cosmic order, for the god's

---

20 Климов 1994, 78.

21 Chantraine 1968–1980, 784.

22 Walde and Hoffmann 1938–1956, 794.

23 Fähnrich 2005, 90.

24 Gordeziani 2006, 105–116. On relations between Pre-Greek and Kartvelian see R. Gordeziani, *Pre-Greek and Kartvelian*, Tbilisi 1985.

journey obviously is linked to celestial movements and connected with certain constellations in the sky. It is noteworthy that Nonnus describes the location of the Caucasus also with regard to celestial bodies: having defeated the Indians, Dionysus and his companions return to their homelands, only Asterius does not return to Crete. He stays in the Caucasus and calls local peoples—Colchians, Asterians—with new names (Nonn. *Dion.* 13.243–247).

In ancient Greek literature, the name Asterion can be found in Pausanias, and this Asterion seems to have travelled together with the Argonauts.[25] In addition, according to the myth, Aeetes' wife was called Asterodia. In the *Argonauts* by Dionysius Scytobrachion we can find the following: "Absyrtus, Aeetes' son. Caucasian nymph Asterodia gave birth to him."[26] There is no doubt that the names Asterodia, Asterion, and Asterius are similar. In Greek, ἀστέριος means 'starry' and Nonnus calls residents of the Caucasus Colchians and Asterians, thus indicating that the region is linked to heaven and the starry sky. The poet also describes how the stars are located in regard with the Caucasus (Nonn. *Dion.* 40.285–288):

> Ἀστέριος τότε μοῦνος ἀνιπτοπόδων σχεδὸν Ἄρκτων
> Φάσιδος ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρον ἀθαλπέι νάσσατο γαίῃ
> Μασσαγέτην παρὰ κόλπον, ἑοῦ γενέταο τοκῆος
> ναίων ἀστερόεντος ὑπὸ σφυρὰ δύσνιφα Ταύρου.

> Asterios alone did not now return to his own country; instead, he settled near the footunwashen Bears, about the river Phasis in a cold land by the Massagetic Gulf, where he dwelt under the snowburdened feet of his father's father, Taurus the Bull, translated to the stars.

In short, the aim of the campaign of the god of wine in a foreign country is to spread viticulture and Dionysiac mysteries. Nonnus unites Asia and Europe by means of a new religion—the Dionysus cult. However, there is one contradiction. Recent studies have suggested that the author was Christian when writing the *Dionysiaca*. So why is the work devoted to a pagan god and his cult? We think that here too Nonnus resorted to the main feature of his writing and his style—doubling and deliberate obscuring. Thus the author praises the new religion—the cult of Dionysus—implying Christianity metaphori-

25 Urushadze 1964, 458.
26 Urushadze 1964, 374.

cally. The *Dionysiaca*, while describing an epic campaign of Bacchus, expresses the idea of unity of Europe and Asia achieved by the power of one religion. Dionysus travels from Asia to Europe, connecting the areas with his cult and removing the Asia-Europe opposition. Bacchus ends his route on Olympus, the seat of the gods, and mount Olympus is regarded as the centre and symbol of Europe; on the other hand, the Caucasus in Nonnus' poem stands for the whole of the eastern world, and as a symbol for East and West unified there is a passage, where Dionysus divides the females accompanying him in four parts and dispatches them to all four parts of the world in order to disseminate the cult of wine (Nonn. *Dion.* 27.148–152):

> Καὶ πισύρων Ἀνέμων φλογερῆς ἀντώπιον Ἠοῦς
> τέτραχα τεμνομένην στρατιὴν ἐστήσατο Βάκχων·
> πρώτην μὲν βαθύδενδρα παρὰ σφυρὰ κυκλάδος Ἄρκτου,
> ἧχι πολυσπερέων ποταμῶν πεφορημένον ὁλκῷ
> Καυκασίου σκοπέλοιο Διιπετὲς ἔρχεται ὕδωρ.

> He divided his army of Bacchants into four parts, and posted them facing the dawn in the direction of the four winds. The first was among the thick trees by the feet of the circling Bear, where the skyfallen water of many scattered rivers comes pouring down from the Caucasos mountains.

It is noteworthy that according to Nonnus the first place the females accompanying Bacchus are dispatched to is the Caucasus. This can be regarded as an attempt to present the region as one of the most important places of a united Asia and Europe.

CHAPTER 17

Metrische Beobachtungen zum Hexameter der Disticha des *Kyklos*

*Claudio De Stefani**

In seiner Behandlung der Metrik der Epigramme von Macedonios beurteilt John Madden (Appendix II) die Hexameter des Hypatikos als echt „nonnianisch": „Clearly Macedonius had perfected the hexameter technique of his great exemplar (…) Macedonius seems even more rigid than Nonnus (…)."[1] Seltsamerweise vermeidet Madden, der sich an Rudolf Keydells Beobachtungen hält, die Elision, für die Nonnos feste Grenzen zog, zu erwähnen.[2] Führen wir Keydells Worte an: „Breves vocales vocabulum terminantes ante vocalem neque in verborum neque in nominum formis usquam abiciuntur"[3] – dasselbe gilt für die Pronomina, deren einzige Ausnahme, Nonn. *Dion.* 5.366, der Nachahmung des Kallimachos zuzuschreiben ist (so Keydell).[4] Diese Auffassung wird bestätigt von Francis Vian, in seiner *introduction*: „L' elision n' affecte jamais les désinences casuelles ou verbales."[5] Bekanntlich wurde diese Tendenz von Nonnos und ‚seiner Schule' von Arthur Ludwich im Jahre 1873 entdeckt (und teilweise bereits von Wernicke vorweggenommen).

Nun weist Macedonios gerade bei den Elisionen bemerkenswerte Abweichungen von der Technik des Nonnos auf:

AP 6.175.3 ὡς δ' ἴδ' ὁμοίην, AP 11.366.2 [Pent.] ἤθελ' ἀποθνήσκειν

* Ich danke Enrico Magnelli für die Lektüre dieses Beitrags.

1 Madden 1995, 293.

2 Man könnte annehmen, dass Madden die Elision nicht behandelte, weil Page längst festgestellt hatte, dass die Epigrammatiker damit relativ frei umgehen (vgl. unten, S. 302): das hätte aber ausdrücklich gesagt werden müssen. Meine Kritik – ich möchte das hervorheben – beschränkt sich nur auf diesen Punkt: bekanntlich ist Maddens Ausgabe eine hervorragende Leistung.

3 Keydell 1959, 41*.

4 Nonn. *Dion.* 5.366 ἡμιθανὴς τάδ' ἔλεξε: cf. Call. *Del.* 361 θαρσαλέη τάδ' ἔλεξας.

5 Vian 1976, LV.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_019

(obwohl weniger auffällig, kann man auch die Elision οὐδέποτ' *AP* 6.40.7 erwähnen. – Für die vorliegende Untersuchung ist es dabei einerlei, ob die Ausnahmen sich im Hexameter oder im Pentameter finden.[6])

Wenden wir uns Paulos Silentiarios zu, dessen 80 Epigramme einen (relativ) sicheren Boden für diese Untersuchungen bieten. Der Fall von Silentiarios ist besonders günstig, weil dieser Autor, als Verfasser zweier umfangreicher Gedichte in (vorwiegend) Hexametern *κατὰ στίχον*, uns ermöglicht, seine Technik in beiden Kompositionsarten zu vergleichen, in den Distichen und in den hexametrischen Kompositionen. Nun, was die Elision betrifft, habe ich in meiner Ausgabe keine Abweichung von Nonnos gefunden: in den Epigrammen finden sich dagegen zwei Fälle (ich habe meinen Text schon vor längerer Zeit verfasst, und hoffe, in der Zukunft eine Ausgabe der Epigramme mit Kommentar veröffentlichen zu können – kann also von der sehr unzuverlässigen Ausgabe von Viansino absehen):

> *AP* 5.244.7 μίμν' ἐπὶ τοῖς (Hex.), *AP* 6.84.1 Ζηνὶ τόδ' ὀμφάλιον (Hex.).

Ich verweise auch noch auf *AP* 9.664.1 ἐνθάδ'.[7] In den mehr als 1300 Hexametern der ekphrastischen Dichtungen befindet sich, soweit ich gesehen habe, nichts dergleichen.[8] Das erste Beispiel könnte man mit Hom. *Il.* 6.431 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ vergleichen: das ist zwar eine Parallele, es handelt sich aber nicht um dieselbe *iunctura*, d.h. man kann die Ausnahme *nicht* einfach mit Hilfe der homerischen Stelle rechtfertigen.

Nicht anders liegt die Sache bei Agathias.[9] Wie im Falle von Silentiarios verfügen wir sowohl über Hexameter *κατὰ στίχον* (das Proömium des Kyklos) als auch über Distichen, zu denen die Mehrheit seiner Verse zählen. Nun weist Agathias mehrere Ausnahmen auf, die Verba, Pronomina, und ein (substantiviertes) Adjektiv betreffen:

> *AP* 6.32.4 τόνδ', *AP* 7.205.6 ὅσσ', *AP* 7.568.4 ἠγάγετ', *AP* 9.482.4 τοῦτ', *AP* 11.64.4 νήχεθ', *AP* 11.365.8 τιν', ibid. 11 τιν', *AP* 11.379.7 μέγ', *APl* 80 τῇδ'.

---

6 Man vergleiche aber weiter unten, S. 308f.

7 Colluth. 114 druckt Livrea mit Recht ἔνθεν ἔχων σύριγγα (ἐνθάδ' Hermann).

8 Was τόδ' betrifft, vgl. Ludwich 1873, 16: „Nonnos (hat) (…) niemals (…) überhaupt irgend ein Pronomen elidiert."

9 Ich danke Francesco Valerio, der mir den Text seiner (noch unveröffentlichten) Dissertation über die Epigramme des Agathias zur Verfügung gestellt hat (Valerio 2014).

Alle diese Ausnahmen finden sich in den Epigrammen, nicht in dem hexametrischen Proömium. Ich füge hinzu, dass sämtliche Ausnahmen außer *AP* 11.365.11 und 11.379.7 sich in den Pentametern finden. Zwar behauptete Mattsson in seiner sehr guten Analyse des Stils und der Metrik des Agathias, dass es in den Epigrammen „sich bei den Wörtern, die am häufigsten vorkommen, lediglich um Elisionen handelt, die auch bei Nonnos zugelassen sind";[10] in der Tat, musste er hinzufügen, „alle übrigen [*sc.* Elisionen] (...) treten nur sporadisch auf"[11] und *AP* 7.568 mit Maas dem Agathias absprechen.[12] Wie wir gesehen haben, sind sämtliche angeführten Elisionen mit der Praxis des Nonnos völlig unvereinbar: Agathias verhält sich genau wie Silentiarios und die anderen Epigrammatiker. Julianos von Ägypten weist 5 Ausnahmen auf:[13]

> *AP* 6.25.6 ταῦθ', *AP* 7.32.1 τόδ', *AP* 7.561.1 ἀνέρ',[14] *AP* 9.738.1 τᾷδ', *APl* 87.4 ταῦθ'.

Weitere Ausnahmen kann man aus den übrigen Epigrammatikern des Kyklos sammeln – ich folge der Liste von Epigrammatikern, die Averil und Alan Cameron 1966, 8 zusammengestellt haben:

> Kyros *AP* 7.557.4 πάντ', Johannes Barbukallos *AP* 9.425.1 ἅδ', *AP* 9.426.5 γράψαθ', *AP* 9.427.6 χαίρεθ' (zweimal),[15] Kometas Chartoularios *AP* 9.586.6 τοῖσδ', Eratosthenes Scholastikos *AP* 9.444.2 ὤλεσσ',[16] Isidoros von Bolbythia, *AP* 9.11.5 ταῦτ' (im Lemma [P] auch Philippos von Thessalonike zugeschrieben: *GPh* 2867–2872), Leontios Scholastikos *AP* 9.630.1 τάδ', *AP* 9.650.3 τῷδ', id. *APl* 288.1 οὔνομ', Marianos Scholastikos *AP* 9.627.1 τᾷδ', id. *AP* 9.657.3 τάδ', Theaitetos Scholastikos *APl* 221.8 δαίμον'.

10 Mattsson 1942, 163.

11 Ebenda.

12 Hier muss man allerdings zugeben, dass ein grober metrischer Verstoß sehr unsicher macht, ob Agathias der Verfasser des Epigramms war: V. 1 ἑπτά με δὶς λυκάβαντας ἔχουσαν ἀφήρπασε δαίμων.

13 Ich benutze sowohl Beckby und, für die Grabepigramme, die (noch unveröffentlichte) Doktorat-Diss. von Arianna Gullo an der Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Gullo 2010).

14 Über dieses Versende vgl. unten, S. 306.

15 Auffällig auch V. 1 εἵνεκ'.

16 Dieser Vers findet sich nicht in der Liste von Page, der Fall ist aber unsicher: Beckby druckt ὤλεσσ' ἄν, was einen Kompromiss darstellt zwischen den Lesungen von P (ὤλεσσ' ἐν: vgl. Stadtmüller, Apparat) und **Pl** (ὤλεσεν ἄν); Page folgte darin offensichtlich Stadtmüller, der die Lesung von **Pl** vorzog.

Nun bemerkte schon Page in seiner glänzenden Ausgabe des Rufinos, dass die Epigrammatiker des Kyklos in der Behandlung der Elision weniger streng waren als Nonnos: „It is a general rule in the *Cycle* that elision is freely admitted only in particles, pronouns (…), prepositions, certain conjunctions, and a few common adverbs (…). Nouns are not as a rule elided, nor are verbs (except ἐστί, and ἴδε in the phrase ἴδ' ὡς)."[17] Page zählt dann alle Ausnahmen auf, die sich bei den Epigrammatikern des Kyklos finden.[18] Das Urteil von Page ist im Wesentlichen richtig: die Dichter des Kyklos hielten die Elision bei Pronomina für durchaus zulässig. Wie wir gesehen haben, ließen sie Ausnahmen *auch* bei den Substantiva/Adjektiven und Verba zu – das letztere ist besonders wichtig, weil man dann anerkennen muss, dass die Regeln des Nonnos, was die Elision betrifft, für diese Dichter nicht gültig sind.[19] Und wenn der Anteil der elidierten Wörter insgesamt kleiner ist als bei den früheren Epigrammatikern, ist diese Tatsache dadurch zu erklären, dass die Dichter der Spätantike bestrebt waren, jedem Wort eine formale Vollständigkeit zu bewahren.

Kehren wir zu Silentiarios zurück. Wie bekannt, folgt er nicht dem Gesetz, das von Tiedke im Jahre 1878 gefunden wurde, nach welchem ein Oxytonon bzw. Perispomenon vor B5 (Penthemimeres) nicht zulässig ist: Tiedke selbst bemerkte, dass sich in der *Paraphrase* einige Ausnahmen finden, besonders im Falle von (semitischen) Eigennamen; in den *Dionysiaka* fand Tiedke – auf dessen Untersuchungen meine Bemerkungen beruhen: ich habe die zwei Gedichte des Nonnos nicht selbst analysiert – nur zwei klare Beispiele, wofür er keine befriedigende Erklärung geben konnte:

Nonn. *Dion.* 1.424 ποιμένι δεξιτερήν, 10.25 ὤλετο δὲ ψυχῆς.[20]

Alle anderen Ausnahmen ließen sich als (teilweise wörtliche) Nachahmungen von Homer bzw. Apollonios Rhodios erklären. Silentiarios kennt diese Regel nicht: darauf wies schon Wifstrand in seinem berühmten Buch hin,[21] und ich habe es in der *Praefatio* meiner Ausgabe von Paulos Silentiarios bestätigt. Wie verhält er sich zu diesem Gesetz in den Epigrammen? Wie es zu erwarten war, weist er viele Ausnahmen auf:

17 Page 1978, 33.

18 Ich habe alle Hexameter der Epigramme des Kyklos analysiert: die Liste von Page erwies sich als vollständig.

19 Rufinos nimmt die Tendenz des Nonnos, was die Elision betrifft, sogar strenger vorweg, als sie die Dichter des Kyklos befolgen: Page 1978, 34–35.

20 Tiedke 1878, 60.

21 Wifstrand 1933, 20: „Die Tiedkesche Regel hat Paulus nicht beobachtet."

> *AP* 5.239.5 καὶ φλὸξ ἐν τελεταῖς, *AP* 5.246.1 μαλθακὰ μὲν Σαπφοῦς,[22] 5.270.3 μάργαρα σῆς χροιῆς, ibid. v. 9 τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐγώ, *AP* 6.65.3 καὶ χάλυβα σκληρόν, *AP* 6.75.3 οὔποτε γὰρ πλαγκτός, *AP* 7.588.3 ὤλετο γραμματικῆς, *AP* 7.609.3 παίζων ἐξ ἀρετῆς, *APl* 77.3 εἴ τις μαρμαρυγήν, *APl* 118.5 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἀπρίξ, ibid. v. 7 καὶ τὰς μέν τις ἀνήρ.

Wie kann man solche Fälle beurteilen? Für Tiedkes Gesetz finden sich nicht allzu viele Belege; außer Nonnos und einem Teil seiner ‚Schule' kennen es viele Dichter der Spätantike nicht: die Epigraphischen Epigramme und die weniger gelehrten Texte (wie die Schulethopoiien usw.) befolgen es nicht, und auch Pisides in seinen Hexametern – er folgt aber hier dem Silentiarios, so wie er ihn auch in den Jamben nachahmt.

Durchmustern wir aber das Vorgehen der anderen Epigrammatiker! Macedonios weist nicht weniger als 4 Ausnahmen auf:

> *AP* 5.240.3 ἀλλ' ἔαρι δροσερῷ,[23] *AP* 6.73.1 Δάφνις ὁ συρικτάς, *AP* 11.366.1 φειδωλός τις ἀνήρ, *AP* 11.374.1 τῷ ψιμύθῳ μὲν ἀεί.

Ich glaube, man kann auch hier Madden nicht beipflichten, wenn er sagt, „(h)ere too, Macedonius follows Nonnus very closely", im Gegenteil, 4 Abweichungen innerhalb von 41 Epigrammen sind eine relativ hohe Zahl. Kurzum: Macedonios folgt der Regel nicht streng.[24] Und Agathias kennt sie überhaupt nicht:

> *AP* 1.36.1 ἵλαθι μορφωθείς, *AP* 5.220.5 μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ξυνοῖς, *AP* 5.222.3 εἴ ποτε δὲ τραγικῷ, *AP* 5.267.5 ἐλπίζεις δὲ τυχεῖν, *AP* 5.289.5 τὴν κούρην δ' αἰεί, *AP* 5.294.1 ἡ γραῦς ἡ φθονερή, *AP* 5.302.3 εἰ δ' ἐπὶ παρθενικῆς, *AP* 6.41.1 χαλκὸν ἀροτρητήν, *AP* 7.204.3 οὐδ' ὑπὸ μαρμαρυγῇ, *AP* 7.551.7 χαίρετον, ὦ γλυκερώ, *AP* 9.152.1 ἅδε ποθ' ἁ κλεινά, ibid. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἂν Ἀτρειδᾶν, *AP* 9.631.1 χῶρος ἐγὼ Δαναοῖς, *AP* 9.643.1 τί στενάχεις κεφαλήν, *AP* 9.653.3 κλίμακα γὰρ ταναήν, *AP*

22 Natürlich macht der Eigenname diesen Fall weniger auffällig.

23 Siehe Madden 1995, 291: „Keydell, in formulating Rule 13, makes no reference to perispomena before the masculine caesura in Nonnus. But in one hexameter of Macedonius, 10.3, a perispomenon appears at this point." Bekanntlich gilt das Gesetz auch für die Perispomena.

24 Nicht anders urteile ich über die Technik des Barbukallos: Schulte 1994, 497 behauptet zwar, dieser Dichter hielte die Regel ein, weil sich in seinen Versen „nur zwei Verstöße (7,555,3, 9,594,1 – die Autorschaft von 9,594 ist aber (…) nicht gesichert)" finden; das ist aber, innerhalb von insgesamt 21 Hexameter, eine m.E. relativ hohe Zahl.

9.677.1 τεῦξέ με πολλὰ καμών, AP 9.769.5 δεῖ γὰρ μήτε πονεῖν, AP 10.66.5 ἧς ποτε γὰρ πτωχός, AP 10.69.3 μοῦνον ἅπαξ θνητοῖς, ibid. v. 5 αἱ δὲ νόσοι πολλαί, AP 11.365.7 εἴπερ ἐπομβρηθῇ, AP 11.382.21 καί με τὸν ἰητρόν.

Aber im Falle von Agathias können wir vielleicht ein Stück weitergehen. Nicht nur weist er in seinem hexametrischen Proömium keine Abweichung von der Tiedkeschen Regel auf, sondern es sind auch die mit Penthemimeres versehenen Verse überhaupt verschwindend wenig (nur ein Vers auf 87 Hexameter = 1 %! Alle anderen sind durch die trochäische Zäsur geteilt).[25] Ferner zeigen die Hexameter mit Proparoxytona vor der trochäischen Zäsur einen sehr hohen Prozentsatz (89 %) gegenüber den hexametrischen Gedichten des Paulos Silentiarios (70,6 %): Das ist ein Merkmal des Hexameters der Jahrhundertwende, wie ich anderswo dargelegt habe.[26] Ich habe nämlich den Eindruck, dass diese Hexameter des Agathias in ihrer Beschaffenheit denen des Pisides ähnlich sind, die dieselbe Charakteristik aufweisen: dann würden die Hexameter κατὰ στίχον von Agathias eine weitere Entwicklungsstufe darstellen gegenüber denen von Silentiarios. Ich möchte aber hier nicht diese m. E. interessante Tatsache besonders betonen, sondern vielmehr dass diese Verse, die Hexameter des Proömiums, von denen der Distichen stark abweichen. Der Konstrast mit dem folgenden, in Distichen verfassten Proömium, ist deutlich. Ich gebe der Klarheit halber das gesamte Epigramm wieder (AP 4.3c):

Στῆλαι καὶ γραφίδες | καὶ κύρβιες εὐφροσύνης μέν
αἴτια τοῖς ταῦτα κτησαμένοις μεγάλης,
ἀλλ' ἐς ὅσον ζώουσι· τὰ γὰρ κενὰ κύδεα φωτῶν
ψυχαῖς οἰχομένων οὐ μάλα συμφέρεται.
ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ σοφίης τε χάρις καὶ κεῖθι συνέρπει,
κἀνθάδε μιμνάζει μνῆστιν ἐφελκομένη.
οὕτως οὔτε Πλάτων | βρενθύεται οὔτε Ὅμηρος
χρώμασιν ἢ στήλαις, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ σοφίῃ.
ὄλβιοι, ὧν μνήμη | πινυτῶν ἐνὶ τεύχεσι βίβλων,
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς κενεὰς εἰκόνας ἐνδιάει.

25 Vgl. Mattsson 1942, 162.

26 De Stefani 2014, 379 und 395–398. Interessanterweise besteht die absolute Mehrzahl der Verse am Anfang des *Ambo* (der ‚Hymne' an die Martyrer, Vv. 30–49) aus Hexametern mit Proparoxytona vor der weiblichen Mittelzäsur: hier ist der metrische Gang der Verse denen des Proömiums des Agathias sehr ähnlich. Man darf vermuten, dass solche Hexameter als besonders erhaben und feierlich wahrgenommen wurden.

Es sei überdies auf die Krasis κἀνθάδε und den Hiatus in v. 7 verwiesen, die in der Metrik des Nonnos nicht zulässig sind.[27] Man muss aber festhalten, dass auch die Verse des ersten Proömiums eine Krasis aufweisen (v. 98 τοὔνεκεν) und einen Hiatus (v. 91 ῥηγμῖνι ἁλίπλῳ) – Agathias lässt viele Hiatus zu, wie wir gesehen haben, und einige Kraseis: sie waren also von den Hexametern des Kyklos nicht verbannt, wie u. a. Silentiarios *AP* 5.286.10 χὴ beweist.

Eine der bekanntesten Regeln des Hexameters von Nonnos ist die Vermeidung von Proparoxytona am Hexameterschluss, ein Gesetz, das von Ludwich 1873 entdeckt wurde. Fangen wir mit Agathias an; es lässt sich leicht beweisen, dass er die Regel in seinen Epigrammen überhaupt nicht kennt:

> *AP* 4.3c.7 Ὅμηρος, *AP* 5.218.11 ἔγωγε, *AP* 5.237.7 ἔγωγε, ibid. 9 γοάοιτε, ibid. 11 ὄνειρος, *AP* 5.261.5 φίλημα, *AP* 5.269.5 ἔλεγχον, *AP* 5.273.5 τέτηκται, *AP* 5.278.1 Ἔρωτες, *AP* 5.287.5 πρόσωπον, *AP* 5.289.7 πρόσωπα, ibid. 9 Περσεφόνεια, *AP* 5.294.17 φίλημα, *AP* 5.299.1 ἐπέραστος, *AP* 5.302.19 ὑμέναιον, *AP* 6.80.1 ἐννεάς εἰμι, *AP* 7.220.1 ἀγχικέλευθον, *AP* 7.552.1 τίς εἰμι, *AP* 7.568.5 Ὑμέναιον, *AP* 7.583.3 κάθηται, *AP* 7.596.1 ἄκοιτις, *AP* 7.614.1 Λάμαξις, ibid. 9 Πάχητος, *AP* 9.153.1 πολύολβοι, *AP* 9.154.5 ἄθεσμος, *AP* 9.204.3 Ὅμηρον, *AP* 9.653.1 ἔθηκαν, *AP* 9.768.5 κύβῳ τε, *AP* 10.14.3 θάλασσα, *AP* 11.57.7 Ὅμηρος, *AP* 11.352.1 Ἀνδροτίωνα, ibid. v. 5 τερέτισμα, ibid. v. 11 τέτυκται, *AP* 11.354.1 ἰσοπλάτωνα, *AP* 11.379.5 ἔγωγε, ibid. 7 ἄνυσσεν, *APl* 80.3 ἔρωτος.[28]

In den Hexametern κατὰ στίχον finden sich aber keine Ausnahmen,[29] und das ist auffällig – es sei denn, man möchte in v. 81 die Konjektur von Jacobs Ὕδασπιν statt Ὑδάσπην aufnehmen, wofür ich keinen Grund sehe. Interessanterweise ist die Lage bei Silentiarios ähnlich, obwohl sich bei ihm nicht so viele Verstöße gegen die Regel finden wie bei Agathias. Tatsächlich weist er in seinen

27 Ich folge darin Valerio 2014, der den Hiatus οὔτε Ὅμηρος zulässt (οὔτ' ἄρ' Ὅμηρος Jacobs und *alii alia*) und auf folgende Fälle verweist: *AP* 5.280.5 τὰ ὅμοια, *AP* 6.79.5 τὸ ἐπαύλιον, *AP* 7.220.4 οἰκτείρω σε ἔφην, *AP* 11.365.7 τὸ ἀρούριον, *AP* 11.376.9 ἢ σοὶ ἢ τῷ ἑλόντι.

28 Natürlich sind manche dieser Fälle nicht bedeutsam, weil es sich um Eigennamen handelt – *AP* 9.653.1 fällt z. B. nicht ins Gewicht, da es ein Zitat von Hes. *Op.* 289 ist: τῆς ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν. Andere Beispiele sind aber schwere Verstöße gegen die Regel: man vergleiche θάλασσα am Versschluss mit einer berühmten *crux* des Kolluthos, 206 κυανέη μὲν ὕπερθεν ἀναθρῴσκουσα θάλασσα, wo Livrea, vielleicht mit Recht, die von Weinberger vorgeschlagene Konjektur καλύπτρῃ im Text druckt (man könnte allerdings auch κατάιξ lesen, vgl. A.R. 1.1203 ὑψόθεν ἐμπλήξασα θοὴ ἀνέμοιο κατάιξ).

29 Vgl. Mattsson 1942, 166.

langen ekphrastischen Gedichten keine Ausnahme auf, man findet aber in den Distichen manche Abweichungen, die sich teilweise mit denen des Agathias decken:

> *AP* 5.230.7 ἠέρτημαι, *AP* 5.275.7 ἔρωτος, *AP* 5.301.7 ἱμερόεντος, *AP* 6.81.1 ἀντιβίων τε, *AP* 7.4.1 θεῖον Ὅμηρον, *APl* 278.1 ἔρωτος.

Auch im Falle von Silentiarios kann man also behaupten, dass er dieser Regel in den Epigrammen nicht streng folgt.[30] Julianos von Ägypten weist einige Ausnahmen auf: *AP* 6.20.3 ἔλεγχον, *AP* 7.561.1 ἔτικτεν. Das letzte Beispiel ist eindrucksvoll: man kann wohl sagen, dass ein Versschluss wie ἀνέρ' ἔτικτεν der Metrik von Nonnos total widerspricht – allerdings wollte Ludwich (*ap*. Stadtmüller) am angeführten Ort ἀνέρα τίκτεν lesen, eine sehr leichte Verbesserung, die zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe schlagen würde (*prob*. Page, 34), die aber überhaupt nicht nötig ist (so Gullo ad loc.). Ich sammle die Ausnahmen aus den übrigen Kyklos-Autoren:

> Damocharis *AP* 6.63.1 κυκλομόλυβδον, Barbukallos *AP* 6.55.3 δέχεσθε,[31] Kyr. *AP* 9.808.3 τετάνυσται, Leontios Scholastikos *AP* 5.295.1 ἄμελγε, id. *AP* 7.573.1 ἄρουρα, id. *AP* 7.579.5 ἔγωγε, id. *AP* 9.624.3 φίλοις τε, id. *APl* 245.1 ἔχοντα, Theaitetos Scholastikos *APl* 233.7 δέδασται.

Zwei der Beispiele sind allerdings aus den einem ‚Kyros' zugeschriebenen Texten: *AP* 9.808.3 τετάνυσται und *AP* 15.9.6 γέροντος („Κύρου ποιητοῦ"); von diesen ist aber das letzte Epigramm sicher dem berühmten Kyros aus Panopolis (Konsul im Jahre 441) zuzuweisen.[32]

---

30 Wilkinsons Behauptung, dass „following Nonnus, poets of Agathias' *Cycle* avoid placing trisyllabic proparoxytone words at the end of the hexameter" (Wilkinson 2012, 39) darf also nur mit Vorsicht akzeptiert werden.

31 Ich kann Schulte 1994, 497 auch in diesem Fall nicht beipflichten, der meint, dass Barbukallos „durchaus von den Versregeln des Nonnos beeinflußt ist": vgl. oben, S. 303 Anm. 24.

32 Nach Cameron und Cameron 1966, 18 und Cameron 1982b, 225–227. Tissoni 2008, 76, versucht sämtliche Epigramme (außer *AP* 9.813), die unter dem Namen ‚Kyros' überliefert sind, dem Dichter aus Panopolis zuzuschreiben; seine Behauptung aber, „se in 15.9.6 troviamo in clausola un polisillabo proparossitono (γέροντος) lo stesso accade in 9.808.3 τετάνυσται", d.h., dass auch *AP* 9.808.3 der Metrik des Nonnos widerspräche und daher einem Epigrammatiker des Kyklos nicht zugeschrieben werden sollte, verliert nach den oben gesammelten Beispielen an Gewicht.

Es ergibt sich eine m.E. wichtige Folgerung für die Textkritik; dazu ein Beispiel. Für Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.275.7 behauptete Ludwich, dass der Vers:

μαρναμένης δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύσσαμεν ἔργον ἔρωτος

in folgender Weise korrigiert werden solle:

μαρνάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνύσσαμεν ἔργον ἐρώτων

Die erste Änderung ist nicht zulässig (ich habe mich kürzlich mit dieser scheinbaren ‚Schwierigkeit' beschäftigt),[33] aber auch die Konjektur am Ende des Verses ist nicht nötig – Ludwich wollte zugleich auch *APl* 278.1 in ἐρώτων korrigieren, wobei er auf *iuncturae* wie νέκταρ ἐρώτων (*AP* 5.226.1, 5.290.3 πυρσὸν ἐρώτων, usw.) hinwies.[34] Nun, abgesehen davon, dass sich vielleicht beide ‚Ausnahmen' gegenseitig verteidigen, sollen wir diese zwei Stellen wirklich wegkorrigieren? Ludwich erinnerte zwar daran, dass eine der Abweichungen des Silentiarios nur scheinbar ist, weil χροὸς ἱμερόεντος ein homerisches *explicit* ist (Hom. *Il.* 14.170), ferner, dass θεῖος Ὅμηρος formelhaft ist, er erwähnt aber Agathias nicht, bei dem, wie wir soeben gesehen haben, sich ἔρωτος am Versende findet. Wenn ἔρωτος heil ist, dann wird auch Ludwichs Annahme, ἀπὸ τριχὸς ἠέρτημαι sei „eine Entlehnung aus einem älteren Dichter", um einiges unsicherer.

Macedonios weist zwei Ausnahmen auf, *AP* 11.380.5 ἐτίταινε τάλαντα, die man nicht als eine Abweichung von der Norm betrachten kann, weil es sich, wie Madden richtig betonte, um einen homerischen Ausdruck handelt: Hom. *Il.* 8.69 ~ 22.209 (gleiche Versstelle) und *AP* 5.238.7 λάθηαι.[35] Macedonios folgt also dem Gesetz fast ausnahmelos und wir dürfen also nur sehr vorsichtig einen Schluss für die gesamte metrische Technik dieser Epigrammatiker ziehen. Obwohl sie einander formal sehr ähnlich waren, hatten sie dennoch jeweils eine eigene Individualität.

Ich habe die Metrik der Epigrammatiker des Kyklos im Vergleiche mit jener des Nonnos im Anhang systematisch behandelt,[36] man kann aber schon an dieser Stelle ein vorläufiges Ergebnis festhalten. Natürlich sind die Hexameter der Distichen des Kyklos typische Verse der Spätantike und bieten die wesentlichen Merkmale, die auch die Verse des Nonnos kennzeichnen, und es könnte

33 De Stefani 2011–2012, 222–223.

34 Ludwich 1886, 598–599.

35 Diese Ausnahme wurde von Madden nicht erwähnt.

36 Vgl. S. 309–314.

auch nicht anders sein: das beweisen der Stil, der *ordo verborum*, usw. Zugleich finden sich aber in den Epigrammen Abweichungen von den ‚Gesetzen', die in den hexametrischen Gedichten mehr oder weniger beachtet werden, und zwar, wie wir gesehen haben, bei denselben Dichtern (Silentiarios, Agathias). Das bedeutet, dass es uns nicht erlaubt ist, bei der Analyse dieser zwei Gattungen die gleichen Maßstäbe anzulegen: was ein und derselbe Dichter sich in den Epigrammen erlaubte, z. B. elidierte Pronomina usw., hätte er nicht in den hexametrischen Gedichten gewagt. Etwas verallgemeinernd könnte man sagen, dass für die Epigramme die allgemeinen Gesetze des Hexameters des Kallimachos fast immer gültig sind, die des Hexameters des Nonnos hingegen sehr oft verletzt werden.

Wenn wir nach der Ursache dieses unterschiedlichen Vorgehens suchen, bieten sich vor allem zwei Erklärungen an. Erstens war das stilistische Vorbild für die hexametrischen Gedichte der Autoren des 6. Jahrhunderts vorwiegend Nonnos und sein Riesengedicht;[37] als aber die Autoren des Kyklos im Zeitalter des Justinian nach Vorbildern für ihre Epigramme suchten, war der zeitlich nächste Dichter für Distichen Palladas, der die Regeln des späten Hexameters nicht befolgt (worauf schon Franke hinwies[38]); die ältesten Autoren erotischer Epigramme waren hingegen der bei den Dichtern des Kyklos sehr beliebte Rufinus, der kein Autor der Spätantike ist, wie Louis Robert und Alan Cameron bewiesen haben,[39] und Straton. In der Tat, wie Wifstrand zeigte, pflegten die spätantiken Autoren von Epigrammen in Hexametern *κατὰ στίχον* zu dichten. Als man aber am Anfang des 6. Jahrhunderts die alte Tradition wiederaufnahm, war der stilistische Einfluss der hellenistischen Epigrammatiker unvermeidbar, und der Bereich, in welchem dieser Einfluss vielleicht am stärksten war, ist die Metrik. Der zweite Punkt ist eng mit dem ersten verbunden: Wir haben soeben gesehen, dass bei Agathias die meisten ‚Ausnahmen' zu den Regeln des Nonnos über die Elision sich in den Pentametern finden; man darf annehmen, dass gerade die Wiederaufnahme dieses Metrons, wofür es bei den späten Vor-

37 Vgl. Mattsson 1942, 135: „Die vorangehende Untersuchung ergibt auch, daß nicht weniger als ein Drittel der direkten stilistischen Einflüsse von Nonnos auf die 87 Hexameter, die das Proömium [*sc.* des Agathias] umfasst, kommt." Selbstverständlich hat das Einschieben bzw. Nachahmen von zahlreichen Ausdrücken des Nonnos auf die metrische Gestaltung dieser Hexameter einen starken Einfluss ausgeübt – man muss aber auch gegenwärtig halten, dass, wie wir schon gesehen haben, die Hexameter des Proömiums eine Entwicklung des ‚nonnianischen' Hexameters darstellen.

38 Franke 1899, 94.

39 Vgl. Robert 1982 (= id. [1989], 777–790) und Cameron 1982a.

bildern so gut wie keine Beispiele gab,[40] für die Zulassung vieler Ausnahmen auch in den Hexametern verantwortlich war. In gewissen Fällen dehnte die Metrik der Epigramme ihren Einfluss auf die hexametrischen Kompositionen aus: So möchte ich die Verletzung des Tiedkeschen Gesetzes bei Silentiarios in seinen großen Gedichten erklären (auf den stilistischen bzw. lexikalischen Einfluss habe ich in der *praefatio* meiner Ausgabe hingewiesen).[41] Zugleich habe ich den Eindruck, dass die ältesten Epigrammatiker des Kyklos, Julianos und Macedonios, sich weniger frei als z. B. Agathias oder Leontios zu den Gesetzen des Nonnos verhielten. Ist das vielleicht ein Hinweis auf eine stilistische bzw. metrische Entwicklung, die mit Agathias, mit seinen Epigrammen und seinem an Pisides erinnernden Proömium endet? Meine Vermutungen werden vielleicht allzu kühn, und ich halte hier ein.

Anhang: Der Hexameter der Dichter des Kyklos

Ich befasse mich im Folgenden mit den Eigenschaften des Hexameters der Epigrammdichter des Kyklos im Verhältnis zu den Regeln sowohl des hellenistischen als auch des nonnianischen Hexameters – einige Regeln wurden schon im ersten Teil dieses Aufsatzes besprochen (Nr. 15–16). Obwohl ich sämtliche Verse selbst analysiert habe, wurden auch die Resultate der Analysen von Madden (Macedonios), Valerio (Agathias) und Gullo (Grabepigramme von Julianos) berücksichtigt.[42] Für Agathias und Macedonios bildet der Text von Valerio bzw. von Madden die Grundlage, für die anderen Autoren habe ich Beckby^2 benutzt; für Silentiarios folge ich Beckby, benütze aber auch eigene Kollationen der Handschriften. Die folgende Analyse berücksichtigt das *metrische Wortbild*, dessen Grundzüge vor allem von Cantilena kodifiziert wurden.[43] Analysiert werden die Dichter, die in der Liste von Averil und Alan Cameron erscheinen.[44]

---

40 Palladas und Gregor von Nazianz waren keine echten Vorbilder.

41 De Stefani 2011, XXV.

42 Zu den Dissertationen von Valerio und Gullo vgl. oben S. 300 und 301, Fußnoten 9 und 13. Der Aufsatz von Gullo 2013, den ich auch berücksichtigt habe, enthält eine neue kritische Ausgabe von Barbuc. *AP* 9.425.6–7.

43 Cantilena 1995. Ergänzungen, besonders aus dem Bereich der hellenistischen und spätantiken Dichtung, finden sich neuerdings bei Magnelli 2014.

44 Cameron und Cameron 1966, 8 (die Liste unterscheidet sich teilweise von jener von Beckby; vgl. Cameron und Cameron, ibid. n. 18).

Ablabios Illustrios
Agathias Scholastikos
Arabios Scholastikos
Damocharis von Kos
Eirenaios Referendarios
Eratosthenes Scholastikos
Gabrielios
Isidoros Scholastikos[45]
Johannes Barbukallos
Julianos von Ägypten
Julianos Antecessor
Kometas Chartularios
Kyros Konsul
Leontios Scholastikos
Makedonios Konsul
Marianos Scholastikos
Paulos Silentiarios
Rufinos (Rufos Plan.) Domestikos
Synesios Scholastikos
Theaitetos Scholastikos
Theodoretos Grammatikos
Theodoros Prokonsul[46]
Theosebeia

(1.) Jeder Vers ist durch Penthemimeres oder trochäische Zäsur geteilt.

Zwei Hexameter des Agathias weisen keine Hauptzäsur auf: *AP* 11.379.5 ἀλλ' οὐ σεῖο μέλαθρά⫽με δέξεται und *AP* 5.287.3 βήσομαι ἐς ξείνην⫽τινά που χθόνα· μίμνε δὲ κούρῃ; in diesen zwei Fällen sollte man annehmen, dass Agathias με und τινά που (metrisch) unabhängig von den vorhergehenden Worten aufgefasst hat.[47]

45 Auch *AP* 9.11 wird im Folgenden berücksichtigt, obwohl das Lemma Φιλίππου, οἱ δὲ Ἰσιδώρου sowohl in P (f. 359) als in **Pl** (f. 2ᵛ) überliefert ist, und dieses Epigramm sich nicht in einem Kyklos-Zusammenhang befindet.

46 Theodoros Prokonsul muss mit dem Sohn von Petros Patrikios identifiziert werden (vgl. A. Cameron 1993, 72–74), der auf seinen Vater als *magister officiorum* seit 566 folgte (vgl. Cameron und Cameron 1966, 22).

47 So mit Recht Valerio 2014, 25. Im ersten Falle wird oft δεδέξεται von P (gegen **Pl**) angenommen, und im zweiten wird nicht selten emendiert: die beiden Fälle stützen einander.

(2.) Wortende nach der ersten Kürze des vierten *biceps* ist nicht gestattet (= „Hermanns Brücke").

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 7.568.1 ἑπτά με δὶς λυκάβαντας ἔχουσαν ἀφήρπασε δαίμων,[48] ibid. 7 ἀλλά, θεοί, λίτομαι, μητρός τε γόους πατέρος τε, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.262.5 ἵστασο καὶ σκοπίαζε, μάτην δὲ σὸν ἦτορ ἀμύσσου.[49]

(3.) Wortende nach dem vierten einsilbigen *biceps* ist nicht gestattet (= „Naekes Brücke").

Ausnahmen: Agath. *APl* 244.3 ὃς δὲ γελῶν σίγησεν, ἴσως δ' ἂν φθέγξατο μῦθον (leichter Verstoß). Weitere Ausnahmen sind nur scheinbare.[50]

(4.) Die Penthemimeres wird immer von Hephthemimeres oder bukolischer Dihärese (oder beiden) begleitet.

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 7.568.7 ἀλλά, θεοί, λίτομαι, μητρός τε γόους πατέρος τε (vgl. oben).

(5.) In einem Vers, der durch Penthemimeres geteilt wird, ist kein Wortende nach dem fünften *longum* erlaubt („Meyers dritte Regel").

48 Agathias Autorschaft dieses Epigramms, das sogar zwei Verstöße gegen Hermanns Brücke aufweist (v. 7 verletzt auch Regel Nr. 5), ist vielmals angezweifelt worden. Die Verletzung der Brücke in v. 1 wird vom gleichen Verstoß in v. 7 und *vice versa* gegen Änderungen gesichert: offenbar war der Dichter für diese Regel nicht allzu sensibel. Stadtmüller schlägt im Apparat eine Änderung vor und zieht – wie oft – seinen Vorschlag sofort wieder zurück: „offendit trochaica caesura in quarto pede, neque sic verba ponere placet: Δὶς λυκάβ. ἔχουσαν ἀφήρπασεν ἑπτά με δαίμων." Tatsächlich überzeugt dieser *ordo verborum* nicht. Man könnte vorschlagen: ἀφήρπασε νοῦσος ἔχουσαν, wenn νοῦσος mit δαίμων vertauscht und der Vers dem neuen Wort angepasst wurde (das Bild ist ganz üblich, vgl. Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.711.5 = *HE* 552 ἀφαρπάξασα δὲ νοῦσος, etc.). Die Stelle ist aber wahrscheinlich gar nicht korrupt.

49 Der Vers ist wahrscheinlich nicht verdorben, und das Asyndeton σκοπίαζε, μάτην τεὸν ἧπαρ κτλ. ist nicht sehr plausibel.

50 In Jul. Aeg. *AP* 9.771.1 ὄντως Βάκχον ἔδεκτο Θέτις· νῦν μῦθος Ὁμήρου zeigt die Interpunktion, dass νῦν zu den folgenden Worten gehört. Maced. *AP* 10.70.3 παίζομαι, εἰ βροτός εἰμι· βροτὸς δ' εὖ οἶδα καὶ αὐτός ist wieder keine Ausnahme, vgl. Madden 1995, 285.

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 7.568.7 ἀλλά, θεοί, λίτομαι, μητρός τε γόους πατέρος τε,[51] Julian. Aeg. *AP* 6.12.1 γνωτῶν τρισσατίων ἐκ τρισσατίης λίνα θήρης, *AP* 6.28, 7 ἄγκυραν, γριπεύς, Ἐριούνιε, σοὶ τάδε Βαίτων / δῶρα φέρει,[52] *AP* 7.576.1 κάτθανες ὦ Πύρρων; "Ἐπέχω" Πυμάτην μετὰ μοῖραν, *AP* 9.661.5 ἀντὶ γὰρ ὀρνίθων Κρατεροῦ κρατεροῖς ὑπὸ μύθοις, Leont. *APl* 37.3 ἀντολίης πρώτη καὶ διχθαδίη μετὰ τήνδε.

(6.) In einem Vers, der durch trochäische Zäsur geteilt wird, ist kein gleichzeitiges Wortende nach viertem und fünftem *longum* gestattet („Tiedke-Meyers Regel").

Ausnahmen: Agath. *APl* 331.1 σεῖο πολυκλήεντα τύπον στῆσαν, Χαιρωνεῦ (Marc. Gr. Cl. IV 55 *et* Laur. 69.6: στήσαντο Χερ- Pl),[53] *AP* 5.261.5 πορθμεύει γάρ ἔμοιγε κύλιξ παρὰ σοῦ τὸ φίλημα, Jul. Aeg. *AP* 6.29.3 ἄγκυραν γυρόν τε λίθον σπυρίδας θ' ἅμα φελλῷ.

(7.) Einsilbigen Wörtern am Versende muss bukolische Dihärese vorausgehen, die oft von Interpunktion begleitet wird.[54] Kurze einsilbige Wörter, die gestattet werden, sind μέν, δέ, γάρ; lange Einsilbler bestehen entweder aus Eigennamen (z. B. Ζεύς, Πάν) oder Substantiven, denen ein choriambisches Epitheton vorausgeht (z. B. βοῦς, θήρ, χείρ, πῦρ, χθών, φλόξ, νύξ).

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 6.79.5 (σοι), *AP* 7.568.7 (τε), *AP* 9.768.5 (τε), Damoch. *AP* 7.206.5 (νῦν),[55] Julian. Aeg. *AP* 16.203.3 (με), Leont. *AP* 9.624.3 (τε),[56] Paul. Sil. *AP*

---

51 Vgl. oben, Nr. 2.

52 Das Pronomen ist stark betont: „all dies bietet als Gaben dir, Bringer des Nutzens, der Fischer / Baiton" (Beckby) – man muss zugleich anerkennen, dass der Verstoß durch die starke bukolische Dihärese gemildert wird.

53 Das Problem ist neuerdings sorgfältig von Valerio 2011–2012, 199–202 analysiert worden.

54 Dass Interpunktion vorliegt, liegt an der Natur der gestatteten Einsilbler, denn es handelt sich meistens um satzeinleitende Partikel (δέ, γάρ), die normalerweise die zweite Position im Satz einnehmen, während das vorausgehende Wort das erste des neuen Satzes ist; in diesem Fall geht regelmäßig Interpunktion voraus.

55 Unter dem Einfluss von Theogn. 1109 οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πρίν?

56 κεῖνο μέλοι πλεόνεσσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγοις τε φίλοις τε, ein homerischer Ausdruck, Hom. *Il.* 1.167 ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε.

5. 241.5 (που),[57] *AP* 5.264.9 (μοι),[58] *AP* 5.268.3 (μοι),[59] *AP* 5.274.3 (τοι),[60] *AP* 5.288.3 (τι), *AP* 6.81.1 (τε),[61] ibid. 5 (νῦν), Synes. Schol. *APl* 267.1 (τίς).[62]

(8.) Ein im ersten Fuße beginnendes Wort, (a) darf nicht mit der ersten Kürze des zweiten *biceps* enden, wenn Penthemimeres folgt, (b) endet selten mit der ersten Kürze des zweiten *biceps*, wenn trochäische Zäsur folgt („Meyers erste Regel"). Ausnahmen von der Regel (a) bringen oft einen Verstoß gegen Meyers „zweite Regel" mit sich.[63] Die Verstöße gegen Regel (a) werden als (verhältnismäßig) schwerer als die gegen Regel (b) angesehen.[64]

Ausnahmen: (a) Agath. *AP* 5.267.5 ἐλπίζεις δὲ τυχεῖν, *AP* 5.292.9 καί μοι δισσὸς ἔρως, *AP* 7.572.3 ἐξαπίνης δὲ δόμων, Damoch. *AP* 6.63.5 τρηχαλέην τε λίθον, Iren. Reph. *AP* 5.249.3 ἀγκὰς ἑλοῦσα μ' ἔχεις, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.592.3 ἤθελε γάρ μιν ἔχειν, *AP* 7.603.1 Ἄγριός ἐστι Χάρων, *AP* 9.797 εἰσορόων με λέων, *APl* 108.3 εἰ γάρ ζωὸς ἐών, Maced. *AP* 5.225.5 Τήλεφός εἰμι, κόρη, *AP* 11.366.1 φειδωλός τις ἀνήρ, *AP* 11.374.1 τῷ ψιμύθῳ μὲν ἀεί, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.259.3 ἔσκυλται δὲ κόμη, *APl* 118.7 καὶ τὰς μέν τις ἀνήρ, Syn. Schol. *APl* 267.5 καὶ τί μὴ αὐτὸς ἐὸν τύπον.

57 Das ist vielleicht eine scheinbare Ausnahme: ὁμοίιον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που (ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που = metrisches Vorbild). Das gleiche Versende kommt *Ambo* 179 vor: δαήμονες, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που; nun kehrt dieses Explicit sehr oft in Quintus Smyrnaeus wieder, und eine Stelle aus Quintus konnte als Muster für das Epigramm wirken – der Ausdruck von Amb. kam dann später: ἔκπαγλον θήσειν καὶ ἀρήιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν που (Q.S. 3.624); vielleicht schwebte Silentiarios auch das Kallimacheische Explicit vor *AP* 7.80.3 = *HE* 1205 = 2 Pf. ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν που.

58 Dieser Fall ist dem vorausgehenden ähnlich: αὐτίκα γάρ μοι (vielleicht unter Einfluss von Germ. Caes. *AP* 9.17.3 αὐτίκα γάρ μιν).

59 Wie in den vorangehenden Fällen: ἐξότε γάρ μοι.

60 Ebenso αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι: homerisches Explicit (Hom. *Il.* 23.95, *Od.* 5.97, 9.364), das auch in der *Anthologia* zweimal vorkommt.

61 ἀντιβίων τε (eine Neuerung gegenüber ἀντιβίων δέ des Nonnos).

62 Theaetet. *APl* 221.9 εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ist sicher kein Verstoß, καὶ νῦν ist metrisches Vorbild (der gleiche Schluss in *IGUR* 1526.4 [II *ex.*–III] und *GVI* 1736.1 = *IGUR* 1349.1 [II *p. Ch.*]).

63 „Die männliche Caesur im dritten Fusse darf nicht durch ein zweisilbiges jambisches Wort gebildet werden" (Meyer 1884, 980); Nonnos beachtet diese Regel nicht (Meyer, 1004): sie wird also im Folgenden nicht berücksichtigt werden.

64 Ich habe versucht, die entsprechenden Fälle unter genauer Beachtung des ‚metrischen Vorbilds' zu verzeichnen (bei Agath. *AP* 5.269.7 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρ' ἔειπον, z.B., bezieht sich ἄρα wahrscheinlich auf ἔειπον, nicht auf ὀχθήσας, cf. Pi. *P.* 4.156 ὣς ἄρ' ἔειπεν). Ich muss aber vorausschicken, dass ich gelegentlich bei der Beurteilung dieser zwei äußerst schwierigen Regeln Fehler begangen haben könnte.

(b) Agath. *AP* 5.216.5 ἔργον γάρ τι γυναιξίν, ibid. 7 κεῖνος δ' ἐστὶν ἄριστος, *AP* 5.261.5 πορθμεύει γὰρ ἔμοιγε, *AP* 5.299.9 πάντα δ' ἄναλλα γένοντο,[65] *AP* 6.41.3 καὶ βούπληκτρον ἄκαιναν, *AP* 7.578.5 αἰγανέη δὲ τάλαινα, *AP* 9.662.5 ἀλλὰ πατήρ με πόληος, *AP* 11.352.13 τοὔνεκέν εἰσιν ἀδελφά, *AP* 11.379.5 ἀλλ' οὐ σεῖο μέλαθρα, *AP* 11.382.3 νυσσόμενός τε τὸ πλευρόν, Damoch. *AP* 6.63.3 καὶ γραφικοῖο δοχεῖα, Jul. Aeg. *AP* 6.28.3 εὐκόλπου τε λίνοιο, *AP* 7.70.3 εἰ γὰρ φέγγος ἔλειπον, *AP* 9.739.3 οὐ νέμεσις δὲ μύωπι,[66] Maced. *AP* 10.70.5 αὐτὸς ἑκοντὶ γέγηθα, *AP* 11.63.1 ἀνέρες, οἷσι μέμηλεν, ibid. 7 οὐ τρομέω δὲ θάλασσαν, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.258.1 πρόκριτός ἐστι, Φίλιννα, *AP* 5.260.3 ἀσκεπές ἐστι κάρηνον, *AP* 5.275.7 μαρναμένης δὲ τὸ λοιπόν, *AP* 6.65.1 τὸν τροχόεντα μόλυβδον.[67]

(9.) Wortende nach dem zweiten einsilbigen *biceps* ist nicht gestattet (= „Hilbergs Brücke").

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 9.767.1 ἑζόμενος μὲν τῇδε, *AP* 9.768.5 αἰνέομεν δὴ κεῖνον, Barbuc. *APl* 219.1 σεῖο μὲν εἰκὼν ἥδε, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.600.3 σοὶ γενέτης, σοὶ πικρά, *AP* 9.398.3 ἱσταμένην γὰρ πυρσός, Leont. *APl* 284.3 ὁππόθι πορθμῷ γαῖα, id. *APl* 357.3 νῦν δὲ νέος τις μῦθος, Paul. Sil. *AP* 7.604.5 δωδεκέτιν γὰρ μοῖρα, *APl* 118.1 Μηδοφόνους μὲν χεῖρας.

(10.) Ein im ersten Fuß beginnendes Wort darf nicht mit dem zweiten *biceps* enden („Gisekes Regel").[68]

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 9.767.1 ἑζόμενος μὲν τῇδε, *AP* 9.768.5 αἰνέομεν δὴ κεῖνον, *AP* 11.352.17 καὶ γὰρ δεξιὸν ὄμμα, Jul. Aeg. *AP* 9.398.3 ἱσταμένην γὰρ πυρσός, *APl* 173.3 αἰδομένη δ' ἄρα θεσμά, Kyr. *AP* 9.808.3 ἀγλαΐη δέ μοι ἀμφίς, Paul. Sil. *AP* 7.604.5 δωδεκέτιν γὰρ μοῖρα, *APl* 118.1 Μηδοφόνους μὲν χεῖρας.

Es ist anzumerken, dass gleichzeitige Verstöße gegen die Hilberg- und Giseke Regeln (vgl. die hier gesammelten Stellen: *AP* 9.767.1, usw.) von den raffiniertesten hellenistischen Dichtern vermieden werden.

---

65 Ein direktes Zitat aus Theoc. 1.134.

66 Vorbilder sind Ausdrücke des Nonnos wie Nonn. *Dion.* 3.273 γυιοβόρῳ δὲ μύωπι, 8.57 πῇ σέο κέντρα μύωπος, 11.191 καί οἱ πέμπε μύωπα. Vgl. auch Colluth. 43 φοινήεντι μύωπι.

67 Agath. *AP* 5.294.3 προβλὴς ὥς τις ἔπαλξις ist wahrscheinlich kein Verstoß gegen die Regel (vielleicht ist ein Komma nach προβλής zu setzen: προβλής, ὥς τις ἔπαλξις), ebenso *AP* 5.297.1 ἠϊθέοις οὐκ ἔστι τόσος πόνος.

68 Giseke 1864, 128 hatte die Art des *biceps* nicht näher bestimmt (nach seiner Auffassung konnte es auch einsilbig sein); vgl. Magnelli 1995, 136.

Regeln des nonnianischen Hexameters

(11.) Die Schlusssilbe eines zweisilbigen, spondeischen Wortes bildet nicht oft ein *longum*.[69]

Verstöße gegen diese Regel sind nicht selten, obwohl viele scheinbare Ausnahmen durch Berücksichtigung des Wortbildes beseitigt werden können,[70] vgl. Agath. *AP* 9.152.1 ἁ κλεινά, Barbuc. *AP* 9.425.1 ἁ τλάμων, Damoch. *AP* 9.633.3 τῆς μορφῆς, Eiren. Reph. *AP* 5.249.5 ψυχή τε, *AP* 6.79.3 καὶ χαίρων, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.576.1 ὦ Πύρρων,[71], *AP* 9.798.2 τέχνη σε, usw.

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 4.3c.9 μνήμη (3. *longum*), *AP* 5.267.7 φεύγεις (4. *longum*), *AP* 5.296.5 δείξει (3. *longum*), *AP* 5.297.7 λεύσσειν (4. *longum*), *AP* 6.72.5 χαίρων (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.80.1 βίβλων (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.204.7 κούφη (3. *longum*), ibid. κρύπτοι (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.205.3 πέρδιξ (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.220.3 χαίροις (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.551.5 ζώειν (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.552.9 ζώοι (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.583.7 γαστήρ (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.593.3 κρύπτει (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.602.7 πάππου (3. *longum*), *AP* 9.482.13 δισσάς (3. *longum*), *AP* 9.643.9 μούνη (4. *longum*), *AP* 9.665.1 Δάφνης (3. *longum*, Eigenname), ibid. 3 Νύμφαι (3. *longum*), *AP* 9.766.3 σεύειν (3. *longum*), ibid. 7 σῴζω (3. *longum*), *AP* 10.66.1 πλούτου (4. *longum*), AP 10.68.5 ζῴων (4. *longum*), *AP* 10.69.3 θνητοῖς (3. *longum*), *AP* 11.354.13 ψυχῆς (4. *longum*), *AP* 11.365.9 ῥήξῃ (3. *longum*), *APl* 332.5 μύθοις (3. *longum*), Barbuc. *AP* 6.55.1 πακτὰν (4. *longum*), *APl* 327.1 ζωὰν (4. *longum*), Julian. Aeg. *AP* 6.12.3 θηρῶν (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.25.5 δώρου (3. longum; vgl. z.B. id., *AP* 6.19.4 δέχνυσο καὶ δώρου, πότνια, μαρτυρίην), *AP* 6.28.1 κώπην (4. *longum*), ibid. 7 γριπεύς (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.29.1 Βαίτων (3. *longum*, Eigenname), *AP* 7.580.1 κρύψεις (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.585.3 ζώων (3. *longum*), *AP* 7.586.3 γαίης (3. *longum*),[72] *AP* 7.591.3 λιτῷ (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.599.1 Κάλη (3. *longum*; Eigenname), *AP* 9.797.1 χαίνει (4. *longum*; im darauffolgendem Pentameter ζεύγλην),[73] Julian. Antecess. *AP* 11.367.1 στρουθῷ (3.

69 Dazu gehört die Eischränkung, auf die Ludwich 1873, 9, aufmerksam machte: bei ἀφρός, καπνός, κύκλος usw. muss das *longum* (d.h. die ‚Hebung') durch die erste Silbe, nicht die zweite gebildet werden.

70 Wie schon von dem Entdecker der Einschränkung, Scheindler 1881, 71 betont wurde: die Regel gilt für die Fälle nicht, in welchen „das spondeische Wort mit dem unmittelber vorausgehenden so eng zusammen hängt, dass dadurch sein spondeischer Charakter verwischt wurde. Das vorausgehende Wort ist entweder proklitisch oder eine Präposition, die auf's engste sich an ihr Substantiv anschliesst, oder ein Adjectiv oder ein ergänzender Infinitiv."

71 ὦ ist Praepositivum: Magnelli 1995, 141.

72 εἴη μοι γαίης ὀλίγος βίος, veranlasst durch das Vorbild Leon. *AP* 7.655.1 = *HE* 2054 ἀρκεῖ μοι γαίης μικρὴ κόνις.

73 Vgl. Nikarch. *AP* 11.242.1 οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι, πότερον χαίνει Διόδωρος.

longum), Kyros AP 7.557.1 Μαίης (4. *longum*: Eigenname), AP 9.808.5 γαίης (3. *longum*), Leont. AP 9.630.5 ψυχροῦ (3. *longum*), *APl* 33.1 νικᾷς (3. *longum*), *APl* 37.3 πρώτη (3. *longum*), *APl* 286.3 πρώτη (3. *longum*), Maced. AP 6.40.3 ζώειν (3. *longum*), AP 9.645.3 πρώτη (3. *longum*), AP 11.61.3 πίνειν (3. *longum*), AP 11.63.3 κρητὴρ (3. *longum*), Paul. Sil. AP 5.246.1 Σαπφοῦς (3. *longum*, Eigenname), AP 5.275.11 ἄλλην (3. *longum*), AP 7.588.1 Μοίρης (3. *longum*), AP 9.765.1 λέκτροις (3. *longum*), *APl* 77.1 κούρης (3. *longum*), *APl* 118.5 ἀπρὶξ (3. *longum*).

Natürlich sind einige der genannten Ausnahmen durch Nachahmung der Vorbilder begründet; besonders lehrreich erweist sich der Fall von Julian. Aeg. AP 6.12, wo gleichzeitiger Einfluss des Pentameters und des Vorbildes dazu führt, dass sich im v. 3 nicht weniger als zwei Ausnahmen finden:

Γνωτῶν τρισσατίων ἐκ τρισσατίης λίνα θήρης
δέχνυσο, Πάν· Πίγρης σοὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ πτερύγων
ταῦτα φέρει, θηρῶν Δᾶμις, Κλείτωρ δὲ θαλάσσης·
καί σφι δὸς εὐαγρεῖν ἠέρα, γαῖαν, ὕδωρ.

Vgl. Arch. AP 6.16 = *GPh* 3596–601:

Σοὶ τάδε, Πὰν σκοπιῆτα, παναίολα δῶρα σύναιμοι
τρίζυγες ἐκ τρισσῆς θέντο λινοστασίης·
δίκτυα μὲν Δᾶμις θηρῶν, Πίγρης δὲ πετηνῶν
λαιμοπέδας, Κλείτωρ δ' εἰναλίφοιτα λίνα·
ὧν τὸν μὲν καὶ ἐσαῦθις ἐν ἠέρι, τὸν δ' ἔτι θείης
εὔστοχον ἐν πόντῳ, τὸν δὲ κατὰ δρυόχους.[74]

(12.) Lange Einsilbler (nicht Praepositiva oder Postpositiva) sind nicht im 3., 4. und 6. *longum* und nicht in den *bicipitia* gestattet.[75] Sie dürfen dagegen fol-

74 Ich erwähne *in transcursu* eine Tendenz, auf die Tiedke aufmerksam gemacht hat: Nonnos lässt keine Zweisilbler vor Hephthemimeres nach Penthemimeres zu (Tiedke 1873, 9; Wifstrand 1933, 26 n. 1). Die Epigrammdichter befolgen im Allgemeinen die Regel, vgl. aber Agath. AP 1.36.5 μάρτυς, AP 5.267.7 φεύγεις, AP 5.297.7 λεύσσειν, AP 7.204.7 κρύπτοι, AP 7.220.3 χαίροις, AP 7.551.5 ζώειν, AP 7.583.7 γαστήρ, AP 9.643.9 μούνη, AP 9.677.5 κεῖται, AP 10.66.1 πλούτου, AP 10.68.5 ζῴων, AP 11.354.13 ψυχῆς, Barbuc. AP 6.55.1 πακτάν, *APl* 327.1 ζωάν, Eratosth. Schol. AP 5.242.1 ὦχρος, Julian. AP 6.12.3 Δᾶμις, AP 6.28.1 κώπην, AP 7.590.1 θνητός, AP 7.591.3 λιτῷ, AP 9.446.3 κέρδος, AP 9.797.1 χαίνει, Kyr. AP 7.557.1 Μαίης, Leont. *APl* 285.1 χρυσόν. Die meisten dieser Fälle gehören zu Punkt Nr. 11.

75 Nicht selten wird das *biceps* durch ναί gebildet, dem aber fast immer ein weiteres ναί folgt: ναί ναί ist also ein einheitlicher (zweisilbiger) Ausruf: vgl. Agath. AP 5.267.5, AP 5.276.5, AP 7.552.9. Ebenso φεῦ φεῦ Agath. AP 7.612.1, Julian. Aeg. AP 7.601.1.

gende *longa* ausfüllen: (I) 2. *longum*; (II) 5. *longum*, wenn nach der bukolischen Diärese Sinnpause eintritt; (III) 1. *longum*, wenn es Wortschluss vor oder nach dem 2. *longum* gibt;[76] (IV) am Versende. Diese Regel wird im Allgemeinen auch von den Epigrammdichtern beachtet.

Ausnahmen: (a) *biceps*: Agath. *AP* 5.292.7 τῶν (2. *biceps*),[77] *AP* 11.352.7 πῶς (3. *biceps*), Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.600.3 σοὶ; (2. *biceps*),[78] *AP* 9.771.1 νῦν (4. *biceps*). (b) 1. *longum*: Agath. *AP* 7.596.5 (νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Μινώῃην), *APl* 36.3 (νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ ἱδρώτων)

(13.) Verse, die ein einsilbiges 5. *biceps* ausweisen, werden von den Dichtern vermieden.

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 7.614.15, *APl* 331.1 (vgl. oben, Nr. 6), Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.230.7.

(14.) Unmittelbar aufeinander folgende Spondeen sind nicht gestattet, es sei denn, Penthemimeres tritt ein. Die Regel wird von Nonnos sorgfältig eingehalten, von den Epigrammdichtern des öfteren verletzt.

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 5.289.5 (ssddds), *AP* 11.350.3 (ssddds), ibid. 5 (ssdsds), *APl* 331.1 (dsdsss), *APl* 332.7 (ssddds), Damoch. *APl* 310.1 (ssddds), Eiren. *AP* 5.249.5 (ssddds), Julian. Aeg. *AP* 6.28.7 (ssddds), *AP* 6.29.1 (ssddds), ibid. 3 (ssddds), *AP* 7.584.1 (ssdsds),[79] *AP* 7.586.3 (ssddds), *AP* 7.587.3 (ssddds), *AP* 7.590.3 (ssddds), *AP* 9.795.1 (ssddds), Leont. *AP* 7.150.1 (ssddds), *AP* 9.650.1 (ssddds), Maced. *AP* 10.67.1 (ssddds), Marian. *AP* 9.627.3 (ssddds), Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.275.5 (ssddds), *AP* 6.54.1 (ssddds), ibid. 5 (ssddds),[80] *AP* 6.57.5 (ssdsds),[81] *AP* 6.84.7 (ssddds), *AP* 7.307.3 (ssddds).

---

76 Vgl. z. B. Julian. Aeg. *APl* 88.3 δεῦρ' ἴδε γὰρ στενάχοντα Προμηθέα, δεῦρ' ἴδε χαλκοῦ und *APl* 107.3 ἀλλά γε μὴ πτερὰ πάλλε κατ' ἠέρα, μὴ τὸ λοετρόν, wo die Regeln II und III bzw. I und II gleichzeitig beachtet werden.

77 Kein Artikel, sondern ein Demonstrativum, das sich auf die vorausgehenden Wörter bezieht: ἀλλά τί μοι τῶν ἦδος.

78 Durch die Anapher entschuldigt (σοὶ γενέτης, σοὶ πικρὰ πόσις κατὰ δάκρυα λείβει, / σοὶ κτλ.).

79 Πλώεις ναυηγόν με κτλ.: dass der Vers gegen die Regel verstößt, ist dadurch entschuldigt, dass ναυηγός in vielen Grabepigrammen den 2. und 3. Fuß ausfüllt; wahrscheinlich wirkte zugleich auch das Vorbild von Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2, 1, 685 πλώει ναυηγοῦ λεύσσων τάφον.

80 Vielleicht ist der Vers onomatopoetisch, und die langen Silben sollen das Zerbrechen der Saite wiedergeben: βραγχὸν τετριγυῖα λύρας ἀπεκόμπασε χορδά.

81 Hier dürfte auch die Ausdruckskraft der Länge mitwirken (αἰχμῇ δ' ἡμιβρῶτι τύποι μίμνουσιν ὀδόντων / ᾧ ἔπι βρυχητὰν θὴρ ἐκένωσε χόλον).

Drei (sogar) unmittelbar folgende Spondeen bilden durch das Eintreten der Hauptzäsur keine Ausnahme, vgl. Barbuc. *APl* 38.3 und *APl* 327.1, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 6.12.3, Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.75.3.

(15.) Am Versende sind Worte, die aus mehr als fünf Silben bestehen, ausnahmslos vermieden (Meyer 1884, 1010);[82] lange Silben werden am Zeilenschluss durchaus vorgezogen. Kurze Silben am Versende sind nur in den folgenden Fällen zugelassen: (a) von den mehrsilbigen Wörtern dürfen nur Properispomena oder Paroxytona, nicht Oxytona oder Proparoxytona („Ludwichs Gesetz") den Vers schließen; (b) von den zweisilbigen Wörtern dürfen nur Substantiva (nicht Verba), die Properispomena oder Paroxytona sind, selten Oxytona am Versende stehen („eine principielle Ausnahme bilden αὐτός und αὐτόν und die homerische Formel ὦ μέγα θαῦμα" [Meyer 1884, 1012]); (c) Von den Einsilblern werden nur δέ, γάρ und (seltener) μέν zugelassen (vgl. Nr. 7).

Ausnahmen: Über „Ludwichs Gesetz" siehe oben.[83] (a) Agath. *AP* 5.220.1 τὸ θαλυκρόν, *AP* 5.285.3 ὀχετηγός, *AP* 7.612.1 τὴν λυραοιδόν, *AP* 9.152.3 Ἐπειός (Eigenname), *AP* 9.153.3 ἐφεστρίς, *AP* 9.677.1 ἁγητόν, *AP* 11.352.9 ἁγητόν (vgl. oben), *AP* 11.382.3 ἀμυχθέν, ibid. 7 οὔ τι περιττόν, Damoch. *AP* 6.63.9 παλαιόν,[84] *AP* 9.633.1 λοετρόν, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.592.5 φαεινόν,[85] *APl* 107.3 μὴ τὸ λοετρόν, Leont. *AP* 9.630.5 λοετρά, *AP* 9.650.1 λοετρόν, Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.71.5 ὁ δειλός, *AP* 7.609.3 ἐπὶ δηρόν; (b) Agath. *AP* 5.280.7 καλόν, *AP* 6.74.7 κισσόν, *AP* 7.578.3 δεινός, *AP* 7.602.1 κηρόν, *AP* 9.643.1 πικρά,[86] ibid. 5 δαιτί, *AP* 9.767.5 ἀνδρός, *AP* 11.57.3 χειρί, *AP* 11.354.19 σαυτόν, Marian. *APl* 201.3 τρισσά.

Weiter seien die in -υς ausgehenden Zweisilbler erwähnt, die bei Nonnos äußerst selten sind (Agath. *AP* 5.299.5 ὀφρύν, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.275.9 und *AP* 6.75.1 πουλύν).[87]

---

82 Unhomerisch (αἰειγενετάων, usw.). Vgl. aber (Wortbild) Maced. *AP* 9.625.1 πυλαωρὸς ἐμεῖο.

83 S. 305–307. Bei Berücksichtigung des Wortbildes würden sich eigentlich die Ausnahmen vermehren, vgl. Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.288.3 δοκέω τι, *AP* 6.81.1 ἀντιβίων τε.

84 ὄμμα παλαιόν: Nachahmung von Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.2, 16, 13 αἷμα παλαιόν? Oder [Opp.] *C.* 3.69 und Gr. Naz. *AP* 8.5.3 ὄμμα φαεινόν (vgl. unten)?

85 φαεινὸν / τίμησεν κενεῷ σήματι τῷδε νέκυν: vgl. oben und *GVI* 270.1 (Zorava, Trachonitis, II–III p. C.) αὐτῷ καὶ γενε⟨ε⟩σ⟨σ⟩ιν ἐδείματο σῆμα φαεινόν.

86 Eher oxyton und Mehrsilbler: ἐς τί δὲ πικρά (ebenso v. 5 εἰ παρὰ δαιτί).

87 Keydell 1959, 37* behauptet, dass „nominum in ύς exeuntium (…) syllabam finalem pro longa habere N. poterat veterum poetarum usum secutus": dies ist eine sehr wahrscheinliche Hypothese; man könnte allerdings fragen, warum Nonnos, wenn er diese Endung

Alles in allem, mit Ausnahme des schon oben besprochenen, von den Epigrammdichtern oft verletzten „Ludwichschen Gesetzes“, befolgen die Dichter des Kyklos die Regel des Nonnos ziemlich treu. Eine auffällige Ausnahme bildet Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.300.7:

> παρθένε θυμολέαινα, καὶ εἰ χόλον ἔνδικον αἶθες,
> σβέσσον ἀγηνορίην, ἐγγὺς ἴδες Νέμεσιν,

wo αἶθες aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach korrekt ist, obwohl der Verstoß gegen das Metrum αἶθεις nahelegen würde.

(16.) Vor der Penthemimeres sind vorwiegend Paroxytona, selten Properispomena zugelassen. Ich habe oben die Beachtung dieses bekannten Gesetzes bei den wichtigsten Epigrammdichtern (Agathias, Makedonios, Paulos Silentiarios) besprochen.[88] Hier folgt die Liste der Stellen bei anderen Dichter:

Barbuc. *AP* 7.555.3 ζωόν, Damoch. *AP* 9.633.3 μορφῆς, Eratosth. Schol. *AP* 6.77.1 Ξενοφῶν (Eigennamen), Julian. Aeg. *AP* 5.298.5 πολιαί, *AP* 6.12.3 θηρῶν, *AP* 6.25.3 τρομερῇ, *AP* 6.28.7 γριπεύς, *AP* 9.738.3 δερκομένοις μὲν γάρ, *APl* 108.1 ἐών, ibid. v. 3 ἐών, *APl* 130.3 ψυχήν, *APl* 325.3 σιγῇ, Julian. Antecess. *AP* 11.367.1 στρουθῷ, Leont. *AP* 9.630.5 ψυχροῦ, *APl* 33.1 νικᾷς, *APl* 286.1 ὀρχηθμοῖς, Marian. *AP* 9.669.9 ποταμός, *APl* 201.3 λαμπάς, ibid. 7 καθαρήν, Syn. Schol. *APl* 267.5 ἑόν.

Es muss aber betont werden, dass nicht selten bei der Zulassung von Oxytona oder Perispomena vor B5 Wortschluss (und manchmal Sinnespause) nach dem 4. einsilbigen *biceps* eintritt, eine Erscheinung die, wie Wifstrand betonte, den Verstoß gegen die Regel mildert.[89]

(17.) Vor der trochäischen Zäsur sind keine Oxytona zugelassen, es sei denn, dass Trithemimeres vorausgeht. Diese Regel, die bekannterweise von Albert Wifstrand gefunden wurde, wird seltener als die Tiedkesche (Nr. 16) verletzt.[90]

---

wirklich als lang gelten ließ, die in -ύς (und -ις) ausgehenden Namen bzw. Adjektiva am Zeilenschluss tunlichst vermied (wie Ludwich 1873, 71–72, betonte).

88 S. 302–304.

89 „Dann ist es wohl kaum ein Zufall, dass auch die meisten wirklichen Ausnahmen von der Tiedkeschen Regel über den Akzent vor der Penthemimeres in solchen Versen stehen, die starke, bei uns interpungierte Nebenzäsur haben“ (Wifstrand 1933, 17).

90 Wie von Wifstrand selbst (im Hinblick auf die Nachahmer des Nonnos) betont: „diese Regel hat sich also besser durchgesetzt als die Penthemimeresregel“ (Wifstrand 1933, 19). Die Tatsache, dass die Ausnahmen bei der *Paraphrase* gegenüber den *Dionysiaka*

Ausnahmen: Agath. *AP* 1.35.1 Καρικὸς Αἰμιλιανός (Eigenname), *AP* 5.216.5 ἔργον γάρ τι γυναιξίν, *AP* 5.287.9 ὄλβιος ἐς πόθον εἰμί, *AP* 5.299.7 καὶ νῦν ὁ βλοσυρωπός, *AP* 5.302.5 κουριδίαις δὲ γυναιξίν, *AP* 9.644.5 ἔμπης ἀρτίπος ἐσσί, *AP* 11.352.13 τοὔνεκέν εἰσιν ἀδελφά, *AP* 11.382.3 νυσσόμενός τε τὸ πλευρόν, Julian. Aeg. *AP* 7.582.1 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ ναυηγέ, *AP* 7.600.1 ὥριος εἷλέ σε παστάς, Maced. *AP* 5.235.5 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὸν ναυηγόν (vgl. Madden 1995, 291).[91]

Es muss hinzugefügt werden, dass bei den Epigrammatikern sehr oft nach dem Oxytonon bei der trochäischen Zäsur eine Sinnespause eintritt: dies ist ein weiterer Verstoß gegen eine allgemeine Tendenz des Nonnos (oder eher selbst gegen die Natur dieses Prinzips, wie Wifstrand erklärte). Manchmal tritt diese Erscheinung auch mit der Verletzung der Regel von Wifstrand auf.[92]

(18.) Die Positionsverlängerung ist einer Reihe von Beschränkungen unterworfen, die vor allem von Isidor Hilberg und Joseph Král gefunden wurden:[93] (**a.1**) vokalisch auslautende kurze Endsilben werden nur im *longum*, nie im *biceps* verlängert (Hilbergs „7. Gesetz“: Hilberg 1879, 96)[94] – und nur in bestimmten *longa*: (**a.2**) 2. und 4., selten 6., nie bei den *longa* 3. und 5.; zweisilbige pyrrhichische Wörter dürfen in den *longa* 2. und 4. verlängert werden [Král 1907,

verhältnismässig zahlreich sind (Wifstrand 1933, 17–18), darf als ein weiteres Anzeichen betrachtet werden, dass die Abfassung der *Paraphrase* vor die der *Dionysiaka* gesetzt werden muss. Der grundsätzliche Unterschied zur Tiedkeschen Regel besteht darin, dass „Wifstrands Gesetz“ von den Nachahmern des Nonnos streng befolgt, die „Tiedkesche Regel“ dagegen sehr oft vernachlässigt wurde.

91 Die Beispiele mit ναυηγός sind allerdings nicht wenige, und man muss mit möglichen Vorbildern rechnen, wie z.B. Hegesipp. *AP* 7.276.5 = *HE* 1929 ὦ χθών, τὸν ναυηγόν, etc.

92 Agath. *AP* 5.287.9 ὄλβιος ἐς πόθον εἰμί· τὸ γὰρ μενέαινον ἀνύσσαι (vgl. oben), *AP* 5.294.13 ὠρθούμην κατὰ βαιόν, ὅπῃ βατὸν ἔπλετο τεῖχος (vielleicht ist das Komma überflüssig), *AP* 5.299.7 καὶ νῦν ὁ βλοσυρωπός, ὁ χάλκεος, ὁ βραδυπειθής (vgl. oben), *AP* 5.302.13 καὶ στυγέει τὸ τελεσθέν· ἔχουσα δὲ λείψανον αἰδοῦς, *AP* 9.482.3 οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ κἢν μηδέν, ἀναπνεύσωσι δὲ μοῦνον, *AP* 9.619.5 νίκησεν τὸ λοετρόν, ἔοικε δὲ τοῦτο βοώσῃ /, *AP* 9.644.5 ἔμπης ἀρτίπος ἐσσί, καὶ ἐνθάδε βαιὰ καθεσθείς (vgl. oben), *AP* 11.372.1 σῶμα φέρων σκιοειδές, ἀδερκέι σύμπνοον αὔρῃ /, Jul. Aeg. *AP* 7.582.1 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ ναυηγέ, καὶ εἰς Ἀίδαο περήσας (vgl. oben), *AP* 7.591.1 Ὑπατίου τάφος εἰμί· νέκυν δ' οὔ φημι καλύπτειν, *AP* 9.661.1 δένδρον ἐγὼ μακαριστόν, ἐπεί ποτε μεσσόθεν ὕλης (erinnert an den Anfang der *Satire* 1.8 des Horaz, *olim truncus eram ficulnus*), Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.252.3 μηδὲν ἔοι τὸ μεταξύ· Σεμιράμιδος γὰρ ἐκεῖνο.

93 Hilberg 1879 und Král 1907.

94 Nonnos selbst duldet aber (in der *Paraphrase*, und das ist m.E. interessant) einige Ausnahmen mit Einsilblern wie σύ, τί, ὁ (Král 1907, 69; zu Nonn. *Par*. 1.201 vgl. meine Ausführungen zur Stelle, 232–233). Natürlich ändern sich teilweise die Angaben unter Berücksichtigung des metrischen Wortbildes.

64 und 70]).[95] (**b**) Konsonantisch auslautende kurze Endsilben werden nur im ersten einsilbigen *biceps* (Hilbergs „13. Gesetz“: Hilberg 1879, 168–171) und (**c**) (vorwiegend) im zweiten *longum* (Hilberg 1879, 125–129)[96] sowie in den pyrrhichischen Wörtern (Hilbergs „11. Gesetz“) verlängert. Nur selten gehen einsilbige *longa* den durch Position verlängerten Endsilben voran.

Es muss angemerkt werden, dass sich nicht wenige Positionsverlängerungen auch bei den sonst vermiedenen *longa* finden: Hilbergs Prinzipien werden aber *soweit wie möglich* beachtet. Nonnos ist oft gezwungen, Endsilben von Wörtern durch Position zu verlängern, die sonst nicht in den Vers passen würden,[97] und duldet daher ziemlich viele Verlängerungen in den *longa* 3. und 4.

Nicht wenige Ausnahmen, sowohl bei Nonnos als auch bei seinen Nachahmern (einschließlich der Epigrammdichter), erweisen sich eigentlich als ‚normale‘ Verlängerungen, wenn man das metrische Wortbild berücksichtigt.[98] Immerhin verhalten sich die Epigrammdichter gegenüber den obengenannten Regeln viel ‚nachlässiger‘ als Nonnos:[99] nicht selten werden konsonantisch auslautende kurze Endsilben in der Penthemimeres oder im 4. *longum* verlängert (im letzten Falle sehr oft mit Proparoxytona, wobei dann bukolische Diärese auftreten soll, wie Wifstrand betonte).[100]

95 Hiezu gehören die Verlängerungen von Präpositionen wie παρά, ἀνά usw. natürlich nicht (Král 1907, 65).

96 Mit Ausnahme der Proparoxytona ἀντιβακχεῖα wie z.B. ποίησαν: Tiedke 1879, 412–416 (und Wifstrand 1933, 25). Ausnahmen: Barbuc. *AP* 9.425.3 Ἥφαιστός μ’ ἐδάμασσε (Versanfang), Julian. Aeg. *AP* 5.298.5 τίσειαν πολιαί (Versanfang).

97 Nonn. *Dion.* 1.94 ἀγρονόμος βοῦς (Versschluss), usw.

98 Es werden also sämtliche Fälle, in denen die Endsilben durch Präpositionen, Enklitika usw. verlängert werden, nicht erwähnt, weil die Verlängerung somit im Wortinnern stattfindet. Es sei aber auf die auffällige Stelle Syn. Schol. *APl* 267.3 γέγραφέν σε hingewiesen (wo die Verlängerung im 3. *longum* durch *ny ephelkystikon*, also gegen die übliche Praxis bei Nonnos, stattfindet, vgl. Scheindler 1878a, 69) – über diesen Vers vgl. *infra*, S. 324.

99 Obwohl im Allgemeinen die Regeln des Nonnos gültig bleiben, wie man aus folgendem Vers des Julian Aeg. (*AP* 7.562.5) leicht entnehmen kann, wo nicht weniger als vier Prinzipien zugleich beachtet werden: οὔτις γὰρ μετὰ σεῖο μόρον τέτληκε (vgl. *infra*, Nr. 19) τανύσσαι (Julianos ist eben, gegenüber anderen Epigrammatikern, einer der ‚treuesten‘ Befolger der nonnianischen Regeln).

100 Wifstrand 1933, 21. Vgl. z.B. Barbuc. *AP* 9.425.1 ἄπολις πόλις ἄμμιγα νεκροῖς, *AP* 9.444.3 ἄλοχον λάβε καί τινα κόσμῳ, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.272.1 στόματι στόμα, καὶ περὶ δειρήν, *AP* 5.301.5 βύθιον γέρας, ἵλαθι, κούρῃ, *AP* 6.81.1 ἔρυμα χροός, ἀντιβίων τε, *AP* 7.307.3 ἔλιπον βίον. – “εἰ γὰρ ἀδόξως;” (…).

Zwei auffällige Ausnahmen von dieser Regel von Wifstrand bei Paulos Silentiarios – zugleich mit Verlängerung im 4. *longum* – erklären sich leicht durch die Annahme einer Nachahmung eines epigrammatischen Vorbildes:

AP 6.64.1 γυρὸν κυανέης μόλιβον σημάντορα γραμμῆς
AP 6.66.1 ἄβροχον ἀπλανέος μόλιβον γραπτῆρα κελεύθου

Der erstzitierte Vers ist eine offenkundige Nachahmung von Phil. Thess. *AP* 6.62.1 = *GPh* 2700 κυκλοτερῆ μόλιβον, σελίδων σημάντορα πλευρῆς – damit dürfen wir annehmen, dass *AP* 6.64 früher als *AP* 6.66 verfasst wurde. Ein weiterer Fall, wofür ich allerdings keine befriedigende Erklärung finden kann, ist Barbuc. *AP* 9.427.3 τύμβος ὅλη γενόμην· ἕτερον δ' ἐς ἀπενθέα χῶρον; bei Maced. *AP* 6.56.1 κισσοκόμαν Βρομίῳ Σάτυρον σεσαλαγμένον οἴνῳ kann die Ausnahme vielleicht durch den ‚quasi-Eigennamen' entschuldigt werden.

Weitere Ausnahmen: (**a.1**) Agath. *AP* 9.662.1 χῶρος ἐγὼ τὸ πρὶν μέν (τὸ πρίν ist aber metrisches Wortbild); (**a.2**) Agath. *AP* 9.641.5 ὁ πρίν (1. *longum*), ibid. ὁ πρίν (5. *longum*), *AP* 11.354.13 εἴπερ ὅλως ἔστι ψυχῆς (3. *longum*); Paul. Sil. *AP* 11.60.5 αἰμαλέα (5. *longum*); (**b**) (Versanfang, 2. *biceps*)[101] Julian. Aeg. *AP* 9.398.3 ἱσταμένην γὰρ πυρσός, *AP* 9.738.3 δερκομένοις μὲν γάρ, Paul. Sil. *APl* 118.1 Μηδοφόνους μὲν χεῖρας; (**c**)[102] Agath. *AP* 4.3c.1 γραφίδες (3. *longum*), *AP* 5.273.7 Νέμεσιν (4. *longum*), *AP* 5.302.19 ἔφυγεν (4. *longum*), *AP* 6.32.3 λάσιον (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.589.7 χθόνιος (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.596.1 πύματον (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.602.9 Μοῖραν (3. *longum*, Eigenname), *AP* 9.482.5 πολισσοῦχον (5. *longum*), ibid. 17 Ἀντίγονον (3. *longum*, Eigenname), *AP* 9.643.7 στιβάδος (3. *longum*), *AP* 9.768.3 σφαλερόν (4. *longum*), *AP* 10.14.1 πόντος (3. *longum*), *AP* 10.66.5 πτωχὸς (3. *longum*), *AP* 10.68.3 ὀλίγον (4. *longum*), *AP* 11.64.5 σχέδιον (4. *longum*), *APl* 36.5 τὸ γέρας (3. *longum*), *APl* 331.5 παράλληλον (5. *longum*), Barbuc. *AP* 7.555.3 ζωόν (3. *longum*), *AP* 9.426.1 Κύπρις (3. *longum*: Eigenname), *AP* 9.427.3 ἕτερον (4. *longum*), Damoch. *AP* 7.206.5 μύες (6. *longum*), Eratosth. Schol. *AP* 5.242.1 ὦχρος (4. *longum*),[103] *AP* 6.78.1 δόνακας (3. *longum*),[104] Julian. Aeg. *AP* 6.28.1 δόνακας (3. *longum*), *AP*

101 Da das metrische Wortbild dazu führt, dass die Regel der „Hilbergschen Brücke" verletzt und zugleich das zweite *biceps* (gegen sonstige nonnianische Praxis) verlängert wird, gehört der vorliegende Vers zu den Fällen, in welchen durch das metrische Wortbild eine Überlappung von ‚Verletzungen' stattfindet: vgl. im Allgemeinen Magnelli 1995.

102 Ähnliche Verlängerungen sind *auch* bei Nonnos nachweisbar, der grunsätzliche Unterschied besteht darin, dass bei den Epigrammatikern die relative Häufigkeit solcher Fälle unendlich höher ist.

103 Nachahmung von Hom. *Il.* 3.35.

104 Nachahmung von Theoc. *AP* 6.177.3 = 11 Gow!

6.68.9 ἀδρανέος (5. *longum*), *AP* 7.586.3 ὀλίγος (4. *longum*),[105] *AP* 7.590.1 θνητός (4. *longum*), *AP* 7.605.3 γλυκερός (4. *longum*),[106] *AP* 9.652.1 θέρεος (4. *longum*),[107] *AP* 9.738.3 Φύσιος (4. *longum*), Komet. Chart. *AP* 9.586.3 στάχυες (3. *longum*),[108] Kyr. *AP* 7.557.1 δεκάδες (3. *longum*),[109] *AP* 9.808.1 Μαξιμίνος (3. *longum*, Eigenname), Leont. *AP* 9.650.3 θεησάμενος (3. *longum*), *APl* 285.1 χρυσόν (4. *longum*), Macedon. *AP* 6.30.7 σπαῖρον (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.56.1 Σάτυρον (4. *longum*), *AP* 6.70.5 ἀπειπάμενος (3. *longum*), Marian. *AP* 9.669.9 ποταμὸς (3. *longum*), *APl* 201.3 λαμπάς (3. *longum*), Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.279.3 πυρσὸς (4. *longum*), *AP* 5.286.9 ἐνδάπιος (5. *longum*), *AP* 6.65.3 σκληρόν (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.66.1 ἀπλανέος (3. *longum*), *AP* 6.75.1 ὤπολλον (3. *longum*), ibid. 3 πλαγκτός (3. *longum*), ibid. 5 Λυσίμαχος (3. *longum*: Eigenname), ibid. γηραλέον (6. *longum*), *AP* 6.168.7 Ξεινόφιλος (3. *longum*: Eigenname), *AP* 9.658.1 Ἰουστῖνος (3. *longum*, Eigenname).

(19.) *Correptio Attica*: (**a**) anlautende *muta cum liquida* verlängert gewöhnlich die vorangehenden Vokale, außer „in caesuris trochaicis III. V. I. pedis, interdum II."[110] – in der bukolischen Diärese ist die *correptio* nur mit Eigennamen

105 εἴη μοι γαίης ὀλίγος βίος, sehr wahrscheinlich von Call. *AP* 7.460.1 = 26 Pf. = *HE* 1251 εἶχον ἀπὸ σμικρῶν ὀλίγον βίον abhängig. Eine solche Verlängerung ist normalerweise vermieden, weil Nonnos die Verlängerung durch Position der konsonantisch auslautenden Tribrachys im 3. *longum* nicht duldet (Tiedke 1873, 4–9).

106 Γλυκερὸς wird an dieser Stelle von Nonnos nicht weniger als 9mal verlängert.

107 ὥρῃ ἀναψύχω θέρεος καὶ χείματι θάλπω: vielleicht unter Einfluss von Hes. *Op.* 584 θέρεος καματώδεος ὥρῃ sowie von [Opp.] *C.* 4.437 καὶ θέρεος βαρύθουσι πόδας καὶ χείματος ὥρῃ.

108 Eine klare Erweiterung der (nach Hilbergs Regeln durchaus regelmäßigen) Verlängerung von στάχυες im 2. *longum* von Nonn. *Dion.* 47.54 und Nonn. *Par.* 4.166.

109 τρεῖς ἐτέων δεκάδες Μαίης χρόνος, ἐς τρία δ' ἄλλα: Nachahmung von Anon. *AP* 7.157.1 τρεῖς ἐτέων δεκάδας, τριάδας δύο κτλ. (vgl. auch Anon. *APl* 356.5 οὐκ ἐτέων δεκάδας, νίκης κτλ.)! Nonnos verlängert regelmäßig im 2. *longum*: Nonn. *Par.* 5.12 τρεῖς δεκάδας δασπλῆτι παριππεύσας ἐνὶ νούσῳ.

110 Scheindler 1878a, 27. Scheindlers wertvolle Dissertation bildet den wichtigsten Beitrag über diese Erscheinung, obwohl seine Ergebnisse noch heute nicht immer aufgegriffen zu sein scheinen. Zu Scheindlers erstem Prinzip vgl. Agath. *AP* 5.287.5 καὶ τŏ πρόσωπον (5. *biceps*), *AP* 5.289.7 ἀμφῐ πρόσωπα (5. *biceps*), *AP* 5.294.15 ὑπεθρύφθην δε̆ προσώπῳ (5. *biceps*), *AP* 9.153.5 Μοῖρᾰ κραταιή (5. *biceps*), *AP* 9.767.1 εὐλάιγγῐ τραπέζῃ (5. *biceps*), *AP* 10.14.9 βωμοῖσῐ Πριήπου (5. *biceps*), *AP* 11.354.9 Φαίδωνῐ Πλατωνικόν (3. *biceps*), ibid. 17 παῖδᾰ Κλεόμβροτον (3. *biceps*), *AP* 11.382.9 ἔκ τε̆ προσώπου (5. *biceps*), *APl* 41.5 ζαθέοιŏ θρόνους (3. *biceps*), Damoch. *APl* 310.7 νοεροῖŏ προσώπου (5. *biceps*), Julian. *AP* 6.18.1 ἀμαλδυνθεῖσᾰ χρόνῳ (3. *biceps*), *AP* 7.33.1 ἀλλὰ τρυφήσας (5. *biceps*), *AP* 7.599.1 ἠε̆ προσώπῳ / (5. *biceps*), Macedon. *AP* 5.231.1 χαρίτεσσῐ προσώπατα (3. *biceps*), *AP* 10.70.3 εἰμῐ· βροτός (3. *biceps*), ibid. v. 5 γέγηθᾰ πλανώμενος (3. *biceps*), Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.256.1 Γαλάτειᾰ προσώποις (5. *biceps*), *AP* 9.764.3 ἀλλᾰ βροτούς (1. *biceps*), *AP* 9.782.1 μιστύλλουσῐ δρόμον (3. *biceps*), *APl* 78.5 πᾶσᾰ

gestattet; (**b**) im Wortinnern begegnet *correptio* nur bei wenigen Wörtern, wie z. B. ἀλλότριος und ἀλλοπρόσαλλος.[111]

Ausnahmen: (**a**) Agath. *AP* 5.222.1 ἐπαφήσατο̆ πλῆκτρον (4. *biceps*), *AP* 5.302.15 θεραπαινίδῐ, τλῆθι (4. *biceps*), *AP* 11.382.15 τύμματᾰ πλευροῦ (Versschluss), *APl* 332.1 Σικυώνιε̆ πλάστα (Versschluss), Barbuc. *APl* 218.1 εἰκόνῐ γράψαι (Versschluss: vgl. Paul. Sil. *APl* 77.3, unten), Kyr. *AP* 9.623.1 υἱέῐ χρυσοβελέμνῳ (Versschluss), Leont. *AP* 9.650.3 ἔνῐ χρῶτα λοέσσας (4. *biceps*),[112] Maced. *AP* 6.69.1 ἄνθετο̆ Κράντας (5. *biceps*: Eigenname), ibid. v. 3 ἧς ἔπῐ Κράντας (5. *biceps*, wie oben), *AP* 11.59.7 τινᾰ βρῶσιν (4. *biceps*), Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.64.1 σημάντορᾰ γραμμῆς (5. *biceps*), *AP* 7.588.3 ὤλετο̆ γραμματικῆς (Versanfang),[113] *AP* 7.606.3 ἐλπίδῐ κρέσσονι μοίρης (Versschluss), *AP* 9.663.1 ἕδρανᾰ· πλωτὰ δὲ χέρσου (4. *biceps*), *APl* 77.3 Φαεθοντίδᾰ γράψαι (Versschluss); (**b**) Agath. *AP* 5.220.7 Ἀντίπᾰτρος (1. *biceps*, Eigenname),[114] *AP* 5.282.5 τὸ̆ φρύαγμα (2. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild), *AP* 6.32.3 παρὰ πρῶνα (4. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild), *AP* 7.552.3 Περῐκλεια (2. *biceps*, Eigenname), *AP* 9.662.3 καὶ ἀγροίκων (Versschluss), *AP* 10.64.1 τὸ̆ φρύαγμα (2. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild), *AP* 11.354.1 ἰσο̆πλάτωνα (5. *biceps*), ibid. 11 τὸ̆ τριβώνιον (3. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild), *AP* 11.379.9 πολῠτλας (2. *biceps*),[115] *AP* 11.382.3 τὸ̆ πλευρόν (2. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild), Maced. *AP* 6.30.1 ἀμφῐ τριαίνῃ (5. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild),[116] *AP* 6.83.5 ἀντὶ δὲ̆ πλήκτρου (5. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild),[117] Paul. Sil. *AP* 9.770.1 Ἀνικήτεια τὸ̆ χρύσεον (3. *biceps*, metrisches Vorbild),[118] Syn. Schol. *APl* 267.3 γέ̆γραφεν (2. *biceps*).

γραφίς (1. *biceps*). Was das zweite *biceps* betrifft, vgl. Agath. *AP* 4.3c.7 οὕτως οὔτε̆ Πλάτων (Eigenname), Paul. Sil. *AP* 10.15.7 πιστὸς νηυσῐ Πρίηπος. Interessanterweise ensteht in vielen dieser Fälle (vor allem in denen, die aus Artikel + Substantiv bestehen) wegen der *correptio* in der Zäsur eine Art Überlappung mit dem metrischen Vorbild (nach welchem Prinzip solche Kürzungen im Wortinnern stattfinden würden), vgl. oben τὸ πρόσωπον, usw.

111 Scheindler 1878a, 67 (ἀλλοπρόσαλλος: Agath. *AP* 1.34.5). Die Regel macht die Zuschreibung von *AP* 9.11 an Isidoros statt an Philippos wenig überzeugend: vgl. v. 5 πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε <u>πικρὴ</u> πάντολμος ἀνάγκη.

112 Nachahmung von Call. *Jov.* 17 λύματα χυτλώσαιτο, τεὸν δ' ἐνὶ χρῶτα λοέσσαι.

113 Vgl. immerhin Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 1.1.9.89 ὤλετο πρωτογένεθλος, 1.1.14.10 ὤλετο χλωρὸν ἅπαν.

114 Wahrscheinlich beeinflusst von Mel. *AP* 7.428.20 = *HE* 4679.

115 Umso auffälliger, als anderswo immer πολῡτλας zu finden ist (in der Formel πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς).

116 Vgl. Opp. *H.* 3.225 ἀμφὶ τραπέζῃ (Versschluss).

117 Ähnliche Versschlüsse sind in Nonnos häufig, nie aber mit *correptio Attica*.

118 χεῖλος Ἀνικήτεια τὸ χρύσεον εἰς ἐμὲ τέγγει: vielleicht unter Einfluss von App. Cougny 3.171.1 τηρῶ σου τὸ φίλημα τὸ χρύσεον (hellenistisch, vielleicht Meleager: vgl. Cameron 1993, 232).

(20.) Hiat: Bei der Prüfung des Hiats und der *correptio epica* (Nr. 21) hat sich Karl Lehrs besondere Verdienste erworben.[119] Nonnos unterwirft den Hiat vielen Einschränkungen: er wird in den folgenden Fällen nicht zugelassen (a) im *longum*, mit langen Vokalen oder Diphtongen (mit Ausnahme von Nachahmungen von Homer und anderen Vorbildern); (b) im einsilbigen *biceps*, mit langen Vokalen oder Dipthongen; (c) im Inneren des *biceps* oder zwischen *biceps* und *longum*, mit kurzen Vokalen (außer bei einigen Nachahmungen, den Pronomina οἱ und ἑ, besonders nach der ersten Kürze der *bicipitia* 1., 4., 5.).

Ausnahmen: (a) Agath. *AP* 5.282.1 ταναοῦ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ,[120] Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.241.7 ᾧ ἔπι πᾶσαι, *AP* 5.258.1 ἢ ὀπὸς ἥβης, *AP* 5.275.9 (~ *AP* 6.75.1) ᾧ ἔπι πουλύν,[121] *AP* 6.84.1 ᾧ ἔπι λαιάν; (b) Agath. *AP* 6.76.1 Ἀγχίσης, τοῦ εἵνεκα;[122] *AP* 11.376.9 ἢ σοὶ ἢ (Versanfang); (c) Agath. *AP* 4.3c.7 οὔτε Ὅμηρος,[123] *AP* 5.280.5 τὰ ὅμοια, *AP* 6.79.5 τὸ ἐπαύλιον, *AP* 11.365.7 τὸ ἀρούριον.

(21.) *Correptio epica*: Gekürzt werden vor allem die Dipthonge αι und οι.[124] Die *correptio* findet in folgenden Fällen statt: (I) (selten) in der ersten Kürze des ersten *biceps*;[125] (II) in der zweiten Kürze des ersten *biceps*; (III) (selten) in der zweiten Kürze des zweiten *biceps*;[126] (IV) in der zweiten Kürze des vierten *biceps*; (V) in der ersten Kürze des fünften *biceps* „raro certaque lege" (Lehrs): nur im Dativ der Pronomina enclitica, mit der Partikel που und in der homerischen Formel εἴ που ἐφεύροι; (VI) in der zweiten Kürze des fünften *biceps*. Disjunktives ἤ wird regelmäßig nur in der zweiten Kürze des dritten *biceps* gekürzt. Die Negation μή darf nur in der zweiten Kürze des dritten *biceps* oder in der ersten des ersten *biceps* gekürzt werden, καί darf in der ersten Kürze jedes *biceps* und in der zweiten der *bicipitia* 1., 3., 5., sowie im 2. in der Formel ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα gekürzt werden.[127]

119 Lehrs 1837, 264–273 (*correptio epica*), 277–278 (Hiat).
120 Vielleicht Nachahmung von Hom. *Il.* 24.487 ὀλοῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ.
121 Das Vorbild war vielleicht A.R. 1.286 ᾧ ἔπι πολλήν.
122 Von vielen homerischen Stellen unterstüzt.
123 Vgl. oben, S. 305 Anm. 27.
124 Nicht aber αι „declinationis primae" (Lehrs 1837, 266; vgl. immerhin De Stefani 2011, XXXVII) und die Endung -ει III Sing.
125 Agath. *APl* 59.1 οὔπω ἐπισταμένην, Eratosth. Schol. *AP* 5.242.3 τοῦ σοῦ ἀνακροῦσαι.
126 Scheindler 1878b, 899 (gegen Lehrs, der ihre Existenz bestreitet: „numquam invenitur in secundo et tertio" [Lehrs 1837, 264]).
127 Agath. *AP* 9.642.1 wird καί in der zweiten Kürze des 3. *biceps* gekürzt.

Die Epigrammdichter haben die Regeln des Nonnos ziemlich getreu befolgt, obwohl die *correptio* auch auf andere Fälle als die ‚kanonischen' *ai* und *oi* ausgedehnt wird.[128] Weitere Ausnahmen sind selten.[129]

Die Prüfung dieser Daten bestätigt m.E. den Schluss, den ich im ersten Teil dieses Beitrags gezogen habe: Die Metrik der Epigrammdichter des Kyklos unterscheidet sich in vieler Hinsicht sehr wenig von jener der hellenistischen Epigrammatiker. Die Anzahl an Verletzungen der Regeln des hellenistischen Hexameters (1–10) ist groß, und steht im Wesentlichen auf einer Stufe mit der Praxis der anderen Dichter der *Anthologie*. Sie ist vor allem viel höher als bei Nonnos und den Hexametern κατὰ στίχον seiner Nachahmer.[130] Unverkennbar ist ferner, dass die Regeln des nonnianischen Hexameters sehr oft verletzt werden: man vergleiche die Angaben über die zweisilbigen spondeischen Wörter (11) oder die unmittelbar folgenden Spondeen (14) oder die Positionsverlängerungen (18).

Die unter Nr. 11 angeführten Beobachtungen erweisen sich als besonders interessant, weil die Verletzung der Regel im Hexameter nicht selten mit dem Vorhandensein eines zweisilbigen spondeischen Wortes vor der Zäsur des Pentameters zusammenfällt: man darf annehmen, dass eben die Lust an Gleichklang und Parallelismus dazu führte, dass man im Hexameter sehr viele spondeische Wörter zuließ, deren zweite Silbe die Hebung bildete. Dieselben Dichter hätten sich wahrscheinlich bei den κατὰ στίχον gebauten Hexametern anders verhalten.[131]

---

128 Obwohl regelmäßig, ist die zweifache Kürzung Agath. AP 7.551.1 sehr auffällig: ἀδελφεὼ ἄμφω ἐόντε (Versschluss).

129 Vgl. Agath. AP 11.354.15 ἢ ἄυλος (erste Kürze des 2. *biceps*), AP 11.376.9 ἢ σοὶ ἢ τῷ ἑλόντι (erste Kürze des 2. *biceps*; und es sei auf den Hiat aufmerksam gemacht); Agath. AP 11.354.5 ἢ (erste Kürze des 3. *biceps*); Julian. Aeg. AP 7.70.3 ἀλυσκάζουσαι ἰάμβων (5. *biceps*, erste Kürze). Der Fall von Maced. AP 9.625.5 ist m.E. bezeichnend: χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς (5. *biceps*, erste Kürze): es handelt sich nämlich um ein homerisches Zitat (Hom. *Il.* 20.131) – so erklärt (richtig) die Erscheinung Madden 1995, 293.

130 Man vergleiche die Liste der Verstöße der ersten „Meyerschen Regel" (Nr. 8) bei den Epigrammatikern des Kyklos mit den wenigen Ausnahmen, die Nonnos ausweist: Ludwich 1874, 455–456 (obwohl eine Berücksichtigung des metrischen Vorbildes die nonnianischen Fälle zweifellos vermehrt hätte), mit den Ergänzungen (Meyer-Giseke) von Maas 1927, 18 n. 7 (= *Kl. Schr.*, 170).

131 Vgl. Julian. Aeg. AP 7.580 οὔποτέ με κρύψεις ὑπὸ πυθμένα νείατον αἴης / τόσσον, ὅσον κρύψαι πάνσκοπον ὄμμα Δίκης, Barbuc. AP 6.55.1–4: Πειθοῖ καὶ Παφίᾳ πακτὰν καὶ κηρία σίμβλων (…) ἀντ' αὐτᾶς πακτάν, ἀντ' ἐμέθεν τὸ μέλι, id. *APl* 327 ὡς σοφὸς ὁ γράψας· ζωὰν οὐκ ἔμβαλε κηρῷ / Σωκράτεος ψυχᾷ τοῦτο χαριζόμενος, ferner Julian. Aeg. AP 6.12.2–3 δέχνυσο, Πάν· Πίγρης σοὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ πτερύγων / ταῦτα φέρει, θηρῶν Δᾶμις, Κλείτωρ δὲ θαλάσσης (vgl. auch oben, S. 309), usw.

CHAPTER 18

Die Versuchung des Nonnos. Der Mythos als Brücke zwischen Heiden- und Christentum

Domenico Accorinti

Γλυκό μου βρέφος, Διόνυσέ μου καὶ Χριστέ μου·
Τιτάνας νέος κι ἂν ἦρτες σήμερα στὸν κόσμο,
μάνας δὲν ἔχεις ἀγκαλιὰ νὰ Σὲ ζεστάνει …

ANGELOS SIKELIANOS

1 Nonnos in Stefan Andres' „Die Versuchung des Synesios"

In seinem letzten historischen Roman, „Die Versuchung des Synesios", der erst posthum 1971 erschien, zeichnet Stefan Andres (1906–1970)[1] ein eindrucksvolles Bild der Spätantike und bietet eine faszinierende Rekonstruktion des qualvollen Lebens des Synesios von Kyrene (ca. 370–413 n. Chr.).[2] Der Schüler der alexandrinischen Philosophin Hypatia (ca. 370–415 n. Chr.),[3] erst neuplatonischer Philosoph, später christlicher Bischof von Ptolemaïs (412),[4] bleibt ohne Zweifel ein „archetypischer Repräsentant der Bildung seiner Zeit".[5] Es war nun

1 Für diesen Schriftsteller stehen auf der Website der Stefan-Andres-Gesellschaft (url: http://stefan-andres-gesellschaft.de/?page_id=13) zahlreiches Material und eine kumulierte Bibliographie zur Verfügung.

2 Zitiert wird nach Andres 2013. Zum Fortleben des Synesios s. die Dokumentation von Roques 2012 (Andres wird kurz erwähnt [376, 382]).

3 Das tragische Schicksal der heidnischen Philosophin, der Tochter des Mathematikers und Astronomen Theon, die im Jahre 415 in Alexandrien vom christlichen Pöbel brutal ermordet wurde, wird von Silvia Ronchey in ihrem Buch wirksam aufgearbeitet (Ronchey 2010). Zu Hypatia s. zuletzt Cameron 2013.

4 Diskussion der Daten bei Schmitt 2001, 52–55, der den Amtsantritt des Synesios auf 412 datiert.

5 Hose 2012, VII.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_020

ein sehr glücklicher Einfall des Autors, die Gestalt des Dichters Nonnos von Panopolis (ca. 400–470 n. Chr.), eines anderen prominenten und umstrittenen Vertreters der griechischen Spätantike, in sein Prosawerk aufzunehmen. Im Roman erinnert sich die Ich-Erzählerin, die Witwe des Synesios namens Prisca, wie ihr Schwager, Euoptios, ihr eines Abends eine Passage des johanneischen Prologs nach der metrischen *Paraphrase* des Nonnos vorlas:

> Um mich abzulenken, las er mir an diesem Abend vor, und zwar aus Nonnos, der gerade damals das Johannes-Evangelium umgedichtet hatte – in Hexametern! Bei manchen Stellen hüpfte mein Leib unter der Tischplatte jäh von Lachen auf, aber Euoptios merkte es ebensowenig wie der plötzlich zum Christentum bekehrte Nonnos, daß die Form der Mitteilung zum Wesen der Mitteilung gehört, und daß die erhabene Einfachheit der Worte: Im Anfang war das Wort – und das Wort war bei Gott, und Gott war das Wort – sich nicht in Kaskaden von Daktylen übersetzen läßt, wie Nonnos sie losließ:
>
> *Zeitlos war, unerreichbar, im unaussprechlichen Anfang*
> *Gleich dem gleichaltrigen Vater der Logos, der Sohn*
> *ohne Mutter.*
>
> Ja, ich lachte! Der gleichaltrige Vater, der Sohn ohne Mutter – heiliger Johannes im Öl! Euoptios wiegte sich auf dem Gewoge der Silben und tauchte die rudernde Zunge in die kristallene Flut der gelenkigen, farbensprühenden Silben! Aber ich freute mich an seiner Stimme, schloß die Augen und hörte Synesios – beinahe, wie ich auch in Phaidons Stimme bereits die seines Vaters zu erkennen glaubte.[6]

---

6 Andres 2013, 104, vgl. 263 f.: „Und er (Laokoon) erzählte mit malmenden Kiefern vom Dichter Nonnos, seinem verehrten Vorbild, wie er uns versicherte, von dessen Werken er am höchsten das Evangelium nach Johannes schätzte, das Nonnos sofort nach seinem Übertritt zum Christentum in Hexameter umgegossen hatte. Ich befürchtete im voraus, was dann auch geschah: Laokoon zitierte die Anfangsverse, und um das Maß des Erträglichen überlaufen zu lassen, fiel auch noch Euoptios, wenn auch nicht wie Laokoon gleichzeitig kauend, mit in die Rezitation ein, und zweistimmig kam es über uns: ‚*Zeitlos war, unerreichbar, im unaussprechlichen Anfang / Gleich dem gleichaltrigen Vater: der Logos, der Sohn / ohne Mutter.*‘ Und schon blies mir von innen der Lachdämon den Wein heftig wieder hinaus über den Rand der Schale. Ich lachte, so laut und rücksichtslos, bis alle am Tisch mitlachten, nur Laokoon und Euoptios nicht, der jetzt sogar, sich an Synesios wendend, fragte, was es zu lachen gebe? Ob Nonnos etwa nicht einer der größten Dichter sei und dazu auch noch ein christlicher? Wie Nonnos das Wort ‚gleichaltrig‘ gleich einem Pfeil auf die Arianer und Eunomianer losschieße.

Die „Kaskaden von Daktylen" des Nonnos,[7] der im Roman des Andres als Zeitgenosse des Synesios und als ein vor kurzem zum Christentum Bekehrter gilt,[8] bringen Prisca zum Lachen. Aber das Lachen der Frau des Synesios ist nichts Anderes als die Kritik des Autors Stefan Andres am pomphaften Stil des Dichters Nonnos,[9] dem es entging, „daß die Form der Mitteilung zum Wesen der Mitteilung gehört". Doch ist es eigenartig, wie Sieghild von Blumenthal in ihrer Monographie „Christentum und Antike im Werk von Stefan Andres" (1999) bemerkt, dass der Autor der Novelle „Wir sind Utopia" (1942), dessen literarisches Werk das Christentum mit den antiken Elementen der mythischen Tradition, besonders aus dem Dionysoskult, zu verbinden versuchte,[10] so streng mit dem Verfasser der *Dionysiaka* und der *Paraphrase* des Johannes-Evangeliums war:

> Sehr schlecht wird Nonnos beurteilt; obwohl seine Stoffe, Dionysos im ersten Epos, Christus im zweiten, an Andres' Parallelisierungen erinnern,

---

Wohingegen, vermerkte Synesios mit sanftester Stimme, ‚Sohn ohne Mutter' dem Nonnos in Alexandria sehr übel vermerkt würde, da ja dort gerade in diesen Tagen die Theologen dem ewigen Sohn die irdische Mutter entdecken: die Gottesgebärerin. ‚Größer und schöner und mächtiger als Isis ist sie zu uns unterwegs. Und es war notwendig, denn auch wir Christen müssen die Frauen ehren.' Damit verneigte er sich gegen mich und hob seinen Becher. Laokoon zeigte Synesios zunächst seine ganze Zustimmung, aber ‚Sohn ohne Mutter', so führte er dann aus, das sei ja nur auf den ungeborenen Logos zu beziehen – und zu mir gewandt, mich düster anblickend, er kaute nun endlich nicht mehr: ‚Und Ihnen, Frau Prisca, saß sicher ein Krümchen im Hals, denn daß Nonnos Sie zum Lachen reizen könnte –' ‚Doch', rief ich laut, ‚und alle Menschen reizen mich zum Lachen, die sich die Mühe machen, das Erhabene in das Schöne zu verpacken und das Unsagbare mit den Begriffen zu fangen.'" Das Zitat des Nonnos, Nonn. *Par.* 1.1–2, ist Schneider 1954, II, 71 entnommen.

7 Vgl. im Vorwort von Rouse zu Nonnos: „I should like to have written an estimate of Nonnos as poet and man of letters, but that is hardly what would be expected in a translation. His Niagara of words is apt to overwhelm the reader" (Rouse 1940, III, VII).

8 Zur Datierung und zur Religion des Nonnos s. Accorinti 2013, 1108–1113 und Accorinti 2016a, 28–46.

9 Vgl. S.S. Ouwaroffs Vorrede zu Graefe 1813, VII: „Wo Nonnos, seinem Jahrhundert zufolge, einen übertriebenen Aufwand von Gelehrsamkeit in antithesenvollen Ausdrücken aufhäuft, wird seine Poesie schwülstig, kalt und langweilig."

10 Klapper 1992, 154: „Despite his abiding concern with Christian theology, the mythological elements in Andres's work frequently derive from pagan religion, in particular from the Dionysian cult of ancient Greece and Rome. The latter was seen as a potentially rich source of insights into the nature of existence"; Klapper 2009 (für ein PDF dieses Artikels danke ich dem Autor).

> so wird die Hexameterfassung des Johannesevangeliums als unangemessen und schwülstig abgelehnt.[11]

2 Synesios und Nonnos

Aus verschiedenen Gründen wurde sowohl Synesios als auch Nonnos eine ‚Bekehrung' zum Christentum zugeschrieben.[12] Für Synesios war der Grund dafür die überraschende Tatsache, dass der Schüler von Hypatia Bischof von Ptolemaïs wurde. Es genügt hier, das überholte Buch „Synesius von Cyrene" (1869) von Richard Volkmann zu zitieren, wo der Autor, der die Wahl zum Bischof von Ptolemaïs in das Jahr 409 setzt,[13] von einer „allmälichen Annäherung" des Synesios ans Christentum spricht:

> Vielmehr müssen wir annehmen, dass sich in der Zeit von 403 bis 409 eine allmäliche innere Umwandlung seiner Ueberzeugung vollendet hatte, durch die er schrittweise dem Christentum näher geführt war, so dass es eben nur noch einer letzten äusseren Veranlassung bedurfte, um ihn völlig auf Seiten der christlichen Kirche zu stellen, der er bereits innerlich angehörte. So ergiebt sich aber für uns die Aufgabe, den Spuren dieser allmälichen Annäherung nachzugehen, um sie in ihrer inneren Nothwendigkeit zu begreifen.[14]

Dagegen war es im Fall des Nonnos die problematische Koexistenz von *Dionysiaka* und *Paraphrase*, zwei scheinbar unvereinbaren Werken, die die Annahme eines Übertritts des Dichters zum Christentum für die Gelehrten attraktiv

11 von Blumenthal 1999, 170. Vgl. Andres 2013, 342: „So stünde also am Anfang seines (Laokoons) biographischen Unternehmens rein literarischer Ehrgeiz, was zu dem in Nonnos' Kielwasser treibenden Verseschmied durchaus paßte"; 360: „Dem Schmerzenslaut gebietend, das heißt, ihn unterdrückend, begann der Archidiakon mit einer Stimme, als setze er zu einem liturgischen Gesang an: ‚Nun zerbreche das Schweigen des Grabes, Freude erfülle dieses Haus, Jubel die Stadt. Die Kerkermauern sind aufgesprungen, das harte Gebiß des Gesetzes', – wirklich, er dichtete, der Abschaum vom Schaum des Nonnos – ‚es hat seine Beute, statt sie zu fressen, freigegeben. Nicht behielt sie der Walfisch, der sie verschlungen. Wie einst die Jungfrau Kyrene mit löwentötenden Händen, so erschien die Gnade im Haupte des Praeses, alle Wildheit bezwingend, Frieden schaffend dem Land!'"

12 Zum Begriff s. Frend, Wolter und Engelbert 1980.

13 Für das Datum des Amtsantrittes s. oben, Anm. 4.

14 Volkmann 1869, 166.

machte. Demnach war die Schlussfolgerung von Hans Bogner (1934) und Rudolf Keydell (1936) berechtigt, dass Nonnos nach der Abfassung der *Dionysiaka* zum Christentum übertrat und dann die *Paraphrase* verfasste.[15] Nun wird in der modernen Forschung die Bekehrungsthese abgelehnt und das synkretistische Milieu des Synesios und Nonnos untersucht, obwohl diese Autoren noch heute als ambivalente Figuren, wie auch Ausonius und Claudianus, gelten.[16] Erlauben Sie mir einen kurzen Überblick über verschiedene Ansätze der Kritik an den beiden Autoren.

Nach Jay Bregman, dem Autor von „Synesius of Cyrene. Philosopher-Bishop" (1982), war Synesios „not really a convert, but rather one who had accommodated himself to the new religion. (…) He accepted the Church as an institution, but on his own terms. Christian doctrine interested him only insofar as it was compatible with Neoplatonism and not vice versa."[17] Ähnlich ist das Urteil von Bengt-Arne Roos in seinem psycho-biographischen Essay „Synesius of Cyrene.

---

15 Bogner 1934; Keydell 1936, 905, 910 f., 915 f.

16 Kahlos 2007, 41 f.: „Pagan philosophy and Christian theology are mixed in Synesius in such a way that it would be useless to try to clarify this concoction. Therefore, it is irrelevant to ask whether Synesius was a Christian or whether he remained a Hellene because there probably was no such distinction for Synesius himself. Platonic and Christian elements were intertwined in him. (…) Late antique poets such as Ausonius, Claudian and Nonnus of Panopolis have puzzled modern scholars with their ambiguity. Pagan and Christian elements have been observed as being entangled with each other in the writings of these authors and scholars have tried to label these poets either Christian or pagan, with the presupposition that an author's Christian conviction should be manifest in his writings or that pagan motifs should be absent from a Christian writer's works. Claudian, for example, obviously wanted to be regarded as a Christian even though the Christian polemicists Augustine and Orosius branded him as a pagan. The ambivalent and unclassifiable character of Claudian as well as of Ausonius and Nonnus is now widely recognized."

17 Bregman 1982, 11; vgl. 145: „He accepted Christian dogma to the extent that it was compatible with philosophy. He did not attempt to use philosophy in order to prove the rational validity of Christian doctrine." Kritisch gegenüber dieser These eines heidnischen Synesios ist Alan Cameron, s. Cameron und Long 1993, 19–28 („Conversion?"), bes. 28: „But it is nonetheless a fundamental error to confuse belief with orthodox belief. In the fifth century, as in many later ages, there were many who knew little of scripture and less of theology but believed fervently in the message of Christ crucified. Had not Jesus himself said ‚Only believe'? It would be fascinating if we could trace the conversion of an intellectual like Synesius, an Eastern counterpart to the well-documented spiritual odyssey of Augustine. Historians of philosophy and dogma will find interesting matter in Bregman's analysis of Synesius's thought. But to the social historian it is more interesting and perhaps more important to discover that a man of Synesius's background, education, and attitudes was in fact born and raised a Christian."

A Study in His Personality“ (1991), wo ein Wechsel der Weltanschauung im Leben des Synesios ausgeschlossen wird: „To be able to assert that Synesius experienced a conversion presupposes that we in the available material, i.e. his own works, can discern a change in his view-of-life, i.e. a change in his world-view, attitudes and valuations, and a change in the dynamic synthesis of these elements. (…) The answer to the question of whether it is possible to discern an earlier pagan group of works and a later Christian one, must also be answered negatively.“[18] Die Konversion des Synesios von der Politik zur Philosophie, nämlich zum Neuplatonismus, ist, wenngleich aus verschiedenen Perspektiven, der Schwerpunkt des umfangreichen Buches von Tassilo Schmitt, „Die Bekehrung des Synesios von Kyrene“ (2001), und des Werkes von Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler, „Konversion zur Philosophie in der Spätantike“ (2008), in dem sich die Autorin in einer eingehenden Untersuchung mit den Persönlichkeiten des Julian Apostata und des Synesios befasst.[19] Für beide ist es unbestreitbar, dass Synesios Christ war, und dass der vielbesprochene Brief 105 an den Bruder Euoptios keine Konversion von der Philosophie zum Christentum anzunehmen erlaubt. Es lohnt sich, aus der zusammenfassenden Übersicht aus Schmitts Kapitel 8 Folgendes zu zitieren:

> Für ihn (Synesios), der höchstwahrscheinlich schon als Kind getauft wurde, war die Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche selbstverständlich. Mit einer heidnischen Opposition oder Reaktion hat er nichts zu tun. Es fehlen alle Anhaltspunkte dafür, daß er eine grundsätzliche Spannung zwischen christlichem Glauben und hellenischer Tradition und Philosophie gesehen hätte. Er verstand sie als verschiedene Abstraktionsformen zur Beschreibung einer im Metaphysischen verankerten Wirklichkeit und nahm damit eine typische Haltung byzantinischer Gebildeter vorweg.[20]

Auch die Nonnosforschung ist bereits davon überzeugt, dass der Dichter Christ gewesen sein müsse,[21] während sie, in Bezug auf die Identität des Nonnos mit dem gleichnamigen Bischof von Edessa in der Osroene (gest. 470/471), die von

18 Roos 1991, 143 f. Dazu die Besprechung von van der Horst 1993, bes. 118: „It is striking that although Christian elements are found already in Synesius’ earliest work, explicit rejection of specifically Christian doctrines recurs even in his writing as a bishop.“

19 Schmitt 2001. Tanaseanu-Döbler 2008, 155–286; zu Synesios’ Haltung gegenüber der Theurgie s. Tanaseanu-Döbler 2013, 162–175.

20 Schmitt 2001, 716. Zur Problematik der Persönlichkeit des Synesios als Bischof s. auch Piepenbrink 2012.

21 Cameron 2007, 36–38, 43 f.

Livrea als möglich und als Lösung für die sogenannte nonnianische Frage betrachtet wird, skeptisch bleibt.[22] Aus dieser Perspektive scheint es berechtigt, die Koexistenz von *Dionysiaka* und *Paraphrase* als eine kulturelle Äußerung des synkretistischen Milieus von Panopolis anzusehen, und dies auch aufgrund der archäologischen Zeugnisse.[23] Aber es bleibt noch eine Frage offen. Es handelt sich immer um die Skylla und Charybdis jedes Nonnoslesers: Wie ist das Verhältnis von Heidentum zum Christentum in Nonnos' Werk und wie kann es verstanden werden? In diesem Zusammenhang ist jedoch die Schlussfolgerung Francis Vians in seiner *Notice* zum 48. Buch der *Dionysiaka* (2003), dem letzten der Budé-Ausgabe, eine problematische Hinterlassenschaft für die Nonnosstudien:

> Le philologue moderne doit se garder de suivre l'exemple des savants exégètes antiques qui ont voulu donner après coup à l'*Iliade* et à l'*Odyssée* un sens secret qu'elles n'avaient pas. L'épopée de Nonnos est narrative comme celle de ses prédécesseurs. Le poète n'entend pas établir une confrontation entre Dionysos et le Christ, soit pour présenter le premier comme le rival du second, soit au contraire pour en faire l'image ou la préfiguration, bien que l'auteur de la *Paraphrase de l'Évangile selon saint Jean* ne dédaigne pas de jouer à l'occasion dans ses deux œuvres sur des thèmes similaires. Mais ce n'est que par jeu de mots qu'on peut utiliser la terminologie chrétienne en parlant de l',ascension' de Dionysos, de l',assomption' d'Ariadne ou de la ,trinité' bacchique. La figure d'Aura n'est pas la caricature de la Vierge Marie, mais son exacte antithèse: vierge violée et infanticide, elle est tout le contraire de la mère aimante de Jésus qui l'a enfanté par immaculée conception.
>
> L'antiquité tardive s'est plu à idéaliser et à christianiser Dionysos comme Héraclès ou Orphée; mais cette tendance demeure secondaire chez Nonnos, ne serait-ce qu'en raison de l'importance qu'il accorde aux cinq aventures érotiques du dieu qui font suite à ses amours garçonnières pour Ampélos. Son Dionysos demeure protéiforme jusqu'à la fin: le héros civilisateur et justicier est en même temps un coureur de femmes avant de devenir, par le truchement d'Iacchos, l'initiateur d'un culte mystique. Il se présent avant tout comme une création littéraire au même titre que l'Ulysse d'Homère ou le Jason d'Apollonios.[24]

---

22 Vgl. Accorinti 2013, 1110 f. und Accorinti 2016a, 32–34.

23 Dazu Miguélez Cavero 2008, 191–263.

24 Vian 2003, 94 f.

Anders als Vians religionslose Interpretation der *Dionysiaka*, die auch Chuvin in der dritten, überarbeiteten Ausgabe seines Buches „Chronique des derniers païens" (2009) und Cameron in „The Last Pagans of Rome" (2011) grundsätzlich vertreten,[25] geht Gigli Piccardi von einer „cristianizzazione di Dioniso" aus und plädiert Livrea für eine typologische Deutung des nonnianischen Epos: Dionysos wäre demnach die Vorankündigung eines rettenden Gottes.[26] Dass diese zwei Interpretationslinien in einem diametralen Gegensatz zueinander stehen, ist gar zu offenbar. Aber auch wenn eine ‚neutrale' Rezeption der Antike in der Spätantike, auch hinsichtlich des Nonnos, bevorzugt wird[27] und die *Dionysiaka* nur als ein literarisches Epos, wie *Ilias* und *Argonautika*, betrachtet werden müssten, ist dennoch anzunehmen, dass die antiken Nonnosleser, das christliche und heidnische Publikum der beiden Werke, in den *Dionysiaka* symbolisch-allegorische Auslegungen der Mythen, so wie andererseits in der *Paraphrase* Formen einer Kontrastimitation, suchen und finden konnten.[28] Das Gleiche kann man auch für die modernen Nonnosleser sagen, wobei die Gefahr einer Überinterpretation vorhanden ist. Vor kurzem hat Shorrock, meines Erachtens nach, einem besseren Verständnis der beiden Werke des Nonnos den Weg geebnet. Die Dichotomie zwischen ‚Musendichter' und ‚Dichter Christi', die er in seinem Buch „The Myth of Paganism" (2011) postuliert hat,[29] erweist sich als eine geeignete Lesestrategie, um die komplexe Nebeneinanderstellung des Christlichen und des Dionysischen in Nonnos zu verstehen.

3 Die Versuchung des Mythos in Nonnos

Kehren wir nun wieder zum Roman von Stefan Andres zurück, der mich bei der Titelwahl für meinen Beitrag inspiriert hat. Problematisch ist der Titel des Romans, „Die Versuchung des Synesios", der nicht den Willen des Autors widerspiegelt.[30] Aber aus der Sicht der Ich-Erzählerin, der Frau des Synesios, „sind die versuchenden Kräfte alle diejenigen, die Synesios von der Übernahme der Verantwortung wegziehen wollen."[31] Es ist ausreichend, den Anfang des Kapitels „Der Tag im April" zu lesen, wo an diese Versuchung vor der Konsekration

25 Chuvin 2009, 369, vgl. Chuvin 2014, bes. 12–18; Cameron 2011, 701.
26 Gigli Piccardi 2006, 82; Livrea 2000, 72–76.
27 Kaldellis 2007, 174–178.
28 Dazu Accorinti 2013, 1113 und Accorinti 2016a, 43 f.
29 Shorrock 2011, bes. 13–48, 120–123.
30 S. das Nachwort der Herausgeber in Andres 2013, 448 f.
31 von Blumenthal 1999, 178.

als Bischof erinnert wird, um zu erfassen, dass Jagd und vor allem Philosophie dem Synesios als Verführungen erscheinen:

> Ein Mann, um den, wie man sich auf dem Doroshof erzählte, die alten Götter gerungen hatten, indem sie ihm auf der Jagd erschienen, ihn mit ihren Armen umschlungen und ihm versprochen hatten, wenn er sich nicht taufen ließe und nicht Bischof würde, ihm alles zu schenken, wonach er verlange: Verjüngung des Leibes, einen Ring, der ihn unsichtbar mache und aus jeder Gefahr errette. Sogar Nymphen, die im Wasser seiner Wälder versteckt lebten, boten sie ihm als geheime Spielgefährtinnen an, dazu eine Legion Faune, die nachts seine Äcker zu befruchten hätten, Bücher auch – das stammte wohl von Vater Zosimos! –, die der dreimalgroße Hermes verfaßt und in denen alle Geheimnisse dieser Welt durchsichtig würden. Und was sonst alles sich unsre heidnischen Christen als begehrenswert – auch nach der Taufe noch! – vorstellten, es war nicht gerade wenig.
>
> Nun hatte mir Synesios über derlei Angebote nicht die geringste Andeutung gemacht, während doch selbst die christlichen Asketen über Versuchungen, die von außen kommen und die überwunden wurden, gern und wortreich berichten.
>
> Versucht wurde Synesios allerdings in diesen Wochen vor seiner Abreise jeden Tag und jede Nacht. Wohin sein Blick fiel, stieß er auf Gegenstände, die Erinnerungen hervorriefen und ihm zugleich klarmachten, daß er sich sowohl von dem Gegenstand als von der daranhängenden Erinnerung lösen müsse.[32]

Anders als bei Synesios, dessen Briefe und Prosaschriften wertvolle Quellen für seine Vita sind, ist es bei Nonnos sehr schwierig zu sagen, welche Ausbildung er erhalten hat und welche Persönlichkeit und welchen Charakter er hatte. Wir können nur Hypothesen aus seinem janusköpfigen Werk aufstellen.[33] Es scheint mir aber, dass Nonnos sich zum Mythos etwa so verhält, wie Synesios zur Philosophie: In der gleichen Weise, wie Synesios einen Zwiespalt zwischen einem aktiven Leben als Bischof und einem kontemplativen als Philosoph empfand,[34] schwankte auch Nonnos zwischen der christlichen und klassischen Kultur und verspürte die gleiche Anziehungskraft des Mythos, die Hermann

32 Andres 2013, 244.

33 Vgl. schon Ouwaroff 1817, 6: „Seine Lebensgeschichte ist unbekannt, oder besser gesagt, sie liegt in seinen Werken.“

34 Rapp 2005, 156–166 („Synesius of Cyrene and Theodore of Sykeon“), bes. 156–160; 160: „The

Broch in seinem Roman „Die Verzauberung“ (1935) geschildert hat.[35] Wir sind weit von der heftigen Mythenkritik des Flavius Josephus (37/38–ca. 100 n. Chr.) entfernt, der im Proömium zu den *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (1.15–16, 21–23, vgl. *De opificio mundi* 1–2) Moses für seine Mythenlosigkeit lobt, und dagegen die „schändliche Mythologie“ (1.15 ἀσχήμονος μυθολογίας) und die Versuchung des Mythos bei den anderen Gesetzgebern verurteilt (1.22 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἰσχύνην μετέθεσαν καὶ πολλὴν ὑποτίμησιν τοῖς πονηροῖς ἔδωκαν), wie René Bloch in „Moses und der Mythos“ (2011) bemerkt:

> Mythen sind nach Josephus etwas Beschämendes und Unreines; und Mythen, stellt Josephus praktisch im gleichen Atemzug klar, stehen auch für Trug und Erfundenes. Bei den Juden gibt es dank Moses keine Mythen. Dabei hätte auch Moses ja durchaus die Möglichkeit gehabt, Lügengeschichten (ψευδῶν πραγμάτων) zu erfinden. Denn Moses lebte vor 2000 Jahren, in einer unüberprüfbar frühen Zeit – so früh, dass die paganen Dichter nicht einmal ihre Theogonien in diese Epoche zu setzen wagten. Trotz ihres hohen Alters haben die Juden, hält Josephus zu Beginn der *Antiquitates* fest, der Versuchung des Mythos widerstanden.[36]

Für Nonnos handelt es sich aber beim Mythos nicht um eine aufdringliche Leidenschaft, wie Marcellus in Bezug auf die Aion-Gestalt in der *Paraphrase* (6.178 f. δολιχοῖο γενείου / ἀμφιλαφὴς πολιῇσι κόμην λευκαίνεται Αἰών) meinte,[37] sondern, wie auch für Dracontius, um den Willen und die Absicht, den Mythos in die christliche Kultur der Spätantike zu integrieren und auf diese Weise weiterhin zu legitimieren.[38] Bisher hat die Kritik, in den Fußstapfen von Joseph

development of Synesius's life can be seen as a progression from a focus on the spiritual element of a deeply religious soul to the pragmatic demands of the episcopal office. These he was able to fulfill because, like Paul of Palaebisca, he had all the worldly qualifications for a role of public leadership in the manner of a *patronus*. What was missing, in the case of Synesius, was the ascetic element.“ Vgl. Bénatouïl und Bonazzi 2012, 13.

35 Dazu Mondon 2001; Boulanger 2009.

36 Bloch 2011, 17–49 („‚Schändliche Mythologie‘: Flavius Josephus’ Verurteilungen des Mythos“), bes. 27 f.

37 Marcellus 1861, 168: „Ici, il faut convenir, la passion de la mythologie se fait jour, et poursuit assez mal à propos le poët jusqu’ au sein même de l’ Évangile. La barbe blanchie de Αἰών, le Temps, qui joue autour de son menton, est un peu déplacée pour désigner la vie éternelle.“ Vgl. Franchi 2013, 470.

38 Simons 2005, 368: „Die Verarbeitung und Darstellung von Mythen ist für Dracontius wie

Golega, die christlichen Anklänge in den *Dionysiaka* (z.B. der so oft besprochene Vers 12.171 Βάκχος ἄναξ δάκρυσε, βροτῶν ἵνα δάκρυα λύσῃ) ebenso wie die heidnischen Allegorien in der *Paraphrase* (Aion, die Horen, die Physis, Hades, Lethe und Helios) festgestellt.[39] Diese Polarität, wenn auch nuanciert und in einer fragenden Form geäußert (Christliches in den *Dionysiaka*?/Heidnisches in der *Paraphrase*?), habe ich in meinem Artikel „Nonnos von Panopolis" für das „Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum"[40] ausgeführt. Einerseits wird die komplexe Frage der Kreuzung von Dionysos- und Christusgeschichte in den *Dionysiaka* durch neue Zusammenhänge aufgeklärt, wie z.B. die Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Einzug von Dionysos in Athen (47.1–33) und dem Christi in Jerusalem,[41] oder die Strukturverbindung zwischen der Ikariosgeschichte (47.1–264) und der Passion Christi.[42] Andererseits werden einige Episoden der *Paraphrase* in Form einer Kontrastimitation interpretiert, z.B. die Heilung des Gelähmten/die Asklepioswunder (4.1–56); das Wandeln Jesu auf dem See/der Isis- und Sarapis-Kult (6.75–83); die Heilung des Blindgeborenen/die Asklepioswunder (B. 9); die Lazaruserweckung/die heidnischen Auferstehungen (11.1–180); die zwei Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen vor den Jüngern/die Erscheinung des Hermes (20.84–135).[43] Doch verzichtet die reine Aufzählung der Anspielungen und Parallelstellen in einem Text, die natürlich der traditionellen Quellenjagd angehören, auf das Verständnis des Verhältnisses zwischen Text und Quelle(n). Einen innovativen Ansatz im Rahmen der Intertextualität bietet Anthony Hirst in „God and the Poetic Ego" (2004), einer interessanten Untersuchung über die Aneignung der biblischen und liturgischen Sprache in der Dichtung von Palamas, Sikelianos und Elytis. Sich von Harold Blooms Theorien der Einflussangst und der Fehllektüre abhebend,[44] hat Hirst seine Aufmerksamkeit besonders auf die Analyse der Funktion der Anspielung gerichtet:

---

auch für andere Autoren der ausgehenden Spätantike nicht mehr problematisch, sie muß nicht gerechtfertigt werden. Die Mythen sind ein Kulturgut wie anderes paganes philosophisches Gedankengut auch, das integriert ist in ein christlich bestimmtes Weltbild."

39 Golega 1930, 68–80 (Nonn. *Dion.*) und 63–67 (Nonn. *Par.*).

40 Accorinti 2013, 1120–1121, 1125–1126.

41 Accorinti 2008, 34–36.

42 Spanoudakis 2007.

43 Accorinti 2013, 1125–1126 mit Literatur (zur Erscheinung Jesu auf dem See s. jetzt Franchi 2013, 90–109, 148–154).

44 Bloom 1997; Bloom 1975 und Bloom 1989. Vgl. dazu Herrmann 2002. R. Shorrock hat Blooms Theorie der Einflussangst auf die Herausforderung des Nonnos durch Homer in den *Dionysiaka* angewandt, vgl. Shorrock 2001, 118f.

> (T)o know that a particular text alludes to an earlier text is of limited interest until we understand something of the way in which the allusion functions, and whether, and if so how, the earlier text is distorted or misrepresented by its partial incorporation into the later. Such a transformation may have implications for the interpretation, not only of the later text which contains the allusion, but also of the source text. That is to say, the author of the later text may not simply be adding something to his own text through allusion, but also trying to influence the reader's perception of the source text. (…) Studies which stop short at the identification of sources are apt to suggest that the ideas associated with the source text are carried over into the text which contains the allusion. The analysis of the function of the allusion, including a careful comparison of the two texts to show if and how the later text distorts its source, can provide a corrective and open up new avenues for interpretation.[45]

4 Die Vergebung des Aktaion

Von diesen methodischen Überlegungen ausgehend, werde ich auf eine Passage aus den *Dionysiaka* näher eingehen. Sie findet sich in der bekannten Episode von Aktaion (5.287–551), des unglücklichen Jägers, der die badende Artemis überrascht, von der Göttin in einen Hirsch verwandelt und von seinen eigenen Hunden zerrissen wird, wie wir es auch aus Kallimachos (*Lav. Pall.* 107–118) und Ovid (*Met.* 3.138–259) kennen.[46] Kurt Weitzmann zeigt in seinem Essay von 1960, „The Origin of the Threnos“, wie das ikonographische Thema der Klage seit dem 10. Jh. aus einer allmählichen Entwicklung der Darstellung der Grablegung Christi entstand. Die letzte Stufe dieser Entwicklung wurde erreicht, als der Leichnam Christi auf den Boden gelegt wurde, wie eine Miniatur in einem Evangelienlektionar der Biblioteca Vaticana aus der Zeit um 1100 (Vat. Gr. 1156,

---

45 Hirst 2004, 32, 36; vgl. die Besprechung von Güthenke 2007, bes. 256: „H. (…) focuses on the tension between national poets and the elements in their work that challenge, and in some cases overtly subvert, Christian belief precisely through their appropriative use of language.“

46 Andere Quellen zum Mythos bei Chuvin 1976, 95–104; Heath 1992, bes. 135–160 („The Wandering Stag: Actaeon, Dionysus, and Nonnian Narrative“); Villarrubia 1998, bes. 255–268; Hernández de la Fuente 2008, 175–182; Paschalis 2014, 109–122. Zum Aktaion-Mythos bei Eumelos von Korinth s. zuletzt Debiasi 2013 (ich danke dem Autor für die Zusendung einer Kopie des Aufsatzes).

fol. 194^{v}) belegt.[47] Während die Grablegung in den kanonischen Evangelien (*Mt* 27.59–61, *Mk* 15.46–47, *Lk* 23.53, *Jo* 19.39–42) beschrieben wird, hat der Threnos seine Wurzeln, wie Margaret Alexiou in ihrem klassischen Werk „The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition“ (1974) hervorhebt,[48] im apokryphen Nikodemusevangelium, dessen erster Teil auch als *Acta Pilati* bekannt ist, nämlich in der griechischen Rezension B (nicht genau datierbar, aber die Häufigkeit des Beinamens ‚Theotokos‘ spricht für eine Abfassung nach dem Konzil von Ephesus 431), die die Klage der Jungfrau (XI.5) enthält:

> Ἡ δὲ θεοτόκος ἔλεγε κλαίουσα· πῶς οὐ μὴ σε θρηνήσω, υἱέ μου· πῶς τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον οὐ σπαράξω τοῖς ὄνυξιν. τοῦτο ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, υἱέ μου, ὥσπερ Συμεὼν ὁ πρεσβύτης προεῖπέ μοι, ὅτε τεσσαρακονθήμερον βρέφος προσήγαγόν σε ἐν τῷ ναῷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ῥομφαία ἥτις νῦν κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν μου διέρχεται. τίς τὰ ἐμὰ δάκρυα, γλυκύτατέ μου υἱέ, καταπαύσει; πάντως οὐδεὶς εἰ μὴ σὺ μόνος, ἐὰν καθὼς εἶπας ἀναστήσῃ τριήμερος.[49]

Es ist das Verdienst von Weitzmann, der das Fortleben der mythologischen Themen in der christlichen und byzantinischen Kunst meisterhaft untersucht hat,[50] einen Einfluss der Aktaion-Ikonographie, welche die berühmte Darstellung auf dem Sarkophag im Louvre (erste Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.) dokumentiert, auf das byzantinische Schema des Threnos angenommen zu haben.[51]

---

47 Weitzmann 1960.

48 Alexiou 2002, 68 f. (vgl. 220 Anm. 35), bes. 68: „Confirmation of the popular character of the Virgin's lament in late Byzantine tradition comes from the second recension of the apocryphal gospel of Nikodemos, known as the *Acta Pilati*, and surviving in three manuscripts, none earlier than the fifteenth century. All three manuscripts of this recension contain the lament – though with considerable variation and interpolation – which refers explicitly to its ritual character“ (seltsamerweise erwähnt Alexiou Weitzmanns Theorie in ihrem Buch nicht). Maguire 1974, bes. 129 mit Anm. 87; Skálová 1999, 197 f.; Böhm 2003, 57. Zur Marienklage in der byzantinischen Liturgie s. Ševčenko 2011.

49 Tischendorf 1876, 313 f. (B.XI.5), vgl. 303 f., 305 f. (B.X.2, 4). Zur Überlieferung und Wirkungsgeschichte des Nikodemusevangeliums s. Izydorczyk und Dubois 1997, bes. 28 f. (griech. Rez. A und B); Röder 2010; Schärtl 2011, bes. 19–28 („Die *Acta Pilati* als Teil des Nikodemusevangeliums – Datierungsfrage“), 159–165 („Vergleichende Untersuchung der Rezensionen Griechisch A und B“).

50 Hier beschränke ich mich auf die Erwähnung des bekannten Artikels von Weitzmann 1960.

51 Weitzmann 1961, 487–490; Zanker und Ewald 2004, 84–86, 295–297. Mit Vorbehalt gegenüber Weitzmanns These Settis 2013, 93 f.: „(S)econdo Kurt Weitzmann, lo schema bizantino del *threnos* sul corpo del Cristo morto deriverebbe da un modello classico, la sepoltura

Nach Weitzmann ist die Überlagerung von Aktaion und Christus in der spätbyzantinischen Ikonographie auf die Ähnlichkeit des Wortes Γολγοθᾶ, des Ortes, wo Jesus gekreuzigt wurde (*Mt* 27.33), mit Γαργαφία, dem Namen der Quelle, wo Aktaions Tod lokalisiert wurde (vgl. Ov. *Met.* 3.155–156 *Vallis erat piceis et acuta densa cupressu, / nomine Gargaphie, succinctae sacra Dianae*), zurückzuführen.[52] Um dieses Verhältnis zwischen dem Threnos und der Trauer um Aktaion zu beweisen, zitiert Weitzmann zwei Passagen aus der Aktaion-Geschichte bei Nonnos. Die erste ist die ‚Vergebungsszene' (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.442–444), in der die Seele Aktaions zum Vater tritt und ihn um Gnade für seine Hunde, die „schuldlosen Mörder", bittet:

> Ἀλλά, πάτερ, πυμάτην πόρε μοι χάριν, ἀφραδέας δὲ
> πένθος ἔχων φιλότεκνον ἐμοὺς μὴ κτεῖνε φονῆας,
> παιδοφόνους οἴκτειρον ἀμεμφέας·
>
> Vater, erweis mir noch eines als letzten Liebesdienst: Töte
> nicht, in der gramvollen Liebe zum Sohn, die schuldlosen Mörder,
> schone aus Mitleid die Hunde, sie trifft nicht der Vorwurf des Mordes.[53]

Weitzmann hat zweifellos recht, wenn er bemerkt, dass die Worte des Aktaion Jesu Gebet am Kreuze in *Lk* 23.34a πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐ γὰρ οἴδασιν τί ποιοῦσιν[54] („Vater, vergib ihnen, denn sie wissen nicht, was sie tun!") heraufbeschwören.[55]

---

di Atteone, documentata da pochissimi esempi, fra cui un sarcofago del Louvre. Un tal confronto è però destinato a restare generico: non un determinato sarcofago che agisce da modello su un determinato artista, né un contesto culturale in cui gli artisti facciano a gara nel disegnare i sarcofagi e trarne formule per l'arte loro, ma semmai solo una linea tradizionale di lungo periodo, che comincerebbe nell'antichità continuando a Bisanzio."

52 Dazu Burkert 1997, 125–133 („Aristaios und Aktaion"), bes. 129: „Im literarisch gewordenen Mythos sind wohl verschiedene lokale Kulttraditionen ineinandergelaufen. Aktaions Tod wird an der Quelle Gargaphia im Kithairon lokalisiert, während die Cheiron-Höhle am Pelion in Thessalien liegt"; A. Barchiesi, in: Barchiesi und Rosati 2007, 153. Zur Lokalisierung dieser Quelle, die von Herodot im 9. Buch häufig (25.2 f.; 49.2; 51.1; 52.1) genannt wird, s. Wallace 1982.

53 Übers. Ebener 1985, I, 90.

54 Zur Textkritik und Interpretation dieser lukanischen Stelle, die als eine spätere Ergänzung bewertet wird, Mittmann-Richert 2008, 98–100 (der Verfasser plädiert für „die Ursprünglichkeit des Vergebungswortes" [99]). Vgl. Scheiber 2008, 65–67.

55 Weitzmann 1961, 489: „Who would not immediately be reminded of Christ's words on the Cross (Luke XXIII, 34): ‚Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'" So auch Gigli Piccardi 2006, 432 (zu Nonn. *Dion.* 5.442–444): „Non posso sfuggire all'impressione

Die zweite Passage ist die Trauer der Autonoë, der Mutter des Aktaion (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.374–377), die Weitzmann mit dem bereits oben erwähnten Threnos der Gottesmutter am Kreuz im Nikodemusevangelium (*Acta Pilati* B.XI.5) vergleicht:

νήλιπος ἀκρήδεμνος ἱμάσσετο πένθεϊ μήτηρ·
καὶ πλοκάμους ἐδάιξεν, ἑὸν δ' ἔρρηξε χιτῶνα,
πενθαλέοις δ' ὀνύχεσσιν ἑὰς ἐχάραξε παρειάς
αἵματι φοινίξασα·

barfuß und schleierlos, peitschte die Mutter vor Kummer sich selber,
raufte die Locken, zerriß ihr Gewand von oben bis unten,
kratzte im Schmerz mit den Nägeln die Wangen sich auf, bis sie purpurn
Blut übersprühte.[56]

Zwar ist die Beweinung Christi im Nikodemusevangelium knapper als die Trauer um Aktaion in den *Dionysiaka*, doch kann man nicht leugnen, dass eine Analogie zwischen den beiden Szenen erkennbar ist: „To be sure the passage in the apocryphal Gospel is somewhat more restrained than the one in Nonnus, but the tenor is much the same."[57] Ein paar Jahre später kehrte Weitzmann zur Parallelisierung von Maria und Autonoë sowie zum ikonographischen Verhältnis der Miniatur des Vat. Gr. 1156 zum Louvre-Sarkophag zurück. Seine Schlussfolgerungen sind so bemerkenswert, dass es sich lohnt, sie wörtlich zu zitieren:

> Mary takes on the traits of Autonoë who pours out her grief for her dead son in words similar to those of Mary mourning the dead Christ as recorded in the Gospel of Nicodemus. In the Threnos the beloved disciple John raises aloft the slack arm of Christ and then bends to kiss the hand. Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathia, like the woman in the sarcophagus relief, correctly or not called the nurse of Actaeon, lower the feet to the ground. The remarkable thing is that the Byzantine painter not only was stimulated by the composition of the lament for Actaeon, he also realized

che nei vv. 442–444 ci sia un'eco forse solo involontaria del grido del Cristo nel *Vangelo* di Luca 23.34."

56 Ebener 1985, I, 87 f. Ebener folgt hier im V. 375 dem Text Keydells ἐδάιξεν, ὅλον (Koechly; ἐδάιξε νόθον L; ἐδάιξεν, ἑὸν Casaubon [so Chuvin]).

57 Weitzmann 1961, 489.

> that the ancient source had a similar content; and this is not an isolated case of an artist displaying a remarkable empathy into the antique.[58]

Nun kann Weitzmanns Beobachtung, „The remarkable thing is that the Byzantine painter not only was stimulated by the composition of the lament for Actaeon, he also realized that the ancient source had a similar content", auch auf die Bearbeitung des Aktaion-Mythos durch Nonnos angewendet werden. Wir sollten uns nicht darauf beschränken zu bedenken, dass der Dichter auf etwas anderes anspielen will, sondern vielmehr versuchen zu verstehen: (1.) Den Grund, warum Nonnos Jesu Gebet am Kreuz (*Lk* 23.34a) in der Aktaion-Geschichte sich aneignen wollte; (2.) Ob Nonnos auch die Absicht hatte, die Bedeutung der erwähnten Stelle des Lukasevangeliums zu erweitern/bestimmen. Deshalb möchte ich mein Augenmerk auf dieses Vergebungsmotiv und auf einen intertextuellen Zusammenhang richten, der den Interpreten bisher entgangen ist. Dies kann uns helfen, die Aktaion-Episode aus einer anderen Perspektive zu lesen.

Pierre Chuvin hat in der *Notice* zu seiner Ausgabe des 5. Buches der *Dionysiaka* zwei innovative Elemente in der nonnianischen Erzählung zu Recht unterstrichen, nämlich Autonoës Suche nach den verstreuten Resten ihres Sohnes Aktaion (388–409) und die Vermenschlichung der Hunde (442–472).[59] Hélène Casanova-Robin, die in ihrem Buch „Diane et Actéon" (2003) die Bearbeitung des Mythos bei Nonnos behandelt, hat ihrerseits das Augen- und Erkennungsmotiv in der Suche der Autonoë nach dem Leichnam des Aktaion scharfsinnig analysiert. Diese symbolische Suche stellt die Erzählung, nach Casanova-Robin, in einer dionysischen Dimension dar und lässt eine Verbindung mit der Geschichte des Pentheus, „méconnu d'Agavé précisément en proie au délire bacchique", herstellen:

> En effet, Autonoé ignorant la métamorphose d'Actéon, ne peut reconnaître les restes de son corps parmi ceux d'un cerf. Aux verbes „voir, regar-

58 Weitzmann 1971, 210.

59 Chuvin 1976, 100: „Nonnos n'a pas cherché à associer la légende d'Actéon au thème principal de son œuvre. Il a même évité de le faire, alors que cela lui était facile, car son modèle avait subi des influences dionysiaques, et celles-ci expliquent, mieux qu'un caprice de l'auteur, deux particularités de son récit étrangères aux traditions énumérées plus haut: le rôle important dévolu à Autonoé, dont la quête est l'un des traits les plus originaux de cette version, et l'intérêt qui s'attache aux chiens, dont la douleur, les efforts pour retrouver leur maître, le retour plaintif au palais d'Aristée sont décrits en termes humains." Zur Vermenschlichung der Hunde vgl. Debiasi 2013, 219.

der," s'opposent le verbe „reconnaître" et le participe „méconnaissable" (…). Ce thème du regard déjà dominant dans le poème ovidien devient ici non seulement l'une des poutres maîtresses de la structure narrative, mais le support de significations symboliques orientant la lecture de la légende dans le sens d'une aventure dionysiaque. (…) L'abondance des négations accentue l'échec d'Autonoé, tandis qu'une reprise des termes de l'apparence et du regard forme un pendant symétrique avec le début de la narration de la quête, créant un effet de lamentation lancinante. Comment ne pas reconnaître son propre enfant? Ce fait, pour le moins paradoxal, trouve pourtant une justification littéraire dans le parallèle établi avec l'histoire de Penthée, méconnu d'Agavé précisément en proie au délire bacchique.[60]

Aber wenn das Verhältnis zwischen der Aktaion- und der Pentheus-Geschichte stimmt,[61] ist es wichtig zu bedenken, dass Autonoës Fehlerkennung nicht, wie für Agaue, am Wahnsinn (vgl. 46.176–220) liegt, sondern an der Tatsache, dass die Mutter des Aktaion noch nicht weiß (vgl. 5.370–373), dass ihr Sohn von Artemis in einen Hirsch verwandelt wurde (5.388–394):

Αὐτονόη δ' ὁμόφοιτος Ἀρισταίῳ παρακοίτῃ
ᾔιε μαστεύουσα πολύπλανα λείψανα νεκροῦ·
εἶδε καὶ οὐ γίνωσκεν ἑὸν γόνον, ἔδρακε μορφὴν
δαιδαλέης ἐλάφοιο καὶ οὐκ ἴδεν ἀνδρὸς ὀπωπήν·
πολλάκι δ' ἀγνώστοιο παρέστιχεν ὀστέα νεβροῦ
ἐν χθονὶ κεκλιμένοιο καὶ οὐ μάθεν· ὀλλυμένου γὰρ
παιδὸς ἑοῦ δοκέεσκεν ἰδεῖν βροτοειδέα μορφήν.

Vor einigen Jahren hatte ich in meinem Kommentar zur Christophanie vor Maria von Magdala im 20. Buch der *Paraphrase*, die auf die Engelerscheinung folgt (57–72), bereits bemerkt,[62] dass sich das erste Hemistich des v. 63, εἶδε καὶ οὐ γίνωσκεν, auch in Nonn. *Dion.* 5.390 findet:

ἀμφότεροι δ' ἐρέεινον ἔσω τύμβοιο γυναῖκα·
τίπτε, γύναι, στενάχεις; Μαρίη δ' ἠμείβετο μύθῳ·
ὥς τινες ἅρπαγες ἄνδρες ἐμὸν βασιλῆα λαθόντες

60 Casanova-Robin 2003, 75–107, bes. 97 f. (zu Nonn. *Dion.* 5.388–409).

61 Vgl. Heath 1992, 137–141, bes. 139: „Nonnus puts Actaeon into a Pentheus-Dionysiac context from the very beginning of his tale"; Accorinti 2008, 352, 483 (zu Nonn. *Dion.* 46.308 f.).

62 Accorinti 1996, 176.

ἐννύχιοι σύλησαν. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ οἶδα νοῆσαι,
ὁππόθι μιν μετέθηκαν. ὑποστρεφθεῖσα δὲ κείνη
Ἰησοῦν ἐνόησεν, ὃν ἔστενεν· ἱστάμενον δέ
εἶδε καὶ οὐ γίνωσκεν, ὅτι ζαθέῳ παρὰ τύμβῳ
Χριστὸς ἔην. καὶ ξεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἅτε κῆπον ὁδεύων,
τίπτε, γύναι, στενάχεις; κινυρὴν ἐρέεινε γυναῖκα·
εἰπέ, τί μαστεύεις; Μαρίη δ' ἐφθέγξατο φωνήν
ἐλπομένη κήποιο φυτηκόμον ἄνδρα νοῆσαι·
εἰ σὺ νέκυν ζοφόεντος ἐκούφισας ἔκτοθι τύμβου,
ἔννεπε, πῇ μετέθηκας· ἐγὼ δέ μιν ἔνθεν ἀείρω.
Ἰησοῦς δ' ἀπάμειπτο χέων ἀρίδηλον ἰωήν
καὶ Μαριὰμ ἰάχησε. μεταστρεφθεῖσα δὲ κείνη
ῥαββουνὶ κατέλεξε.

Jo 20.13–16: καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· γύναι, τί κλαίεις; λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἦραν τὸν κύριόν μου, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἑστῶτα, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν. λέγει αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς· γύναι, τί κλαίεις; τίνα ζητεῖς; ἐκείνη δοκοῦσα ὅτι ὁ κηπουρός ἐστιν λέγει αὐτῷ· κύριε, εἰ σὺ ἐβάστασας αὐτόν, εἰπέ μοι ποῦ ἔθηκας αὐτόν, κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἀρῶ. λέγει αὐτῇ Ἰησοῦς· Μαριάμ. στραφεῖσα ἐκείνη λέγει αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστί· ραββουνι (ὃ λέγεται διδάσκαλε).

Wenngleich die Priorität der *Paraphrase*, die damals diskutiert wurde, dank einer wertvollen Studie von Vian mittlerweile feststehen dürfte,[63] und weiterhin klar ist, dass Nonnos dieses Hemistich in Nonn. *Dion.* 5.390 aus Nonn. *Par.* 20.63, wo *Jo* 20.14 καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν transponiert wird, entlehnt hat,[64] müssen wir untersuchen, ob man dieser Aneignung der Worte der Maria von Magdala eine bestimmte Funktion in der Aktaion-Episode abgewinnen kann. Meiner Meinung nach handelt es sich hier um eine doppelte Situationsanalogie zwischen den beiden Episoden:

(A) in der *Paraphrase* ist es Maria von Magdala, die nach dem Leichnam Christi sucht und nicht weiß, wo er zu finden ist (Nonn. *Par.* 20.59–61, 68 f.); in den *Dionysiaka* ist es Autonoë, die nach den Resten ihres Sohnes sucht (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.388 f.);

63 Vian 1997.
64 Vgl. Gigli Piccardi 2006, 426.

(B) in der *Paraphrase* ist es Maria von Magdala, die sich der Auferstehung Christi nicht bewusst ist, die Jesus vor sich sieht, ihn aber nicht erkennt und ihn für den Gärtner hält (Nonn. *Par.* 20.63f., 67); in den *Dionysiaka* ist es Autonoë, die sich der Verwandlung des Aktaion nicht bewusst ist, die den Leichnam des Aktaion sieht, aber den verwandelten Leib ihres Sohnes nicht erkennt (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.390–394).

Nun ist das Nicht-Wissen der Maria von Magdala[65] analog zu dem der Autonoë, und ähnlich verhält es sich auch bei der Fehlerkennung durch die beiden Frauen. Wie Autonoë das erste Mal den Leichnam des Aktaion nicht erkennen kann, weil sie die Menschengestalt ihres Sohnes zu sehen erwartet (Nonn. *Dion.* 5.394 βροτοειδέα μορφήν), so kann auch Maria von Magdala den Auferstandenen nicht unmittelbar erkennen, weil sie nach dem menschlichen Körper Christi suchte.[66] Sie muss die Stimme Christi, „Μαριάμ", hören, um den Auferstandenen erkennen zu können (*Par.* 20.70–72). Das Nicht-Wissen, das Autonoë mit Maria von Magdala teilt, erscheint eng verbunden mit dem Vergebungsmotiv. In der Einleitung zum 5. Buch der *Dionysiaka* betont Gigli Piccardi zu Recht, dass das Mitleid, welches Aktaion für seine Hunde empfindet, *christianum redolet*,[67] und die Bitte um Vergebung Christi sich in der des Aktaion widerspiegelt: Wie Christus den Vater um Verzeihung für seine Henker bittet (*Lk* 23.34a), offenbar wegen ihrer Unwissenheit, weil sie weder den Vater noch den Sohn kannten (*Jo* 16.3 καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσουσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ ἐμέ), so bittet auch Aktaion den Aristaios um Mitleid für seine Hunde, unwissende „Henker", die den in Hirschgestalt Verwandelten nicht erkannt haben (Nonn.

---

65 Dazu Rubel 2009, 250f.: „Ähnlich wie in Joh 20,2efg, nur diesmal persönlicher, gibt Maria Magdalena in Joh 20,13def das Verschwinden ihres Herrn als Begründung an und spricht expressis verbis ihr Nicht-Wissen aus: οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἔθηκαν αὐτόν; sie weiß also nicht, wo sich der Leichnam Jesu befindet. Mit dieser negativen Feststellung Maria Magdalenas bricht die Angelophanie auf abrupte Art und Weise ab und es erfolgt ein ziemlich holpriger Übergang zur Christophanie. (…) Sie sieht Jesus, erkennt ihn aber nicht. Analog zu ihrem Nicht-Wissen im Kontext der ersten Beobachtung wird auch bei dieser zweiten Beobachtung ihr Nicht-Wissen klar und deutlich in Joh 20,14de konstatiert: οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν."

66 Die Klausel βροτοειδέα μορφήν (Nonn. *Dion.* 4.90, 5.394, 21.218, 43.206, 46.337, 47.717) wird in Nonn. *Par.* 8.15 auf Christus bezogen.

67 Gigli Piccardi 2006, 272: „In realtà con Atteone Nonno crea un personaggio dai sentimenti delicati: la compassione che manifesta verso i suoi inconsapevoli uccisori (vv. 442 sgg.) ha qualcosa di cristiano e se un cambiamento si può intravedere nei cani, questo è costituito dalla coscienza che acquisiscono del loro delitto, che li condanna a soffrire in modo umano."

Dion. 5.442 ff.). Nach der Tradition (Apollod. 3.4.4), wird die Fehlerkennung der Hunde in den *Dionysiaka* der *λύσσα*, die Artemis inspirierte (5.325–331), zugeschrieben.[68] Es ist wichtig darauf hinzuweisen, dass die *λύσσα*, der „Wahnsinn“, an verschiedenen Stellen der *Paraphrase* die ungläubige Welt (1.30 f., 2.114, 3.91, 5.173, 7.26, 16.9, 17.64), die Juden (10.109, 117), die Pharisäer (4.10), Judas (13.10, 124), und sogar jene ἀπειθέες Schüler, die die Botschaft Christi nicht angenommen haben (6.197), bezeichnet.[69] Unter diesen gibt es zwei Stellen, die bemerkenswert sind, weil sie explizit die *λύσσα* mit dem Nicht-Wissen/Nicht-Erkennen verknüpfen. Die erste ist Nonn. *Par.* 1.27–34 und bezieht sich auf die Welt, die den Logos nicht erkannt hat, und die allen, die ihn aufgenommen haben, gegenübergestellt wird:

(…) ἔην δ' ἐν *ἀπειθέι κόσμῳ*
ἀπροϊδής, καὶ κόσμος ἀπείριτος ἔσκε δι' αὐτοῦ,
καὶ *λόγον οὐ γίνωσκεν* ἐπήλυδα κόσμος ἀλήτης.
ἐγγὺς ἔην ἰδίων, ἴδιοι δέ μιν *ἄφρονι λύσσῃ*
ὡς ξένον οὐκ ἐγέραιρον· ὅσοι δέ μιν *ἔμφρονι θυμῷ*
ἀπλανέες δέξαντο καὶ οὐ νόον εἶχον ἀλήτην,
οὐρανίην πάντεσσι μίαν δωρήσατο τιμὴν
τέκνα θεοῦ γενετῆρος ἀειζώοντος ἀκούειν

Jo 1.10–12: ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

Das Spiel der antithetischen Klauseln ἄφρονι λύσσῃ/ἔμφρονι θυμῷ (30 f.)[70] begegnet auch in der Aktaion-Episode, in der der sinnlose Rausch der Hunde (5.329–335) dem Bewusstseinszustand des unglücklichen Jägers entgegengesetzt wird:

νεβροφόνον τε χάραξαν ὁμόζυγον ὄγμον ὀδόντων,
ψευδομένης δ' ἐλάφοιο παραπλαγχθέντες ὀπωπῆς
στικτὸν ἐθοινήσαντο νόθον δέμας *ἄφρονι λύσσῃ*.
  Καὶ θεὸς ἄλλο νόησε, κύνας βραδέεσσι γενείοις
ἔμπνοον Ἀκταίωνα κεκασμένον *ἔμφρονι θυμῷ*

68 Chuvin 1976, 185; Gigli Piccardi 2006, 420.

69 Franchi 2013, 485–487 (zu Nonn. *Par.* 6.197).

70 De Stefani 2002, 130 (zu Nonn. *Par.* 1.31).

δαρδάπτειν κατὰ βαιόν, ἵνα φρένα μᾶλλον ἀμύξῃ
ὀξυτέραις ὀδύνῃσιν.

Die zweite Stelle, die den oben zitierten Vers aus *Jo* 16.3 καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσουσιν ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ ἐμέ transponiert, ist Nonn. *Par*. 16.9–11:

καὶ τὰ μὲν οἰστρηθέντες ἀμερσινόῳ τινὶ λύσσῃ
δυσσεβέες τελέσουσιν ἐς ὑμέας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοί
υἱέα γινώσκουσι καὶ ὑψιμέδοντα τοκῆα.

Wir müssen uns daher fragen: Sollte das Publikum des Nonnos die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen dem tragischen Schicksal des Aktaion und der Passion Christi bemerkt haben? Ich vermute ja, aber ich hüte mich davor zu behaupten, nach den Überlegungen Shorrocks über die Ikarios-Geschichte im 47. Buch der *Dionysiaka*,[71] dass die Passion Christi ein Hypotext für die Aktaion-Geschichte sein könnte. Und hier geht es eher nicht um eine allegorische oder eine anagogische Interpretation, nämlich Aktaion = Christus/Hunde = Juden, wie etwa im *Ovide moralisé* (erstes Drittel des 14. Jh.) oder im *Ovidius Moralizatus* von Pierre Bersuire (Petrus Berchorius, ca. 1290–1362):

Ovide moralisé	*Ovidius moralizatus*
Mes Dieus, qui de la garison	Iste Acteon significat dei filium: qui una cum
De son pueple estoit curieus,	comitibus suis id est patriarchis et prophetis
Vault par son saint fil glorieus	canes plurimos id est iudaeorum

71 Shorrock 2011, 124: „The ‚Italian school' of Nonnian studies has pioneered an approach to the *Dionysiaca* that seeks to consider the ‚Classical' poetry of Nonnus within the contemporary Christian world of late antiquity. A feature of this approach has been the endeavour to map out a clear relationship between the worlds of Dionysus and Christ within which allusions to Christianity give new and dominant meaning to the ‚Classical' text. Spanoudakis, for example, in his presentation of the interaction of the Icarius episode in *Dionysiaca* 47 with the Passion of Christ, has suggested that the narrative of Christ forms the primary intertext for this scene. In my attempt to trace intersections between the story of Dionysus and that of Christ I have been more tentative in characterising the relationship between Christian and Classical. I would, for example, prefer to see the Icarius episode in terms of a subtle interaction of ideas and texts (both Classical and Christian), rather than suggesting that there exists a clear Christian subtext. For me, the story of Christ represents an important node of interaction, but it does not provide an exclusive key to the understanding of the Icarius episode within its late antique context."

(cont.)

Ovide moralisé	*Ovidius moralizatus*
Restorer le commun damage, Et pour nous jeter dou servage Ou li mors d'Adam nous ot mis, Com bons Peres et bons Amis, Fist son chier fil dou ciel descendre Au monde, et char humaine prendre, Et tapir souz forme de serf. Acteon fu muez en cerf, Et detrenchiez et devorez, Si fu par ses chiens acorez, Puis qu'il ot Dyane veüe Baignant en la fontaine, nue. Dyane, c'est la Deïté Qui regnoit en la Trinité, Nue, sans humaine nature, Qu'Acteon vit sans couverture, (…) Mes li Juïf pire que chiens Lor mestre et lor Dieu mescognurent, Et vilainement le reçurent: Par lor orgueil, par lor envie Et par lor gloute felonie Le laidengierent et batirent; Cornes poignans ou chief le mirent; Lui pendirent et clofichierent, Et comme larron le jugierent A mort et a perdicion, Par faulse simulacion, Puis resourt il de mort a vie (3.620–638, 658–669).[72]	populum gubernavit qui propter rabiem crudelitatis dici canes a principio potuerunt. (ps.) Famem patientur ut canes. Ipsorum autem ductor fuit Acteon a principio: quia fuerat ipsi a principio populus peculiaris. (Amos. III.) Tantummodo vos cognovi ex omnibus cognationibus terrae. Ista dea quae erat virgo significat virginem gloriosam: quae tenebrarum id est peccatorum et sylvarum id est istius mundi propter suam misericordiam dicitur gubernatrix. Ipsa enim est luminare minus quod praeest nocti. Dico igitur quod iste Acteon ducens et regens canes id est populum iudaeorum a casu id est occulta providentia patris venit ad sylvam huius mundi: ubi in fonte misericordiae Diana id est beata virgo continue se lavabat. Istam igitur nudam videns id est claram et peccatis non obfuscatam: et ipsi tenerrime se coniungens propter ipsam in cervum id est in hominem est mutatus. Ipsa enim eum mutavit inquantum in sua incarnatione ipsam materiam ministravit quando scilicet verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis. (Iohannis. I.) Sed sic mutatus a canibus suis id est a populo iudaeorum: et a suis comitibus id est principibus sacerdotum: non fuit cognitus: quia in propria venit et sui eum non receperunt: immo comites eius. id est principes sacerdotum populum contra eum

72 De Boer 1915, 312 f. Vgl. Casanova-Robin 2003, 115–122, bes. 121; Morros Mestres 2010, 62–67, bes. 64–66. Für das Homophoniespiel mit „cerf" und „serf" s. Moog-Grünewald 2008, 44: „Das Spiel mit der Homophonie von frz. *cerf/serf* (‚Hirsch'/‚Diener' bzw. ‚Sklave') erlaubt

Ovide moralisé	*Ovidius moralizatus*
	excitaverunt: et ipsum finaliter occiderunt. (Thobiae. I.) Occiderunt regem filii ipsius (III, Fab. 5–6).[73]

Eine andere Interpretationsmöglichkeit hat der amerikanische Klassizist Norman O. Brown (1913–2002), der Verfasser des Buches „Hermes the Thief" (1947) und einer Übersetzung von Hesiods *Theogonie*,[74] in seinem Essay „Metamorphoses II. Actaeon" (1972) ausgearbeitet.[75] In dieser Schrift, die auf Weitzmanns Essay zum Threnos anzuspielen scheint (vgl. die Beziehung zwischen Gargaphia und Golgotha), zitiert Brown, neben den anderen Quellen, den *Ovide moralisé* und das Gebet des Aktaion an seinen Vater in den *Dionysiaka* des Nonnos. Das Erstaunliche ist, dass Brown, in seinem freien Zitat aus Nonnos, dem Aktaion die Worte Christi in *Lk* 23.34a (nur mit den Varianten „knew" und „did" statt „know" und „do") *ex silentio* zugeteilt hat:

> Actaeon, the sacred heart, hart. Gargaphie and Golgotha are the same place: the place of skulls, and the mountain stained with the blood of beasts of every kind.
>
> > O world, thou wast the forest to this hart,
> > And this, indeed, o world, the heart of thee.
> > How like a deer, stricken by many princes,
> > Dost thou here lie.
> >
> > OVID, *Metamorphoses*, III, l. 143.
> > SHAKESPEARE, *Julius Caesar*, act 3, scene 1, ll. 205–210. –
>
> > Actaeon, the Holy Son of God, who took upon him the form of a servant, serf, cerf. And his own knew him not: the Jews, worse than

es, in A.s Verwandlung in einen Hirsch die Menschwerdung Christi zu lesen und in A.s Tötung durch die Hunde die Kreuzigung Christi durch die Juden (3,658–69)."

73 Engels 1962, 66. Vgl. Levine 1989, 207 f.; Casanova-Robin 2003, 122–127, bes. 124 f.; Schmitzer 2008, bes. 41 f.; Schmitzer 2009, 613–615; Morros Mestres 2010, 69–79, bes. 76–79.

74 Brown 1947; Brown 1953. Vgl. Greenham 2006, bes. 1–33 („Between Chaos and Cosmos").

75 Brown 1972; zitiert wird nach Brown 1991, 31–45, bes. 31 f. Vgl. Lafont 2003, 78.

> dogs, did not recognize their master. The ghost of Actaeon appeared in a dream to his father Aristaeus, and begged him not to punish the dogs, saying Father, forgive them; for they knew not what they did.
>
> *Ovide Moralisé*, III, ll. 624–630.
>
> PHILIPPIANS 2.7; *Acts* 13.27.
>
> NONNUS, *Dionysiaca*, V, ll. 442–445. –
>
> The dogs sated themselves in their own master's blood; Christ feeds his own with his own transubstantiated flesh. One version gives Actaeon's dogs the power of human speech; after they eat their master's tongue, the word made flesh.
>
> DES PÉRIERS, *Cymbalum Mundi*, Dialogue IV.[76]

Es handelt sich, wie deutlich wird, um eine Aneignung von Texten: Aktaions Schicksal wird von Brown, auch auf der Grundlage des Nonnostextes, als etwas Christliches gelesen. Christi Worte im Mund des Aktaion erwecken einen Eindruck, der an die Zeichnung „Apollon et Marsyas" von Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) erinnert (Fig. 18.1, unten S. 354). Tatsächlich hat Rodin in diesem Werk, mittels des Kreuzes und des Vermerkes „femme pleurant", der sich auf den Threnos beruft, die Passion Christi und die Schindung des Marsyas überlagert.[77] Doch Nonnos hat nicht die Absicht, Aktaion als *figura Christi*, wie im Rahmen der Ovid-Rezeption, darzustellen, sondern seinen von der Fehlerkennung herrührenden tragischen Tod hervorzuheben. Aber das Schicksal des Aktaion ist dann nicht nur mit dem seines Cousins Pentheus verflochten, den Agaue als vermeintlichen Löwen tötet (s. oben), sondern auch mit dem des

76 Für die Identifizierung Aktaion-Christus in Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) und Bonaventure des Périers (ca. 1510–1544), Verfasser des *Cymbalum Mundi*, s. Conconi 2003, 293 und Anm. 62. Zur Allegorisierung und Christianisierung des Aktaion im Mittelalter und in der Moderne vgl. Welzig 1979; Brumble 1998, s.v. „Actaeon"; Branca 1999, 62–69; Bertini 2005; Leuker 2007, 357–376 („Der Brunnen für den Garten des Palazzo Medici und eine Ekloge Girolamo Benivienis zur Congiura dei Pazzi"), bes. 368.

77 Judrin 1984–1992, II, Nr. 2044; Picard 2013, 174: „Ce dessin (cat. 92) est à rattacher formellement des feuilles des années 1880 réalisées lorsque Rodin lisait Dante et d'où émergent ombres et écorchés au crayon et à l'encre. Rodin y figure un homme en croix, sorte de silhouette dansante, au pied de laquelle se tient une ‚femme pleurant'. Par ses annotations ‚Apollon' et ‚Marsyas', Rodin y surpose une référence mythique. (…) Cette scène mythologique est évoquée à travers le prisme rodinien d'une Lamentation, venue recouvrir le premier sujet et en changer le sens."

Ikarios (Nonn. *Dion.* 47.138–147), den die betrunkenen Bauern, die ihn nicht erkennen (142 ἀγνώσσοντες), im Rausch, wie Agaue und Aktaions Hunde, erschlugen. Ihre sinnlose Berauschung steht im Gegensatz zu dem folgenden Bewusstseinszustand (144 ἔμφρονα θυμόν/146 ἄφρονι λύσσῃ) und zur darauffolgenden Reue (142 ἀνέστενον):

Καὶ νέκυς αὐτόθι κεῖτο, σαόφρονος ἔκτοθι κούρης,
ὄμμασι πεπταμένοισιν. Ἐν ἀστρώτῳ δὲ χαμεύνῃ
νήδυμον ὕπνον ἴαυον ὑπὲρ δαπέδοιο φονῆες
οἰνοβαρεῖς, νεκύεσσιν ἐοικότες. Ἐγρόμενοι δέ,
ὃν κτάνον *ἀγνώσσοντες*, *ἀνέστενον*· ὑψόθι δ᾽ ὤμων
νεκρὸν ἐλαφρίζοντες ἀνήγαγον εἰς ῥάχιν ὕλης
ἔμφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, ἐν εὐύδρῳ δὲ ῥεέθρῳ
ὠτειλὰς ἐκάθηραν ὀρεσσιχύτῳ παρὰ πηγῇ·
καὶ νέκυν ἀρτιδάικτον, ὃν ἔκτανον *ἄφρονι λύσσῃ*,
ἀνδροφόνοις παλάμῃσιν ἐτυμβεύσαντο φονῆες.

In diesem Kontext wird auch die Bedeutung des Verses von *Lk* 23.34a, den Nonnos sich aneignet, in eine mythische Dimension gerückt, nämlich in dem Sinne, dass der Tod Christi, wie andere Schicksale in antiken Mythen zeigen, dem Nicht-Erkennen zuzuschreiben ist.

5 Mythos als Brücke zwischen Heiden- und Christentum

Die Passage, die ich hier erörtert habe, ist ein Beispiel dafür, wie die Aneignung des lukanischen Gebetes Jesu in der Aktaion-Episode eine eigene Funktion, nach dem Modell von Anthony Hirst, haben kann. Dies ist aber kein Einzelfall. In einem neuen Artikel zum Motiv des nekrophilen Inders im 35. Buch der *Dionysiaka* (21–78), das von der skandalösen Liebe des Achilleus zur toten Penthesileia angeregt ist, habe ich vorgeschlagen, die Episode als einen ‚heidnischen' Gegenpart der Drusianageschichte der apokryphen Johannesakten (63–86) zu lesen.[78] Und auch in diesem Fall kann man eine funktionale Aneignung erkennen: Es ist das *Noli me tangere*-Motiv (Nonn. *Par.* 20.72b–75 ~ *Jo* 20.17), das im Text genau auf das Nicht-Wissen der Maria von Magdala folgt (s. oben), und das Nonnos an die Prosopopöie der gestorbenen Bakchantin angepasst hat (Nonn. *Dion.* 35.51). Die von einem Speer durchbohrte Bakchantin befiehlt dem Inder,

78 Accorinti 2015.

ihr Gewand nicht zu berühren, ebenso wie der Auferstandene, der am Kreuz von einer Lanze an der Seite durchbohrt wurde, Maria von Magdala ermahnt:

Nonn. ***Dion.*** **35.51**	**Nonn.** ***Par.*** **20.72b–75**
ἣν σέο χαλκὸς ἔταμνεν, *ἐμοῦ μὴ ψαῦε χιτῶνος·*	θεὸς δ᾽ ἀνέκοψε γυναῖκα δεξιτερὴν μέλλουσαν ἐς ἄμβροτον εἶμα πελάσσαι. καί οἱ μῦθον ἔλεξεν· *ἐμῶν μὴ ψαῦε χιτώνων·* οὔπω γὰρ μετὰ πότμον ἐμῷ νόστησα τοκῆι·
Rühre nicht an mein Gewand, nachdem mich dein Schwert erst zerfleischte![79]	(Maria) streckte die Rechte nach seinem / Göttergewand. Er wehrte sie ab und rief ihr die Worte / warnend entgegen: „Rühr nicht an meine Gewänder! Noch kehrte / ich nach dem Tode nicht heim zu meinem Vater."[80]

Dies führt zu der Annahme, dass der Dichter eine Analogie zwischen dem Tod der Bakchantin und der Passion Christi festgestellt zu haben scheint. Doch Nonnos, als wahrer Sohn des spätantiken Christentums am Nil, ist kein Vertreter einer synkretistischen Religion.[81] Er will weder Dionysos christianisieren noch Jesus paganisieren, wie Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951) in seinem Gedicht Διόνυσος ἐπὶ λίκνῳ auszudrücken versuchte.[82] Für Nonnos soll der Mythos, wie in der koptischen Kunst, eine Brückenfunktion zwischen Heiden- und Christentum übernehmen.[83] Der Dichter ist fasziniert von den heidnischen Mythen

79 Ebener 1985, II, 33.

80 Ebener 1985, II, 404.

81 Zu diesem Aspekt des spätantiken und koptischen Christentums am Nil s. Zentler 2011, 132: „Die Fokussierung der *Survival*-Forschung auf gnostische und andere unorthodoxe, da pagane Einströmungen ins orthodoxe Christentum am Nil kann das allgemeine Bild, das wir von der koptischen Kultur haben, leicht verzerren. Natürlich ist das ägyptische Christentum nicht dasjenige homogene Gebäude, das wir gern hätten. Aber doch ist es trotz aller Einflüsse in seinem Kern keine synkretistische Religion. Wie Erman (Adolf Erman) schon entsprechend bemerkte, hätte eine halbherzige synkretistische Religion mit eklektizistischen Zügen sicher nicht Formen wie Anachoretentum oder Märtyrertum hervorgebracht."

82 Hirst 2004, 139–280 („The Fifth Gospel: Sikelianos takes up the ‚Myth of Jesus'"), bes. 255–280 („Christ and Dionysus").

83 Dazu Brune 2004.

und ihrem Verhältnis zum Christentum. Wir sind versucht, Nonnos mit Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241), der die „Prosa-Edda" verfasst hat, zu vergleichen. In der Tat schrieb Snorri sein mythologisches Werk für ein christliches Publikum, um, wie Christopher Abram hervorhebt, die Berührungspunkte zwischen Heiden- und Christentum zu betonen:

> When writing about pagan gods for a Christian audience, Snorri may well have found it desirable to make implicit connections between the two mythologies in order to further the agenda that he sets out in the *Prologue*: the idea that paganism and Christianity are fundamentally similar in certain ways, but that Christianity represents the truth and paganism a delusion. By drawing attention to the superficial similarities between the two religions and their myths, he could also encourage people to think about their differences and to recognize the primacy of the new system over the old. But his strategy of emphasizing those elements of pagan myths that have similarities to Christian stories also has the advantage of making his narrative more accessible to an audience that was largely unfamiliar with pagan traditions. It seems that one of Snorri's aims was to bring about a revival in interest in the culture of his ancestors; one way that he may have done so was to make the old stories feel more familiar to new audiences by introducing elements that would remind them of myths from their own, current mythology – as represented by the Bible and the Church's teachings.[84]

Ich möchte meine Ausführungen mit einer Frage aus einem Essay von Patrick Amstutz über „Le Bain de Diane" von Pierre Klossowski (1956) abschließen, die der Verfasser so formuliert: „Klossowski cherche à faire se rejoindre paganisme et christianisme?"[85] Meine Vermutung ist, dass die Nonnosleser sich diese Frage auch weiterhin stellen werden.

84 Abram 2011, 220 f.

85 Amstutz 2008, 258.

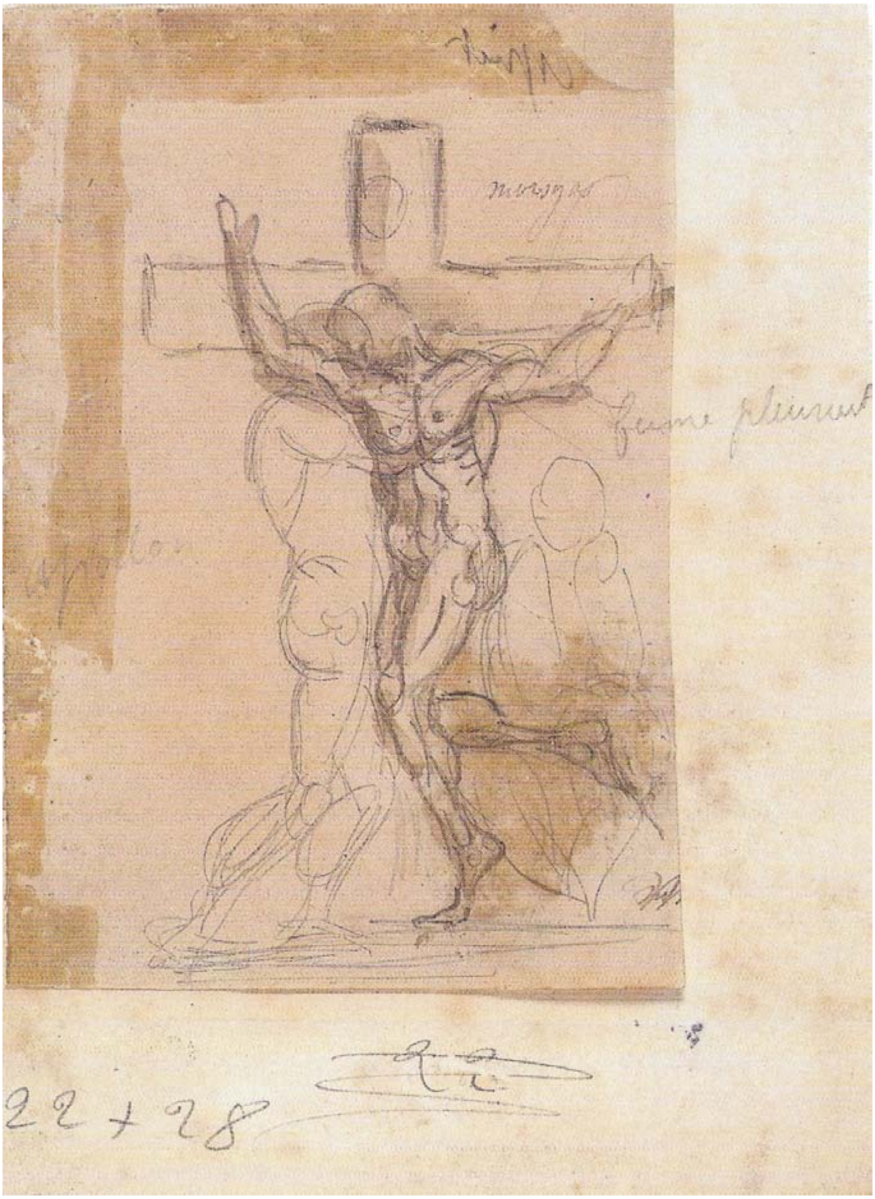

FIGURE 18.1 *Auguste Rodin (1840–1917),* Apollon et Marsyas *(ca. 1880)*

CHAPTER 19

The Quest for Nonnus' Life. From Scholarship to Fiction

David Hernández de la Fuente

Que dire de la vie de Nonnos, quand on sait à peine son nom?

COMTE DE MARCELLUS

•••

Νόννος Πλεονίππου, ὁ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν ποιητής, θέσει μὲν ἦν Πανοπολίτης, φύσει δὲ Ἡλιουπολίτης γεγονὼς κατὰ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Μέγαν.

Nonnus' Biographical Sketch by CONSTANTINE SIMONIDES

•••

Νόννος ἐγώ· Πανὸς μὲν ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐν Φαρίῃ δὲ
ἔγχει φωνήεντι γονὰς ἤμησα Γιγάντων.

Anthologia Graeca 9.198

The absolute lack of an ancient biography of Nonnus of Panopolis has been often regretted by editors, translators and scholars working upon this late antique author. Being such a rare poet, to whom two apparently opposed works are attributed, a *Life of Nonnus* would have spared modern scholars much trouble in their interpretations of both the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase*. This contribution attempts to show the literary fascination for this missing *vita* along centuries of Nonnus' reception, and to briefly examine some attempts to provide some biographical profile of this author, from scholarship to fiction writing. Nonnus is hardly anything but a name for most of us. Despite recent attempts at throwing some light upon it, his life is still shrouded by mystery. Only some scholars audacious enough have dared to cross the line between scholarship and fiction in the quest for Nonnus' life.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_021

Nothing is really known of his life. There are only some scholarly guesses which are still much disputed. Let us, first of all, review those shortly. The very name of the poet, Nonnus, which seems of Eastern Christian origin and is rarely witnessed before the fourth century, has been used as a first element in the elaboration of a biographical sketch. It appears in Asia Minor and Egypt and has been related to the fondness of the poet of Eastern cities and Eastern traditions, as well as to his possible Christian milieu.[1] One of the textual traditions of the *Dionysiaca* (*P. Berol.* 10567) has transmitted some certainties on the quest of Nonnus' life: his name, city of birth, and the title of his work. Missing information has been guessed upon the basis of the environment of his hometown, Panopolis (currently Akhmim, the Herodotean Chemnis) and the numerous testimonies of its rich cultural activity during Late Antiquity. An educational stage or simply a long stay in Alexandria were also supposed relying on the above mentioned epigram (AP 9.198) where a poet Nonnus appears to be writing his epic in Alexandria.

The silence of the sources is somewhat strange and the date of Nonnus has been fixed, as it is well known, through a series of both external and internal evidences. Thus the modern editors of the poet, from Marcellus to Vian and others,[2] have references, such as Agathias' mentioning of Nonnus as one of the "modern poets". A well-known encomium to the patrician Theagenes by Pamprepius of Panopolis is usually considered the first work in Nonnian style, thus allowing a *terminus ante quem*.[3] The eulogy was composed before 476, when the quarrel between Theagenes and Pamprepius forced the latter to leave Athens, as reported in the Suda.[4] Another fellow countryman, the poet Cyrus of Panopolis, who was urban prefect and consul before he fell in disgrace in 441, offers an important reference for Nonnus in one of his epigrams (AP 9.136), in which there is a coincidence with Nonnus in *Dion.* 16.321 and 20.372.[5] Nevertheless, the literary relationship between both Panopolitan poets is still disputed: some scholars think Nonnus imitated Cyrus, others, that "there is more than a chance that Cyrus is the earliest extant reader of Nonnus".[6] Other literary and political events, such as the possible influence of Claudian's *Gigantomachy* (before 394) and *De raptu Proserpinae* (probably 397)[7] on Nonnus, or the fact

1 Bonner 1954, 15–17 and Dostálová 1957, 31–35 are the usual references.

2 Marcellus 1856 and Vian 1976.

3 Agathias 4.23 (p. 257 Bonn); Vian 1976, xv–xviii; Suda s.v.

4 Martindale, Jones and Morris 1980, 1063.

5 Martindale, Jones and Morris 1980, 337–339; Shorrock 2001, 144–146.

6 Cameron 1982b, 239.

7 R. Keydell 1935, 605 and RE. s.v. Nonnos (Keydell 1935).

that Berytus is mentioned in Nonn. *Dion.* 41 as *polis*, a legal status (metropolis) not granted until 450 by Theodosius II, provide further reference for the date of Nonnus' life. However, the aforementioned references have allowed the late leading Nonnian scholar Francis Vian to set a more precise *floruit* for Nonnus from 450 to 470 CE.

Still, some attempts at ascertaining this scarce information by identification of the poet with persons of Late Antiquity testified by certain testimonies could be mentioned. First, there is a Nonnus mentioned by Synesius of Cyrene, an author who interestingly moves well both amid pagan and Christian milieus. In Synesius' epistles, which provide fundamental information for Late Antiquity African prosopography, there is a young Sosenna, entrusted by his father Nonnus to Synesius in those troubled times, so he can be recommended to other friends. This Nonnus could be the one referred to by the ecclesiastical historian Socrates (*HE* 5.16), when dealing with those philosophers who converted to Christianity when pagan cults were forbidden by a Theodosius decree. There is also a certain Nonnus as addressee of some epistles and works of the sophist Ausonius, and finally a Nonnus mentioned in an inscription as a sort of governor of Ephesus in 408/10.[8]

The fact that Nonnus was, at least since Heinsius, theologically influenced by the writings of St Gregory of Nazianzus has lead part of the scholarship to consider his possible identification with the Abbot Nonnus, to whom some mythological commentaries on the sermons of St Gregory were attributed. This identification was already rejected by Richard Bentley, but the matter is still *sub iudice*, since some scholars have favoured it lately, such as De Andrés or Accorinti.[9]

The case of Saint Nonnus, the bishop of Edessa elected at the Council of Ephesus in 449 and a participant in the Council of Chalcedon in 451, has been strongly defended as a possible identity of our poet. Nonnus was, according to James the Deacon, *vir mirificus et efficacissimus monachus, de monasterio quod dicitur Tabenensiotarum*. Nonnus was the substitute of Ibas, who lost his bishopric, and shared this dignity with him in Chalcedon, as Ibas was restored to his see of Edessa.[10] When Ibas died in 457 Nonnus succeeded him as metropolitan and he is reported to have travelled to Egypt and to have performed the famous conversion of St Pelagia. His identification with Nonnus the poet was defended in several occasions, especially by Livrea,[11] but this theory often has

8 Martindale, Jones and Morris 1980, 203 and 787 respectively.

9 De Andrés 1968; Accorinti 1990. Against this view, cf. Nimmo Smith 1996.

10 Price and Gaddis 2005, 4, n. 9.

11 Livrea 1987, later on Livrea 2003.

been disputed, recently by Cameron.[12] Less probable is the identification with another century Nonnus, a deacon who was acting as notary at the Council of Chalcedon in 452.[13] And there are other ecclesiastical figures with the name Nonnus, such as the bishop of Apamea, one of the signatories of a petition presented to the Emperor Justinian during the Council of Constantinople. There are other Nonnuses, such as Theophanes Chrysobalantes or Chrysobalantites, a physician from the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who was also called Nonnus. But this name seems an invention by the tricky copyist Andreas Darmarios, who was especially active in forgeries in 16th century Spain.[14] Finally, the last namesake character would be a historian, Nonnosus (also called Nonnus), who was ambassador of Justinian to Ethiopia and Arabia and who wrote a lost report of his journey, known to Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 3).

Our poet has nothing to do, of course, with most of these other Nonnuses, but we shall keep them in mind in order to examine later the fictional approaches to his life on the basis of such homonymy. Not only scholars have indulged in the temptation of identifying Nonnus the poet with other Nonnuses of antiquity, but also some fiction writers have tried to do so as well. According to what has been said so far, there has been much discussion about the chronology of Nonnus, given the absolute silence in the sources about an author of whom we just know, as the late Dario Del Corno has put it, "il nome e il luogo di nascita". Only that evocative epigram of the *Anthologia Graeca* (9.198) has been attributed to him as a sort of epitaph.

Since there are not many more clues about his life, scholarship tried to find more information in his two attributed works. It is often taken for granted that he wrote the *Dionysiaca* in the city of Alexandria, as the aforementioned epigram and a quotation of the preface to the poem seem to point out (1.13–15 "the nearby island of Pharus"). Yet, this could be just an elusive reference to the Alexandrian literary school he pretends to follow, for Callimachus, Apollonius and Theocritus are very present in his work. It has also been said, for instance, that Nonnus could have studied law in the city of Beroe or Berytus (now Beirut), like many other individuals of his time, because of the long eulogy of that city in the *Dionysiaca* (books 41–43). A special interest is also shown for other places such as Nicaea (book 15–16), Tyre (book 40), and Athens (book 47), but a personal acquaintance with any landscape or town he mentions is, of course,

12 Cameron 2000.

13 Price and Gaddis 2005, 234.

14 Sonderkamp 1984. See also, for an example of Darmarios' forging activities, Martínez Manzano 2006.

more than uncertain.[15] Although one might think that his works should present abundant descriptions of Egypt, the references are somewhat scarce and most allusive. Nonetheless, Daria Gigli Piccardi has studied in detail the important Nonnian debt toward his homeland, for instance, the positive consideration of the Nile (26.238) and the sacred presence of rivers and life-giving symbols.[16]

Much has been inferred of Nonnus' ideological and religious background on the basis of the combination of his two works, so different and seemingly even contradictory. The Nonnian question exceeds the scope of the present contribution, but we should mention that the diverse scholarly positions—lively paganism, literary approach to paganism, conversion to Christianity, peaceful coexistences of the "two souls" of the poet in the light of the syncretism of his time, and even apostasy[17]—have naturally had a very important impact upon the scholarly "fabrication" of a biographical sketch of this author.

After considering, as a framework, what scholars have figured out of Nonnus' life, it is my purpose here to examine some cases of literary recreation of a fictional biography of Nonnus within the frame of the poet's *Nachleben*. I have previously discussed some examples of the literary reception of his poems in European literature, from the Spanish Baroque to 19th century England, as it was the case in works of Arguijo, Gongora, Shelley or Peacock.[18] I shall focus in the present paper on three biographical accounts of the poet that have come down to us. It would also be interesting to examine to which extent they share a common historical background with the scholarly attempts made to explain Nonnus' life and the Nonnian question as regards his controversial poetical works, the great epic about Dionysus and the complex version on the life of Christ. First we shall briefly deal with a genial scholar and forger of the 19th century, Constantine Simonides, who came up with apocryphal data on the poet. Then we will review two later historical fictions, namely, a short story by Richard Garnett and a novel by Margarete Riemschneider.

To begin with, Constantine Simonides was a well-known forger[19] in the 19th century due to the Uranios affair. He had managed to pass off as authentic a manuscript of this author dated to the fourth century of our era convincing a commission of the Prussian Academy, endorsed by professors Boeckh and Lepsius, and the philologist K.W. Dindorf, who was on the verge of publishing

15 See the monumental study devoted to Nonnus' geographical mythology by Chuvin 1991.

16 Gigli Piccardi 1998, 76–82. Cf. also an older approach to the question by Riemschneider 1968a.

17 See summaries of the question in Hernández de la Fuente 2008 and Shorrock 2011.

18 Hernández de la Fuente 2006a and 2007.

19 Schaper 2011.

it.[20] After having sold his fabrications all over Europe he published in 1862 an article in *The Guardian* in which he revealed himself as a forger and claimed to be the real author of the Codex Sinaiticus, discovered by Tischendorf. Lately, he was also supposed to be the author of the famous Artemidoros Papyrus.[21] During his stay in France from 1854 onwards, he tried to mislead also the Count of Marcellus, who published in 1856 the first modern and complete edition and translation of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, followed by the edition and translation of the *Paraphrase* (1861).[22] When Simonides met the editor-to-be of Nonnus and found out his interest in this author of unknown biography, he announced that he had seen a life of the poet in Demetrius' lost treatise Περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων[23] which he had providentially found in a manuscript. Simonides showed Marcellus some fragments of this purported manuscript containing astonishing biographical data on Nonnus of Panopolis. He had composed a short and plausible biography about the poet explaining the mystery of his pagan and Christian works thanks to a conversion and a reasonable chronology.[24]

> Nonnus, son of Pleonippus, the poet of the *Dionysiaca*, lived in Panopolis but was originally from Heliopolis, and was born in the times of Constantine the Great. He was disciple of Aristocles Didymus of Alexandria, whom he also succeeded in his school. He wrote, as well as the *Dionysiaca*, twelve books about the gods of Egypt and forty hymns to Aphrodite, in Sapphic verse. After this, he was catechized by Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt and afterwards by Athanasius of Alexandria. After a short time as disciple of the latter, he left his old self behind through baptism. He exercised his ministry in Panopolis for thirty-seven years. He paraphrased in epic verse the gospel of John and prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. After falling ill, he died in the fourteenth year of the kingdom of Theodosius the Young, having lived a total of 82 years.

This great forgery was obviously written in full awareness of the above mentioned scarce information about Nonnus and in the light of the on-going academic discussion and the emerging theories of identification between Nonnus

20 Fritzsche 1856.

21 Canfora 2011.

22 Masson 1994, 370 ff.

23 On Demetrius, see Diogenes Laertius 1.112, 5.3; Plutarch, *Vit. Demosth.* 15, 27, 28, 30; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 8.11, 4.11.

24 For this false biography see Hernández de la Fuente 2013.

the poet and other Nonnuses. Of course, one can find inconsistencies in the chronology of Nonnus provided here: for example, Simonides places his birth in the time of Constantine the Great and states that he dies in 422, the fourteenth year of the reign of Theodosius the Younger, when, according to the text, he would have been 82. The mixture between reality and fiction, false and true elements of this short biography, provide this skilled forgery with a very remarkable literary character. Serapion, bishop of Thmuis around 340, is purportedly responsible of the conversion of Nonnus to Christianity. And no other than patriarch Athanasius of Alexandria completes Nonnus' catechesis. Simonides places Nonnus activities in the three cities where he was supposed to have lived, according to the available theories on his biography: Panopolis, his town of birth, Alexandria, his town of education, and Heliopolis, perhaps linking his figure to that of Nonnus of Edessa. It is worth noting as well that some other works are attributed to Nonnus in this biographical sketch, apart from the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase*: two more major "pagan" works, that is, twelve books about the gods of Egypt and forty hymns to Aphrodite and two new Christian works, paraphrases of prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. Finally, in a somewhat ironical literary play with the scholarly attempts to identify our poet with other historical characters also called Nonnus, there are some additional mentions in Simonides' apocryphal biography of certain other Nonnuses:[25] a Christian Nonnus of Aripe and a pagan Nonnus of Anysis, both Egyptian counterparts of our poet.

Let us see now other recreations of Nonnus' life which are openly fictional and which, still, use the scholarly debate described above in order to give a likely picture of his biography. The first author who approached Nonnus from a literary perspective was Richard Garnett (1835–1906), librarian of the British Library. Garnett was an extremely cultivated man and a voracious reader who worked from 1851, and until his retirement in 1899, in that huge room that constituted the British Library, at the time still part of the British Museum. He was the son of another Richard Garnett (1789–1850), philologist and expert in Celtic linguistics and also librarian at the British Museum. But our Richard Garnett is the first one in a family dynasty of British writers: his son Edward Garnett was also a fiction writer and his wife Constance Garnett authored the standard English translations of War and Peace and other Russian classics, and his grandson David Garnett is a well-known fantasy writer. Born in Lichfield, England, the first of the Garnetts wrote verses such as the book *Io in Egypt*, the tragedy *Iphigenia in Delphi*, essays on Italian and English literature and

25 Hernández de la Fuente 2013, 66.

translations of prose and verse (also from Greek) but his most famous literary work is the collection of short stories *The Twilight of the Gods* (1888), in which one of the most relevant tales, entitled "The poet from Panopolis", is devoted to Nonnus. This book enjoyed great success and was in print for a long time, even more than 20 years after its publication in 1888. An influential illustrated edition with an introduction by T.E. Lawrence was published in the US in 1924. The importance of this book in the history of fantasy literature was recognized by the inclusion of the tales "The Poet of Panopolis" and "The City of Philosophers" in a celebrated anthology edited by Lin Carter under the title *Discoveries in Fantasy*,[26] which was a part of one of the most influential collections of fantasy literature, Ballantine Adult Fantasy, launched in 1969.

Most likely, Garnett included Nonnus among his preferred classical readings in the British Library and he decided to offer an amusing and learned recreation of Nonnus' life. The plot is as follows: when the god Apollo visits the world during Late Antiquity something calls his attention in Egypt. There is a group of demons tempting a hermit, who otherwise remains stolid until one of the demons challenges the anchorite telling him that a certain Nonnus has been offered the bishopric of Panopolis. Then the hermit reacts with anger and decides to return to the world after more than twenty years of spiritual retreat. Apollo, stunned, asks the tempting demon:

> 'It is all very well to enliven the reverend eremite but don't you think it is rather a liberty to make such jokes at the expense of my good friend Nonnus?'
>
> 'There is no liberty,' said the demon, 'for there is no joke. Recanted on Monday. Baptized yesterday. Ordained today. To be consecrated tomorrow.'[27]

Apollo decides then to visit Nonnus, who has always received his literary favours, and demands an explanation of why he prefers "the mitre to the laurel chaplet, and the hymns of Gregory to the epics of Homer".[28] Nonnus apologizes and replies that, as a poet himself, Apollo should understand that he is just looking for the approval of the audience, who is no longer interested in his masterpiece, the *Dionysiaca*. Then Apollo discovers angrily the rolls of the

26 Carter 1972.

27 Carter 1972, 65.

28 Carter 1972, 67.

Paraphrase. But Apollo must flee because they are suddenly interrupted by the governor of the city. The governor tells Nonnus that the hermit Pachymius has come from the desert with a horde of armed monks in order to claim the see of Panopolis. So he challenges Nonnus to accept a duel with him, a sort of ordeal, in which the poet and the hermit will vie for the bishopric. Apollo, disguised, puts the toughest test to Nonnus.

> 'By virtue of the authority committed to me, I call upon Nonnus of Panopolis, candidate for the bishopric of his native city, to demonstrate his fitness for the same by consigning to the flames with his own hands the forty-eight execrable books of heathen poetry composed by him in the days of his darkness and blindness, but now without doubt as detestable to him as to the universal body of the faithful.' So saying, he made a sign to an attendant, the wrapping of the package fell away, and the forty-eight scrolls of the *Dionysiaca*, silver knobs, purple cords, and all, came to view.[29]

He cannot, nonetheless, burn even one single book, although Apollo suggests some of them, 13, 17 or 22, which Nonnus defends with vigorous arguments: a summary of each book is offered (in the latter, Nonnus would not ever burn, he shouts, his beloved Hamadryad).

The poet, between paganism and Christianity, is presented in his native Thebaid, having to decide between Dionysus and Saint John. The element of conversion is present and, once again, the *Dionysiaca* are typical of his time of youth and paganism, while the more serious *Paraphrase* would already be dated to the time when Nonnus became Christian and a respectable member of the clergy. It is, ultimately, an ingenious story presenting Nonnus about to be appointed bishop, when he declines burning his pagan works and, luckily, he wins the see because the test of the eremite is too hard for him. This time it is the tempting demon in disguise who proposes the ordeal:

> 'Brethren,' said the demon to the assembly, 'it is meet that he who aspires to the office of bishop should be prepared to give evidence of extraordinary self-denial. Ye have seen even our weak brother Nonnus adoring what he hath burned, albeit as yet unwilling to burn what he hath adored. How much more may be reasonably expected of our brother Pachymius, so eminent for sanctity! I therefore call upon him to demonstrate his

29 Carter 1972, 72.

> humility and self-renunciation, and effectually mortify the natural man, by washing himself in this ample vessel provided for the purpose.'[30]

Needless to say, the anchorite, after 57 years without washing himself, cannot accept this test and finally the ecclesiastical dignity is undecided, although most appropriate for Nonnus. Garnett presents an interesting fictional re-enactment while he tries to deal with the difficult relation between the *Dionysiaca* and the *Paraphrase*, works by the same author: at the end, according to this fiction, Nonnus will be fated to publish both works, casting doubts for posterity and in the minds of scholars of centuries to come.

> 'O Phœbus,' said Nonnus, when they were alone, 'impose upon me any penance thou wilt, so I may but regain thy favour and that of the Muses! But before all things let me destroy my paraphrase.' 'Thou shalt not destroy it,' said Phœbus. 'Thou shalt publish it. That shall be thy penance.'

Still, there will be another literary work based on the fictitious biography of Nonnus of Panopolis in the twentieth century. It is a work of fiction by the German Hellenist and Orientalist Margarete Riemschneider (1899–1985). Riemschneider, born in Königsberg in 1899, studied art history and archaeology in Munich and obtained her doctorate in 1923 with a dissertation on Baroque and Rococo Italian painting. Since then she was an Antiquity independent scholar in Germany, author of several monographs on Homeric questions, ancient religions, Orientalism, etc. For a series on Middle East Ancient History, "Große Kulturen der Frühzeit", directed by Helmuth Bossert, she published books such as *Augengott und Heilige Hochzeit* (Leipzig 1953) or *Die Welt der Hethiter* (Istanbul 1954). In 1963 she published a study of Homer and in the late 50's and early 60's she authored many scholarly articles. Among them some pioneering work on Nonnus of Panopolis, generally published, as the rest of her works, in academic journals of the former German Democratic Republic: two remarkable examples are her article "Der Stil des Nonnos", a ground-breaking investigation on Nonnus' so-called Baroqueness, or "Die Rolle Ägyptens in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos".[31]

Her other dimension, as literary creator, was also attested in a series of historical novels that enjoyed a certain degree of popularity both in West and

30 Carter 1972, 74.

31 Riemschneider 1957, 1968a.

East Germany.[32] Her historical fictions deal with topics ranging from Ancient East to the life of Erasmus of Rotterdam, and include, among others, titles as stimulating as *Espaini's Sword. A Novel of Ancient Urartu* (1966), *The miracle of Jerusalem. Historical novel of the Times of Sanherib* (1967).[33] In 1970 she published the novel *In Claudia's Garden*, dedicated to the life of Nonnus of Panopolis, which bears as subtitle "Historical-cultural novel about the last great poet of Antiquity". Riemschneider makes Nonnus a literary character of historical fiction in a subtler manner than the plain pictures by Simonides and Garnett.

In the novel Ammonius, the true name of Nonnus, is a native of Panopolis, of humble family, who is obsessed from his childhood with the god Dionysus and his attendant Pan, patron of his city. *In Claudia's Garden* tells of his youth and education in a Greek-speaking environment in Egypt, where he falls for Claudia, a Roman girl of good family, at his villa in Alexandria. In addition to the difference in social class, Ammonius is pagan and Claudia Christian. She is also the sister of Claudianus, who, as we find out later, is no less than the Latin poet Claudian.

The eventful life of Ammonius, from his pagan origins to his final conversion to Christianity, is narrated in this novel, which places Nonnus' lifetime in the epoch of Theodosius the Great and the last years of the Western Empire. A prominent role in the fictional biography is played by General Stilicho and some other main figures of the time, such as Arcadius, Eutropius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Saint Jerome and Synesius of Cyrene, are also portrayed by Riemschneider. The novel is amusing and, in my opinion, does not lack literary quality, although some chronological inconsistencies can be easily detected.

A first notable aspect of the novel is the way the author intertwines the alleged life of Nonnus with the inspiration providing material for diverse episodes of his literary work. Thus, the novel is full of allusions to given moments in the poet's life, encounters, experiences or landscapes which will produce a certain episode of the *Dionysiaca*. The first example is the dream suggested by the episode of Hymnos and Nicaea, but this is especially relevant in the description of the time when Ammonius studied at the law school of Berytos—as it was already supposed by scholarship—with his friend Euoptius. There is a ménage-a-trois with the daughter of the head teacher of the school, which serves as inspiration for the episode of Beroe in the *Dionysiaca*. Nonnus' obsession for meticulous observation of women, landscapes or objects is mentioned, for example, in this dialogue between both friends:

---

32 Schregel 1991.

33 Riemschneider 1966, 1967, 1968b, 1969.

> Ammonios, der in Alexandria als Träumer galt, als einer, der nie etwas merkte, war in Wirklichkeit ein vorzüglicher Beobachter. Seine Zerstreutheit rührte nicht von seiner Gelehrsamkeit her (…)
>
> Aglaia war ein niedliches Mädchen. Zu niedlich für seinen Geschmack. Und sie würde einmal genauso aussehen wie ihre Mutter, die noch nicht alt, aber schon recht füllig war.
>
> 'Kannst du sie dir als Amazone vorstellen?'
>
> 'Wen? Aglaia?'
>
> 'Natürlich Aglaia. Ich suche ein Vorbild für Beroe.'
>
> 'Die angeblich Berytos gegründet hat.'
>
> 'Aber was hat Beroe mit deinem Dionysos zu tun?'
>
> 'Leider nichts vorerst. Sie wurde von Poseidon verführt.'
>
> 'Und du möchtest, daß sie lieber von Dionysos verführt wird?'
>
> 'Könnten sie nicht Rivalen sein?'
>
> 'Rivalen sind stets unangenehm. Sie müssen miteinander kämpfen, und in diesem Fall würde dein Dionysos der Schwächere sein.'
>
> 'Was schadet das?'
>
> 'Der Held eines endlos langen Gedichtes? Wie kann er unterliegen?'
>
> 'Muß er immer siegen?'
>
> 'In allen Epen, die ich kenne, siegt der Held ohne Unterlaß. Es kommt dem Dichter und anscheinend auch dem Leser gar nicht in den Sinn, daß er einmal nicht siegen könnte.'[34]

Secondly, there are continuous references to Nonnus's style and to the unique and unmistakable character of his epic, which, as we learn, is gradually shaped on different occasions of the novel. Various style features of Nonnus, often noticed by scholars, are referred to throughout the story, such as humor,[35] erotism,[36] the sometimes obnoxious personality of Dionysus and the strong emphasis on *ekphrasis*, among other things. Thirdly, Riemschneider addresses scholarly debates about Nonnus, most of them often discussed also nowadays, and presents her opinions in the shape of fiction. For example, the author deals very interestingly with the question of the languages of Egypt and the knowledge of Latin by Nonnus.[37] In the novel, Nonnus' languages are Greek and, to a lesser extent, Coptic, but he can also speak Latin fluently: he shows a certain predilection for Latin through the study of law and the reading of

34 Riemschneider 1970, 36–37.

35 Cf. most recently De Stefani 2011a; Frangoulis 2011.

36 Martínez Hernández 2008.

37 In a scholarly article on Nonnus' style the author writes: "Nonnos schreibt zwar Griechisch,

Latin poets whom, in fact, he says he prefers to the Greek ones.[38] By doing so Riemschneider addresses the *vexata quaestio* of the knowledge of Latin poets (above all Ovid and Virgil, but also Claudian) by Nonnus.[39]

There are abundant examples and allusions to the originality and the particularities of Nonnus' narrative, as we see in the cases of the *parthenoi phygodemnoi* who kill their lovers:

> 'Du hast seltsame Vorstellungen von der Mythologie. Ich habe noch nie ein Kleinepos gelesen, in dem eine Amazone ihren Liebhaber totschießt.'
>
> 'Ich mußte ein solches lesen. Aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil ich es geschrieben habe.'
>
> 'Höre, ich beginne an deinem Erfolg als Dichter zu zweifeln. Deine Helden siegen nicht immer, und deine Heldinnen schießen ihre Liebhaber tot. Beklagt deine Amazone den Tod ihres Opfers wenigstens?'
>
> 'Ein wenig.'
>
> 'Und kehrt sie in ihre Wälder zurück?'
>
> 'Gewiß, aber sie wird für ihre Hartherzigkeit bestraft, denn Dionysos verwandelt das Gewässer, aus dem sie trinkt, in Wein und mißbraucht sie in ihrer Trunkenheit.'
>
> 'Das ist ja eine abscheuliche Angelegenheit. Aber ich glaube, du machst dich über mich lustig. So etwas kannst du doch nicht dichten!'[40]

The reference to the episode of Nicaea in the *Dionysiaca* (15–16) is obvious. After his return to Egypt, Ammonius is hired as secretary of Bishop Gregory of Nazianzus, despite being pagan. Both Gregory and his assistant Agathias—nothing to do with the later historian of Justinian's age—are impressed by Nonnus' literary prowess and physical appearance, solemn and portly. In fact, Agathias is the inventor of his nickname Nonnus, with the sense of "venerable", a name that will accompany him ever since throughout the novel. The adventures of Nonnus at Nazianzus and Constantinople, in the context of the theological debates between Nicene and Arian Christians are very vivid and

---

das heißt, er verwendet griechische Worte und Formen; dennoch hat man das Gefühl, als läse man ein stark abgeschliffenes, um nicht zu sagen schlechtes Latein." (Riemschneider 1957, 47).

38 "Ammonios interessierte sich vor allem für die lateinischen Schriftsteller", Riemschneider 1970, 56; "(…) ich habe fast nur Römer gelesen (…) Du meinst, die Lektüre eines Horaz oder Ovid?", ibid. 66.

39 Cf. e. g. D'Ippolito 1964, 1991; Braune 1935, 1948.

40 Riemschneider 1970, 38–39.

also show “de(n) alte(n) Streit um die Vorherrschaft zwischen Alexandria und Konstantinopel”.[41] Meanwhile, Claudia has borne a child to Nonnus, called Claudius, but the poet must reluctantly leave them to travel across the Eastern Empire for a new mission.

Allusions to the *Dionysiaca* are abundant throughout the novel as, for example, when Gregory’s assistant Agathias berates his friend Nonnus’ poetic style on a literary discussion, whose most remarkable conclusion is that the style should be “ein Spiegel des Inhalts”.[42] Following some scholarly views on Nonnus, if the content is *poikilos* and, so to speak, baroque, the style should be parallel.[43] The end of the dialogue underlines the imminent success of Nonnus’ poetry across the Empire, not only among pagans, but also among Christians:

> ‘Es liegt alles in Alexandria.’
> ‘Und wieviel ist es bereits?’
> ‘Ich bin im dreiundzwanzigsten Gesang, aber ich dichte nicht so genau der Reihe nach.’
> Agathias setzte sich in komischem Entsetzen auf seinen eigenen Hocker,
> ‘dreiundzwanzig! Und wieviel sollen es werden?’
> ‘Ich fürchte, es werden, um ein organisches Ganzes zu ergeben, achtundvierzig werden müssen.’
> ‘Also Ilias und Odyssee zusammen. Und alles in diesem überwogenden Stil?’
> ‘Auch dies fürchte ich bejahen zu müssen.’
> ‘Wer soll das lesen? Allerdings nach meiner Erfahrung—wir sind ja beide nicht davon losgekommen.’
> ‘Vergiß es.’
> Agathias lachte.
> ‘Das ist leichter gesagt als getan. Vor allem für einen hungernden Christen.’[44]

Nonnus’ adventures continue when he befriends General Stilicho during his stay at the court of Theodosius. Stilicho is fascinated by the personality, appearance and candor of the pagan poet, and adopts him as a counselor, taking him on several travels with him. Thus, the poet will find inspiration for the Indian campaign of Dionysus in the *Dionysiaca* (books 13–40) thanks to his travels to

41 Riemschneider 1970, 74.
42 Riemschneider 1970, 65–68.
43 E.g. String 1966, 125; González Senmartí 1981, 101–107, etc.
44 Riemschneider 1970, 68.

Persia and other places with Stilicho. In the meantime, Claudia dies in Alexandria, and Nonnus' travels lead him to Greece. There he will be present at the episode of the massacre run by the Gothic troops against the inhabitants of Thessalonica (390), who had risen in revolt against the Germanic soldiers. At that time, the brother in law of Nonnus, Claudian, will also acquire fame and fortune in the court of the Western Empire. Their divergent opinions on the relation between poetry and politics will gradually separate both friends and relatives. In Thessalonica Nonnus shapes the Indian expedition of the *Dionysiaca* and decides to take Alexander the Great as a model for his Dionysus:

> Halt, Ammonios! Der Gott hat nur auszubaden, was ein Sterblicher verbrach. Das Vorbild für den Inderzug des Dionysos lieferte Alexander, den sie den Großen nennen, weil niemand größere Morde begangen hat. Ich wette, Homer wußte nichts von dem Inderzug des Dionysos.[45]

During his flight from Thessalonica after the massacre, Nonnus sails to Athens and then to Alexandria. Then he meets the young Ariadne, a new love who will end up in a marriage for convenience with Claudian. Her beautiful naked body during her bath, which Nonnus gazes, recalls the obsession with female nudity together with an evocative dream he had at the beginning of the novel.[46]

> Da war seine Amazone, das Bild seiner Träume. Wenn er alle Frauen immer im Wasser schwimmend schilderte, so geschah das wohl, um den hartnäckigen Traum loszuwerden. Aber dies war kein Traum. Es war die Wiederholung eines Erlebnisses, das er nie hatte vergessen können.[47]

Other historical episodes witnessed by Nonnus are the intrigues of Eutropius at the court of Arcadius, the plot of Gainas, the plight of Stilicho in the court of Honorius and his death, and the historical character of Saint Jerome. At the same time, the novel reflects the fame of the *Dionysiaca*, which is eagerly read and recited in a piecemeal fashion by both pagans and Christians across the world of Late Antiquity. After his disappointing experiences throughout the Empire, Nonnus returns to Egypt, where he meets with Synesius of Cyrene, bishop of Ptolemais, and entrusts his son to his care: as we recall, one of the suppositions of many scholars finds here fictional confirmation. Unfortunately

45 Riemschneider 1970, 119.
46 This obsession is characteristic of Nonnus according to Newbold 2008.
47 Riemschneider 1970, 139.

both Synesius and the young Claudius die during an attack of the barbarian Cabyles to Cyrenaica. Almost sixty-year-old Ammonius enters a monastery in Coptos where he definitely adopts Nonnus as a name: firstly, he seeks shelter and anonymity, but soon he stands out from the other monks for his knowledge of Greek, Latin and Coptic and becomes engaged in copying manuscripts of the scriptures, of which there is a great shortage in the monastery. He then begins to read the *Gospel of St John* and decides to put it in verse. The conversion to Christianity is not immediately, but gradually Nonnus becomes used and integrated into the life of the Christian community. In a casual inspection visit to the hidden monastery by the newly appointed bishop of Coptos, which is none other than Agathias, Nonnus' old friend, he discovers incidentally much to his surprise the verses of the paraphrase.

> 'Ich möchte die Schreibstube des Nonnos sehen.'
>
> Sie führten ihn hin. Die Zelle unterschied sich in nichts von den anderen, nur daß sie größer war und besseres Licht hatte. Vor dem Fenster stand ein Tisch, der mit Schreibgeräten und Bücherrollen belegt war. In einem runden Weidenkorb standen die fertigen Bücher. (…)
>
> 'In der Tat, eine hübsche Schrift!', rief er bewundernd. Aber auf einmal stutzte er.
>
> 'Was ist das?' Es klang so ärgerlich, daß der Prior erschrak.
>
> 'Ich weiß es nicht. Ich sehe ja nichts. Er sagte, er schriebe am Johannesevangelium.'
>
> 'Es ist zweifellos das Johannesevangelium, aber es sind Verse.'
>
> 'Verse? Wie kommen Verse in das Johannesevangelium?'
>
> 'Eben das möchte ich wissen.'
>
> (…)
>
> Er las lange. Schon einmal hatte er solche Verse gelesen. Ganz deutlich stand die allerdings sehr viel pompöser wirkende Schreibstube Gregors vor ihm. Auch damals saß er über ein Manuskript gebeugt und las und las. Warum konnte man von dieser seltsam leidenschaftlichen und doch so wenig greifbaren Sprache nicht loskommen? Wie gut er sie wiedererkannte! Nein, es war keine Kunst, ein Werk des Nonnos zu erkennen.[48]

Agathias and Nonnus have a last dialogue in which the latter finally recognizes his friend and tells him all his misfortunes. In the final pages of the novel this dialogue returns to the issue of the poetry of Nonnus as an irresistible force

48 Riemschneider 1970, 200–202.

and of his devouring style as something unique and memorable. Throughout his adventures in various places of the Empire, briskly narrated by the author, Nonnus has incorporated details and aspects of his experiences to his vivid poetry, which he has continued to write and rewrite until his conversion to Christianity. Agathias informs Nonnus that, while he was in the monastery, the *Dionysiaca* have enjoyed great success and become a young classic of its time, circulating throughout the empire. Now the bishop tries to convince the poet, at the end of his days, to publish as well his literary output of Christian inspiration and to return to the world in order to enjoy his newfound fame. But Nonnus flatly refuses and disobeys the bishop. At the very end of the novel Riemschneider explains the diverging destiny of each of the two Nonnian poems in the following way:

> Agathias reiste ab, in der Hoffnung, doch noch Mittel und Wege zu finden, um den berühmten Dichter aus seiner starren Haltung zu lösen. Er kam nicht dazu.
>
> Unmittelbar nach seiner anstrengenden Inspektionsreise erkrankte er und starb nach wenigen Tagen. Die Paraphrasen des Johannesevangeliums verstaubten in seiner Bibliothek.
>
> Die Gelehrten vieler Jahrhunderte haben sich seither den Kopf darüber zerbrochen, wer sie geschrieben haben könnte. Dem Stil nach Nonnos. Aber der Dichter der Dionysiaka?
>
> Ein Heide?[49]

We see how, on the whole, both the forger Simonides and the writers Garnett and Riemschneider coincide in turning the conversion of the poet Nonnus into a key element of his biography in order to explain the apparently contradictory slant of his works. It is very remarkable to realize that these authors were also scholars interested in one way or another in the *Dionysiaca*, who were aware of the failed academic attempts to find out a true historical background of the poet of Panopolis, and who decided to create one by the means of literature. An unscrupulous scholar such as Simonides became in this way an improvised narrator of a fascinating and likely biography of Nonnus. And two more recent scholars seduced by Nonnian verses decided to make up their own explanations for the life of the poet of Panopolis. Unfortunately, although in a suggestive manner combined with scholarship, fiction seems to be, still nowadays, the only means to investigate the biography of this author.

49 Riemschneider 1970, 207.

However, we once again must go back to the Count of Marcellus, for here I have to make a confession. I too, as a Nonnian scholar, having devoted some years of my life and some scholarly effort to this poet, must have become somewhat intoxicated—as Agathias said in the last novel mentioned—by the verses of the *Dionysiaca*. I do not know if that happened to you as well. Up to now, besides my academic career, I have published three novels, none of historical plot. But some years ago I indulged in the serious temptation of mixing up scholarship and fiction, in a Borgean manner. In 2006 I published a short novel entitled *La confesión del Conde de Marcellus. Nouvelle mélienne*.[50] There I tell the story of the discovery of the so-called Venus de Milo, in which the Count of Marcellus participated. The plot consists basically in what the lost arms of the statue were displaying: a thyrsus, so that she was a Bacchant. Somehow, the Dionysian mysteries have survived in the Eastern Mediterranean until the 19th century, and Marcellus becomes an initiate thanks to the help of a local shepherd from Milos and of a learned librarian at Constantinople. At the Bosporus Marcellus discovers the existence of the *Dionysiaca* and introduces the Nonnian frenzy in Europe, together with a secret Dionysian cult.

> En 1818, cuando aún me encontraba en Constantinopla, quiso el azar que conociera a quien sería mi maestro menos ortodoxo en literatura griega: un griego, Rizos Nerulos, secretario de traducción en el ministerio de asuntos extranjeros del Sultanato. Durante mi estancia en la ciudad del Bósforo, antes de emprender aquel primer gran viaje que me llevara a Milo, disfruté de su compañía y su erudición. Discutíamos en francés acerca de la poesía antigua y un día, hablando acerca de la obra del emperador Juliano el Apóstata, mencionó el nombre de un autor para mí desconocido, que apostrofó como *le chantre de Bacchus*, el último poeta pagano. Él era un iniciado, como el pobre Yorgos. Ahora lo sé. De regreso a Francia seguí instruyéndome. Descubrí todo sobre los ritos de Dioniso y sus dulces y crueles dones. Indagué en lo que quedaba de su antigua religión. Lo rastreé en polvorientos volúmenes de los humanistas de siglos pretéritos. Bentley, Plantin, Sambucus. Siempre buscando más atrás. Había, en la vieja historia de la literature, un oscuro autor de cuya vida no se sabía casi nada. Ni siquiera el nombre era seguro, Amonio, Nonno … La patria, el alto Egipto, Alejandría, Edesa … Él había escrito, al parecer, un enorme poema cuyo título adivinado tampoco era concluyente, *Los*

50 Hernández de la Fuente 2006b.

> *hechos de Dioniso*, y que había sido sepultado por la incuria de los siglos. Estaba dedicado a los mitos sobre este dios y hablaba, en particular, de su venida al mundo. Esto llamó mi atención y retuve en la memoria el nombre de aquel autor de ignota biografía que jamás había visto traducido y cuya obra se había perdido en el olvido de manuscritos deteriorados. Y lo recuperé por algún oscuro azar décadas más tarde (…).[51]

Still, what can be said today, as Marcellus would put it, of Nonnus, except by means of fiction writing?

51 Hernández de la Fuente 2006b, 136–137.

CHAPTER 20

Ut poesis pictura. Nonnus' Europa Episode as Poetry and Painting

Robert Shorrock

This is an article about the depiction of Nonnus' Europa episode in both textual and visual form. I first consider Nonnus' own playful and allusive construction of the Europa episode, positioned at the very start of his epic narrative, before turning the spotlight on an extraordinary, and previously overlooked, painting of Nonnus' 'abduction of Europa' by the eighteenth-century French rococo artist Noël-Nicolas Coypel.

1 Nonnus and the Abduction of Europa

The first narrative episode of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* is taken up with the dramatic story of Europa and her abduction by Zeus in the guise of a bull. It falls into two main sections: (i) Europa on the sea-shore (1.46–53); (ii) Europa at sea (1.53–137).[1]

It should come as little surprise to those familiar with Nonnus' epic that the Europa episode offers no sign of meaningful engagement with Ovid's familiar telling of the story.[2] In fact, the dominant inter-text seems to be Hellenistic epyllion, and in particular, Moschus' *Europa*.[3] In the words of Mary Whitby, "Nonnus knew the *Europa* well and adopted features which appealed to him, sometimes in an ostentatious display of allusion." Nonnus is certainly quick to signal his allusive engagement with poetic models: where Moschus' poem

1 The section concerning Europa at sea can itself be divided into three discrete parts: the sea-crossing (53–90); the observations of an Achaean sailor (90–126) and Europa's complaints (126–137). I omit from the general discussion the later section at 1.321–362 which describes Hera's mocking attack on her bull-husband, the couple's arrival on Crete, their perfunctory union and the *catasterism* of the bull—a scene which Nonnus weaves into Typhon's violent struggle to wrest control of Olympus from Zeus.

2 See, for example, Shorrock 2011, 10–11; for Ovid's Europa narratives see *Met.* 2.836–3.2, *Fasti* 6.603–620.

3 See Vian 1976 ad loc.; also the excellent discussion by Mary Whitby 1994, 101–105.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_022

begins Εὐρώπῃ ποτέ, Nonnus begins his own narrative in self-conscious adverbial homage with Σιδονίης ποτέ. And where Moschus describes a "sweet dream" (γλυκὺν ὄνειρον, line 1) and sleep "sweeter than honey" (γλυκίων μέλιτος, line 3), Nonnus, in the third line of his Europa narrative (perhaps keying into the programmatic significance of 'sweet' poetry), shows Zeus in possession of a similarly "sweet itch" (καὶ γλυκὺν εἶχε μύωπα).

Another prominent inter-text is provided by Achilles Tatius, a fellow Egyptian writer from second-century CE Alexandria.[4] His novel, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, opens in Sidon with an ecphrastic description of a painting of the abduction of Europa and it is the bull which in turn acts as a cue for the story proper (narrated by Clitophon). Achilles Tatius begins his story with Sidon—Σιδὼν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλις ("Sidon is a city by the sea"). The fact that Nonnus also begins his Europa episode with an explicit reference to the same city (Σιδονίης ποτέ) may be more than coincidence. In this way Nonnus is able to introduce his narrative with a double allusion to the opening words of two different Europa narratives, one in poetry, the other prose.

Moschus' and Achilles Tatius' accounts place a clear emphasis on the shore where the abduction is to take place—focusing on the meadow rich with flowers and the maidens who accompany Europa. In contrast Nonnus dispenses with all the build-up: within eight lines the bull is already sailing out to sea with Europa on his back. And unlike Moschus and Achilles Tatius who introduce Europa right away (the first word of Moschus' poem, as we have seen), Nonnus playfully delays the mention of Europa's name until some eight lines into his account—with the result that the abduction of Europa has already taken place before the reader has even been able to confirm her identity.

Similarly it takes a line and a half for us to discover that the hands manhandling the woman onto the bull in fact belong to "little Eros" (1.50, βαιὸς Ἔρως). Although Vian suggests that this epithet takes its inspiration from Apollonius Rhodius 3.281, it is possible that Nonnus had Achilles Tatius in mind: it is in Achilles Tatius' depiction of the abduction at 1.1.13 that we read how "Eros led the ox. Eros, a tiny little chap (μικρὸν παιδίον)."

Within moments of the abduction we are already being invited to see the frightened girl not on her own terms, but as a range of mythical 'others' of seemingly increasing importance arranged in an admirable expanding tetracolon (1.57–59, ἰδὼν δέ μιν ἢ τάχα φαίης / ἢ Θέτιν ἢ Γαλάτειαν ἢ εὐνέτιν Ἐννοσιγαίου / ἢ λοφιῇ Τρίτωνος ἐφεζομένην Ἀφροδίτην, "If you saw her you would probably think that she was Thetis, or Galateia or the Earth-shaker's wife [Amphitrite], or

4 See Vian 1976 ad loc.

Aphrodite sitting on the back of a Triton").[5] Already the stability of the images before our eyes is under threat. The element of amazement at the sight of the abduction is highlighted by Poseidon who marvels (1.60, ἐπεθάμβεε) at what he sees and Nereus who points out the sight to his wife Doris, with feelings of shock and awe (1.64, θαῦμα φόβῳ κεράσας ἐπεδείκνυε Δωρίδι Νηρεύς).

One is struck by the sheer number of characters who are witness to the abduction in Nonnus' version. In Ovid, although the shore was crowded with maidens, the sea was quite empty; in Moschus we see dolphins, Nereids, Tritons and Poseidon; Achilles Tatius provides dolphins, cupids and Eros; Lucian, (another one of Nonnus' likely models) in his short satirical *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* no. 15, supplies dolphins, cupids, Nereids, Tritons, Poseidon and Aphrodite, but Nonnus' populous and exuberant version manages to cap even this list.

One figure unique to Nonnus' account is Boreas. Although Lucian's *Dialogues of the Sea Gods* no. 15 mentions the way that the winds follow in the wake of Europa and the bull, Boreas' *direct* involvement in the narrative (as a sort of dirty old man of Greek winds)—billowing out Europa's clothes and blowing on her breasts (1.69–71, καὶ δολόεις Βορέης γαμίῃ δεδονημένος αὔρῃ / φᾶρος ὅλον κόλπωσε δυσίμερος, ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ / ζῆλον ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεσύρισεν ὄμφακι μαζῷ)—seems to be pure Nonnus. As if it is not bad enough to be abducted by a bull Europa attracts further predatory advances (albeit furtive) from the North wind—a conceit that seems to out-Lucian Lucian himself.

Nonnus introduces still more characters into the scene by means of simile: Europa riding the bull is compared to the image of a Nereid riding a dolphin (1.72–78). The image challenges our view of the frightened girl by figuring her as a carefree Nereid. Although the erotic nature of the scene is blindingly obvious, Nonnus seems to ratchet up the intensity even more than Moschus, Achilles Tatius and Lucian: Eros whips the bull on with the *cestos* of Aphrodite (1.80); not only has Europa been compared to Aphrodite (1.59), but we are reminded that the sea is Aphrodite's natural element (1.87–88). We have already noted the uncomfortably close interest that Boreas has been taking at 1.69–71; a personification of erotic desire (*himeros*) is also present as one of the crew (1.68, καὶ Ἵμερος ἔπλετο ναύτης).

The reaction of Pallas Athena at 83–85 leaves us in no doubt where this is all leading (αἰδομένη δὲ / παρθενίην πόρφυρε παρηίδα Παλλὰς ἀμήτωρ / ἡνίοχον Κρονίωνος ὀπιπεύουσα γυναῖκα, "Pallas, no mother, blushed for shame with her virgin cheeks at the sight of a woman riding Cronos' son"). And it is from

5 All translations of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* are my own.

here that we might expect soon to reach the shore of Crete when Nonnus wrong-foots his audience. Out of nowhere—or so it seems—there suddenly appears an anonymous wandering Achaean sailor (1.92, περίφοιτος Ἀχαιικὸς ἴαχε ναύτης).

The sailor expresses consternation about the unnatural nature of what he is seeing at some length (1.93–124). The immediate impact of his speech is that the narrative effectively freezes. At some level this could be read as Nonnus' response to the ecphrastic tradition of the Europa narrative. In Moschus the engraved floral basket including an image of Io the cow is a focus of specific ecphrastic attention; in Achilles Tatius it is a picture of the Europa story that sets the main narrative in motion. In Nonnus a Greek sailor gives his own account of the abduction of Europa unfolding before his eyes—and he finds himself unable to believe what he sees (1.93, ὀφθαλμοί, τί τὸ θαῦμα;).

The sailor is clearly uncomfortable with the scene that unfolds before him. Multiple images come to his mind in his attempt to clarify exactly what it is that he is looking at: is this Selene (1.97), or Thetis (1.99), or some Nereid (1.103) or maybe even Demeter (1.104). The point is that he is wrong on every count and unlike the knowing reader of Nonnus' epic he is doomed to remain unaware that he is watching Europa's abduction by Zeus. The closest that he gets to the 'truth' is in associating the bull's horns with the horns of a river god and suggesting that this may be Poseidon up to his old tricks again (1.120–121). In the end he is let down by his limited mythological knowledge (unlike Nonnus' learned Alexandrian audience?): how else could he ask whether bulls go mad with love and abduct women (1.118–119, ἦ ῥα καὶ αὐτοὶ / ταῦροι ἐρωμανέοντες ἀφαρπάζουσι γυναῖκας;)?

Before taking leave of the sailor it is worth considering the adjective used to describe him at the start of his speech: περίφοιτος "wandering" (1.92). It is a rare word with an excellent provenance: in Callimachus' epigram *AP* 12.43.3 it is used to help articulate the poet's dislike for cyclic/neo-Homeric epic poems. In Hopkinson's translation: "I detest the cyclic poem, I do not like the path that carries many to and fro; I hate too the **roaming** lover (**περίφοιτον** ἐρώμενον), I do not drink at the fountain—I loathe all common things."[6] The inter-text suggests that Nonnus has found an innovative way of declaring his own poetic affiliations. Certainly it is tempting to consider the sailor as a possible model for a first-time reader of the *Dionysiaca*, watching in disbelief as this strange and disorienting blend of Hellenistic epyllion, Greek novel, second-sophistic satire rises up from the page. Or perhaps we might imagine this as the reaction

6 Hopkinson 1988, 86–87.

of some figure from Homeric epic, Odysseus himself perhaps, suddenly transported into the pages of the *Dionysiaca*.

It is not just the sailor who is in difficulty. In the final section (1.126–137) Europa seems to have her own problems with knowledge of Greek mythology. She knows how Boreas abducted Orytheia, the "young lady from Athens" (1.134, Ἀτθίδα νύμφην), but fails to appreciate the importance of context until it is almost too late. 1.133–136: "Carry these curls to my mother, o encircling breezes. Yes, I beg you, Boreas, just as you abducted the young lady from Athens, take me up into the air on your wings … But what am I saying? I don't want to see Boreas after the bull, maddened by love." In new contexts even familiar stories can become dangerous. Europa is a late learner, but at least—unlike the Achaean sailor—she learns in the end. As such she represents a much more positive model for the reader of the *Dionysiaca* than the one provided by the sailor: carried off from a familiar shore by an erotic narrative, initially nervous and confused, until slowly—better late than never—things begin to make more sense.

2 Imag(in)ing Nonnus' *Europa*

I want to turn now to another version of Nonnus 'abduction of Europa', this time not a text, but an image. As background to this image we need to go back briefly to Constantinople in the year 1423. It was then that a codex (now known as *Laurentianus* 32.16)—commissioned in 1280 by the great polymath Maximus Planudes—was purchased by the irascible manuscript hunter Filipo Filelfo.[7] Bound between the ox-hide covers was a rich cache of texts including an anonymous copy of the *Dionysiaca*. It was this manuscript that Filelfo duly carried off over the sea to Italy. From plague-ridden Venice it made its way via Bologna to Florence and to the Medici court, where it has remained pretty much ever since—apart from a significant, but largely forgotten sabbatical in Rome between 1508 and 1523.[8]

The fact that Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* was in present in Renaissance Florence is enough to set the heart racing. Like Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Dionysiaca* should have been a mythological treasure trove for generations of artists. Although championed by Poliziano, there is, sadly, very little evidence for

7 See Vian 1976, LXI–LXIV.

8 On the presence of *Laurentianus* 32.16 in Rome (something unknown to Vian 1976, LXIV) and its possible influence of artists see Ciammitti 1998.

Nonnus' influence on artists from the Renaissance onwards—though Poussin seems to have been inspired by the title page illustration of a French translation of the epic and Dosso Dossi may have been influenced by the text in his frescos at Mantua.[9] It has also been speculated that an abortive project by Raphael to paint a triumph of Dionysus in India takes its inspiration from the *Dionysiaca* (during the years of the manuscript's 'Roman Holiday').[10] Nonnus, then, seems to have kept impressive company for a while, but it is still hard not to be disappointed. Renaissance Nonnus could have promised so much, but somehow never quite made it. We are left with a feeling of modified rapture and some slight annoyance that Ovid managed to hog the limelight.

The dominance of Ovid is certainly evident from representations of the 'Rape of Europa' from the Renaissance onwards—perhaps the most popular and reproduced of all Classical scenes.[11] Thanks to a ready supply of early illustrated editions and prose paraphrases, it was Ovid who helped to launch a thousand white bulls over an oil-painted sea. Artists took up either the seduction scene with a happy and enamoured Europa engaged in varying degrees of animal petting or the more dramatic scene of the abduction itself—scenes captured in a variety of media (such as majolica/glazed terracotta).[12] Some artists like Veronese manage to do both—capturing the different phases in one single picture. This was not a new technique in narrative painting, but was a highly appropriate way of representing Ovid's description of the bull's stealthy creep into the sea—rather in the manner of time-lapse photography (in contrast to the untimely rush described by Moschus, Lucian and Nonnus).

One is left to wonder what a Nonnian version of this somewhat clichéd Ovidian scene would look like—more nudity perhaps and certainly with a greater crowd of on-lookers (gods and nymphs in particular), watching not from the shore but from the sea.

---

9 Malcolm Bull 2005, 243–246 showed how no less a figure than Poussin has been influenced in the composition of one of his paintings by the title-page engraving depicting the Birth of Bacchus (by Crispijn van de Passe) from the 1625 French translation of the *Dionysiaca*. Luisa Ciammitti in an edited volume published in 1998 argued that Lorenzo Costa's Myth of Comus and Dosso Dossi's Mythological scene, both painted at the court of Mantua in the early sixteenth century, take inspiration from Nonnus' Nicaea episode; another Dossi painting, the Allegory of Pan is said to derive features from Nonnus' Actaeon episode (building on the work of Gibbons 1968; Schloder 1975).

10 Ciammitti 1998, 89–90.

11 See 'Europa' in Davidson Reid 1993, 421–429.

12 For a sense of the range and vitality of depictions of the Europa episode see Acidini Luchinat and Capretti 2002.

3 Noël-Nicolas Coypel

Up until now Nonnus' Europa scene has remained one that we must picture with the mind's eye only. However, Nonnian scholarship has counted without the eighteenth-century rococo painter Noël-Nicolas Coypel (1690–1734).

Just as Nonnus has been somewhat overshadowed by other members of his epic family, so this Frenchman is the least well known and appreciated of the Coypel family of painters. And like most painters from the Renaissance onwards he turned his hand to both Classical and Christian themes, just as Nonnus seems to have produced both the *Dionysiaca* and *Paraphrase*. Coypel's work has been moderately well received (a catalogue raisonné has recently been published on his work), but he is more of a footnote in the story of eighteenth century French art than a major artist in his own right.[13] Part of the problem is that he died before he could really get himself established—having hit his head on a door-frame in 'a domestic incident'—a great tragedy, for he was arguably one of the finest and most intelligent interpreters of Nonnus that the world has never known. The basis of this judgement rests on just one of his paintings: the *Rape of Europa*.

In fact Coypel produced at least two versions of the *Rape of Europa*.[14] The first version (fig. 20.1) seems to derive almost exclusively from the Ovidian tradition of paintings of the *Rape of Europa*—with details established from both Ovid's text and from early illustrations to that text: white bull in compliant position, flowers around the horns and garlanding the neck.[15]

In this version Europa is surrounded by maidens, and seduction is already underway as the bull licks at Europa's hand. Coypel's primary inspiration appears to have come not from the Ovidian text at first hand, but from an earlier painting of the same scene by fellow countryman Simon Vouet, painted in ca. 1640 (fig. 20.2). In particular one may note similarities between the two paintings in the colour and drape of Europa's robe, the exposed breast and style of her hair. The bull too is portrayed with a similarly raised hoof and the pink tongue is exposed in both. Coypel however has subtly increased the erotic ten-

13 See Delaplanche 2004.

14 See Delaplanche 2004; a further painting of a *Rape of Europa* is attributed to Coypel in Acidini Luchinat and Capretti 2002, 316, catalogue no. 112.

15 The garland of flowers can be found as far back as the tenth century on the Veroli casket, an object that may stake a claim to being the earliest and possibly unique fusion of Nonnus and Ovid in its depiction of the myth of Europa. See Simon, E. 1964, 279–336; Vian 1976, LX–LXI.

FIGURE 20.1 *Noël-Nicolas Coypel,* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1722. Oil on canvas, 90 × 102 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond*

sion, bringing the moment of the abduction fractionally closer: now the bull's tongue (of disturbing proportions) actually reaches out to kiss Europa's hand, whilst Europa's raised leg reveals rather more than might be seen as decorous.

So far, we can see little to connect Coypel with Nonnus beyond the choice of the same theme. Much more Nonnian is his painting of 'The Birth of Venus' from 1732 (fig. 20.3).[16] Here we see much more nudity, a greater number of Nereids in the sea and even a Triton blowing his horn (see 1.61–63). This seems to capture something of Nonnus' spirit, but Nonnian spirit is not the same as direct knowledge of the text. We are still left searching for the smoking gun.

By a stroke of great good fortune Coypel had a second go at painting the abduction of Europa, quite possibly after he had read Nonnus in Boisset's 1625

16 Nonnus' Europa episode explicitly references the birth of Aphrodite at 1.87–88.

FIGURE 20.2 *Simon Vouet,* The Rape of Europa*, circa 1640. Oil on canvas, 179 × 142 cm. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid*

French translation—the same edition that seems to have inspired Poussin.[17] Coypel's *L'Enlèvement d'Europe* (fig. 20.4) was entered for a Royal Concours in

17 This was derived from Lubin's Latin version of the *editio princeps*; see further Bull 2005, 243.

FIGURE 20.3 *Noël-Nicolas Coypel,* La Naissance de Vénus (The Birth of Venus)*, 1732. Oil on canvas, 81 × 65 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg*

1727. It did not win but was highly acclaimed and was subsequently purchased by one of the King's ministers for the same sum as had been awarded for the winning entry.

At first glance this is a highly disorienting painting—offering, I would suggest, a perfect pictorial mirror of the textual Nonnus. There seems to be so much going on that it is difficult to make sense of it. The one thing that does make sense, however, is the bull. It makes sense because it brings with it the reas-

FIGURE 20.4 *Noël-Nicolas Coypel,* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727. Oil on canvas, 127 × 193 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia*

suring familiarity of tradition. This is the same Ovidian bull that Coypel had painted in his earlier Europa and belongs, as we have seen, to a fine European tradition.[18] If Coypel's bull looks rather perplexed he has every right to do—he thought that he was entering familiar and respectable pictorial seascape, but instead finds that he has wandered into an entirely different sort of picture.

I would like now to take a close look at some of the most striking parallels between Coypel and Nonnus, juxtaposing images from the painting with relevant quotations of the *Dionysiaca*. To begin with the most obvious first: Boreas and his breath. As noted above, Nonnus is the only classical author to give Boreas a direct role in the story of Europa. At 1.69–71 Nonnus describes how "cunning Boreas, excited by the fresh breeze of marriage, bellied out [Europa's] cloak full sail, sick with love. Concealing his lust he blew on her two budding breasts." No-one else in the history of the episode seems to have put Europa and Boreas together again—with the single exception of Noël-Nicolas Coypel (fig. 20.5).

It is interesting to note that Coypel has not just inserted Boreas into the scene as a crude allusion, but has attempted to replicate the narrative described by Nonnus. He brings together two Nonnian references to Boreas into the same

18 See for example the Europa paintings by Antonio Carracci, Guido Reni, Paolo Veronese and Jean Cousins the Elder.

FIGURE 20.5 *Boreas and Europa, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa), *1727*

pictorial frame: Boreas breathes over Europa at 1.69–71, but Coypel's unique depiction of her glance—neither to her friends on the shore nor to the bull himself—connects precisely with the moment when Nonnus' Europa calls on Boreas for help at 1.133–136: "Carry these curls to my mother, o encircling breezes. Yes, I beg you, Boreas, just as you abducted the young lady from Athens, take me up into the air on your wings … But what am I saying? I don't want to see Boreas after the bull, maddened by love." Because the two episodes have now become one, it is the erotic breath of Boreas that now makes her realize that he is an unsuitable saviour.[19]

We now move onto the triton in the foreground of Coypel's painting (fig. 20.6). This is a figure with whom we are already familiar from Coypel's *Birth of Venus* (fig. 20.3). But whereas there he seemed to blend into the generic background (or more properly 'foreground') of the 'sea triumph' style of painting, here he has a specific narrative force. He is not just blowing his conch, but looking towards the bull whilst the bull in turn is looking towards him—a near perfect rendering of the triton as described by Nonnus at 1.61–64: "Triton who heard Zeus's seductive mooing, mooed back an equivalent tune to the son of

19 There is no opportunity here to consider Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, but Coypel's Boreas seems to have something of the Titian Bacchus about him. That would certainly be appropriate in a painting inspired by the *Dionysiaca*, but doubly so because of the explicit connections made by Nonnus between the rape of Europa in *Dionysiaca* 1 and the Ariadne episode in book 47.

FIGURE 20.6 *A triton plays the conch for Zeus, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

Cronos on a conch shell, as a wedding song" (1.61–63). It is hard to imagine how one might better transform Nonnus' words in pictorial form.

Representations of the Europa abduction scene from the Veroli casket onwards have been plentifully adorned with enough cupids to fill several water-polo teams—frolicking on dolphins, helping to drag the bull into the water, bring flowers and swirling billowing pieces of fabric. They seem to be as blandly generic an image as it is possible to find—the cupids depicted by Coypel in the upper corners of his painting (figs. 20.7 and 20.8) seem to be just such images, providing rococo embellishment but no obvious points of contact with other paintings or texts or with the narrative at all. However, the three little loves situated closest to the bull seem to be rooted much more firmly in the narrative of the picture.

The cupid on the left (fig. 20.7) who has literally taken the bull by the horn seems to be one of the only figures in the picture who knows what is going on—actively attempting to guide him through the chaos of the scene. His two

FIGURE 20.7 *Cupid taking Zeus by the horns, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

FIGURE 20.8 *Two cupids shepherding Zeus, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

companions on the right (fig. 20.8) appear to be using a bow and arrow in a somewhat unorthodox manner: whilst one is stabbing the bull in the flank with an arrow, the other has lifted the bow up above his shoulder and seems to be about to beat the bull with it, just as if it were a shepherd's crook.

These three cupids seem to take their inspiration from Nonnus' own depiction of "little Eros" at the start of the Europa episode: "While the bull pressed on, Eros the ox-herd beat the servile neck with Aphrodite's girdle and, lifting his bow onto his shoulder as if it were a shepherd's crook, herded Hera's husband with the staff of Cypris, guiding him to Poseidon's watery pastures" (1.79–84).

FIGURE 20.9 *Nereid on Dolphin, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

Here Coypel seems to have taken hold of the simile of the shepherd's crook and transposed it from a poetic shadow into a painterly reality (not unlike the way that Nonnus sometimes literalises similes within his poem).

Coypel takes the same approach to another Nonnian simile which compares Europa on the Bull to a Nereid mounted on a half-submerged dolphin: "It is just like when one of the Nereids emerges from the sea and pushes back the still water, seated on a dolphin. And as she is carried off, her dripping hand moves to and fro like someone swimming, and carrying her along quite dry through the salt-sea, the wet traveller rushes on his watery way, half-hidden" (1.72–78).

The image of the Nereid situated just to the left of the bull is obvious to see, so too is the precise detail of her hand half-submerged in the water (fig. 20.9). What is harder to see but present nonetheless is the dark form of the Nonnian dolphin half-visible in the water beneath the Nereid.[20]

In the far left-hand corner on an aquatic chariot stands a robed and bearded figure, gesturing towards the bull with his hand to a women at his side (fig. 20.10). The trident that he holds in his left hand suggests an obvious identification: Poseidon. In Nonnus' own words: "The god of the Dark Hair was amazed to see the ox-trotting voyage" (1.60). His companion is readily identifiable as

20 In the foreground two further Nereids can also be seen balancing on dolphins, though with rather less success.

FIGURE 20.10 *Poseidon, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

Poseidon's wife, Amphitrite, since she features with her husband in countless depictions of the 'Triumph of Amphitrite'. She is an absent presence in Nonnus' scene invoked by the poet as a potential doppelganger for Europa: "If you saw her you would probably think that she was Thetis, or Galateia or the Earth-shaker's wife [Amphitrite]" (1.57–58). In this way Coypel has once again given bold literal form to a purely rhetorical figure in the Nonnian passage.

The only other bearded figure in the painting is situated at the far right-hand corner of the scene, an older man up to his chest in water, surrounded by beautiful young Nereids (fig. 20.11). Again he is not simply a passive and decorative addition to the scene but is clearly watching the abduction intently, his hands raised up in a questioning and incredulous manner. It is quite possible that Coypel had Nonnus in mind for this image also, in particular the poet's description of Nereus, the old man of the sea and father of the Nereids: "Nereus pointed

FIGURE 20.11 *Nereus, detail from Coypel's* L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

out the abducted woman to Doris, with mixed feelings of shock and awe at the sight of the strange sailor with the horns" (1.63–65). Although Doris seems absent from Coypel's scene, her Nereid daughters are present in force (including, of course, Poseidon's own wife Amphitrite).

One of the most perplexing figures in the whole scene is the curious figure crouching down beneath Poseidon's arm (fig. 20.12). He is looking not towards Europa and the bull but back towards the god of the sea. I initially thought that he might be a self-portrait and indeed that might still be the case, but his identity appears clearer once one grasps the iconographical significance of the oar that he holds over his shoulder. Just as the trident 'identifies' the god Poseidon so the oar is a characteristic feature of a river-god. Sometimes too river-gods may be identified by the presence of a water jar at their side. Interestingly, the object in front of Coypel's figure (although it is actually part of the shell chariot) seems to echo the traditional form of a water-jar.

We may have identified a river-god, but why place one in a sea-scape, let alone in a scene depicting the abduction of Europa? The image would remain baffling but for the fact that we have a Nonnian key to guide us at this point. It is in fact Nonnus' Achaean sailor who can be held responsible for the appearance of the river-god in Coypel's painting: "Has crafty Poseidon abducted a young girl in the guise of a bull, wearing the horns of a river-god? Surely he has not spun

FIGURE 20.12
The river-god Enipeus, detail from Coypel's L'Enlèvement d'Europe (The Abduction of Europa)*, 1727*

yet another trick, after his liaison with Tyro—as he did only yesterday when the aquatic gigolo gushed forth with his fake rivulets, disguised as Enipeus?" (1.120–124).

Here then is Coypel's ingenious representation of Enipeus—the poor river god who suffered identity theft and cuckolding at the hands of Poseidon. This explains the direction of his gaze. Under the circumstances is it any wonder that he is looking at Poseidon askance?

It is finally worth considering what Coypel has failed to include in his rendering of the Nonnian scene. Most conspicuous by his absence is the very Achaean sailor who had such difficulty in making sense of what was before his eyes.[21] Arguably it is we the audience who are challenged by Coypel to take up or reject the viewpoint of the Nonnian sailor. Do we respond with confusion or with understanding to this most exuberant of scenes?

Up until now the connection between Coypel and Nonnus seems to have passed by both art historians and Classicists. The identification of Coypel's relationship with Nonnus is just a start, but an exciting one. More work now needs to be done on this image in order to do justice to its sophistication

21 Ewen Bowie suggested to me the bearded 'Nereus' figure may in fact fit the bill as the missing sailor. This is certainly a possibility, though I would argue that the numerous Nereids who flank this figure and the lack of any obvious nautical devices make the identification with Nereus more likely.

and playful creativity. What for example are we to make of the three figures occupying a prominent position in the foreground to the left of 'Nereus' (which I have conveniently omitted to mention)? Did Coypel read any more than the opening episode of Nonnus? And did he choose to keep his mythological 'key' quiet or was it shared and enjoyed by others?

APPENDIX

Note on Panopolis in Upper Egypt (Now Akhmim, Governorate Sohag) in Late Antiquity and After

Michael Zach

Nonnus of Panopolis lived at a time of transition in Northeast Africa, a time which experienced the emergence of the Nubian kingdoms and their Christianization. Around the year 500, after the collapse of the kingdom of Meroe the Middle Nile Valley was united under the Nubians, who live in that region till today. However, with the erection of Aswan High Dam in the 1960s and the present planning of several more dams to the south their future seems to be uncertain.

But this is only part of the story, as Nonnus was preceded by another prominent person living in Panopolis, who left a valuable record on the end of the Meroitic kingdom: the *scholasticus* Aurelius Ammon, whose correspondence reveals that in 348 a *hegemon* of the Ethiopians (i.e. Meroites) visited Alexandria. Without any doubt, this person can be identified with the *pesto* (vice-king) of Lower Nubia.[1] Descending from Meroitic elite families, these vice-kings increased their power from the second century AD onwards, but still acted as vehicle for maintaining royal power in the northern part of the kingdom. This *hegemon* sought the help of Ammon's brother Aurelius Harpocration, *comitatus* at the Roman imperial court, for delivering a letter to the emperor. But at this time the Meroitic north seems to have been completely cut off the southern part of the kingdom by the invading Nubians (the triumphal Aksumite inscription DAE 11 counts two towns north of Meroe occupied by them), and, therefore, it is not unlikely that he may have applied for Roman aid through Harpocration's advocacy. In fact, this is the only reliable source proving that Meroitic administration was still intact (at least to some degree) in 348.[2]

1 W.H. Willis and K. Maresch, *The Archive of Ammon Scholasticus of Panopolis* (*P. Ammon*). Vol. I: *The Legacy of Harpokration. Texts from the Collections of Duke University and the Universität zu Köln* (*Papyrologica Coloniensia* XXVI/1: Opladen 1997).

2 M.H. Zach, "Aksum und das Ende Meroes," in W. Raunig and A.-W. Asserate (edd.), *Der Mensch und sein Lebensraum—am Horn von Afrika. Beiträge der Jahrestagung 2006 in Wien* (*Orbis Aethiopicus. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Religion und Kunst Äthiopiens*. Band XI: Dettelbach 2011), 7–31; S.M. Burstein, "Another Nubian Prince in Constantinople: New Light on the Last Days of Kush," *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 10 (2009), 5–8.

© KONINKLIJKE BRILL NV, LEIDEN, 2018 | DOI: 10.1163/9789004355125_023

In a synopsis, Nonnus and the Aurelius family clearly reflect the position of Panopolis as an intellectual centre in late antique and early medieval times. Though lacking additional contemporary records, the city at a later date—then known as Akhmim—regained some importance in the 17th century. In 1671, the Holy See established the "Mission of Upper Egypt—Fungi—Ethiopia", whose Prefect Apostolic resided in the city. However, it soon became clear that the ruler of the Funj and his people (the Funj sultanate succeeded the Nubian kingdoms from 1504 to 1821) were Muslims and so the papal mission concentrated on what today is known as Ethiopia.[3] Though the mission turned out to be a failure, African Studies owes it an extensive collection of Nubian vocabularies which significantly contributed to the institution of this discipline at the University of Vienna.

3 G. Vantini, *Christianity in the Sudan* (Bologna 1981).

Bibliography

Periodicals are generally abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*.

Abram, C. (2011), *Myths of the Pagan North. The Gods of the Norsemen* (London—New York).

Accorinti, D., ed. (1987), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, canto T* (PhD diss., Florence).

Accorinti, D. (1990), "Sull'autore degli scoli mitologici alle orazioni di Gregorio di Nazianzo," *Byzantion* 60, 5–24.

Accorinti, D. (1995), "Strutture narrative e retoriche nella Parafrasi di Nonno," in *La narrativa cristiana antica. Codici narrativi, strutture formali, schemi retorici, XXIII Incontro di Studiosi dell'antichità cristiana* (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 50: Rome), 413–431.

Accorinti, D., ed. (1996), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, canto XX, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*Pubblicazioni della Classe di Lettere e Filosofia. Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa* 15: Pisa).

Accorinti, D., ed. (2008, [1]2004), *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache, introduzione, traduzione e commento, vol. IV: canti XL–XLVIII, testo greco a fronte* (*BUR-Classici greci e latini*: Milano).

Accorinti, D. (2013), "Nonnos von Panopolis," *RAC* 25, 1107–1129.

Accorinti, D. (2015), "Nonnos und der Mythos. Heidnische Antike aus christlicher Perspektive," in *Antike Mythologie in christlichen Kontexten der Spätantike—Bilder, Räume, Texte*, ed. H. Leppin (*Millennium-Studien / Millennium Studies* 54: Berlin—New York), 43–69.

Accorinti, D., ed., (2016), *Brill's Companion to Nonnus of Panopolis* (Leiden).

Accorinti, D. (2016a), "The Poet from Panopolis. An Obscure Biography and a Controversial Figure," in Accorinti 2016, 43–69.

Accorinti, D. and Chuvin, P., edd. (2003), *Des Géants à Dionysos, Mélanges de mythologie et de poésie grecques offerts à Francis Vian* (*Hellenica* 10: Alessandria).

Acidini Luchinat, C. and Capretti, E. (2002), *Il Mito di Europa da fanciulla rapita a continente. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Sale espositive al primo piano 11 giugno 2002–6 gennaio 2003* (Firenze).

Acosta-Hughes, B., Cusset, C., Durbec, Y. and Pralonaux, D., edd. (2011), *Homère revisité. Parodie et humour dans les réécritures homériques* (Besançon).

Agosti, G. (2001), "L'epica biblica nella tarda antichità greca. Autori e scrittori nel IV e V secolo," in *La scrittura infinita. Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, ed. F. Stella (Florence), 68–115.

Agosti, G., ed. (2003), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni, canto*

Quinto, introduzione, edizione critica, traduzione e commento (*Studi e testi* 22: Firenze).

Agosti, G., ed. (2004), *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache, introduzione, traduzione e commento, vol. III: canti XXV–XXXIX, testo greco a fronte* (*BUR-Classici greci e latini*: Milano).

Agosti, G. (2005), "L'etopea nella poesia greca tardoantica," in *Ἠθοποιία. La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive, avec une préface de M.-P. Noël*, edd. E. Amato and J. Schamp (Salerno), 34–60.

Agosti, G. (2006), "Immagini e poesia nella Tarda antichità. Per uno studio dell'estetica visuale della poesia greca fra III e IV sec. d.C.," in *Incontri Triestini di Filologia Classica IV (2004–2005). Atti del Convegno Internazionale Phantasia. Il pensiero per immagini degli antichi e dei moderni*, ed. L. Cristante (Trieste), 351–374.

Agosti, G. (2008), "Le Dionisiache e le arti figurative. Appunti per uno studio dell'estetica nonniana," in Audano 2008, 17–32.

Agosti, G. (2011), "Usurper, imiter, comminiquer. Le dialogue interculturel dans la poésie grecque chrétienne de l'antiquité tardive," in *L'oiseau et le poisson. Cohabitations religieuses dans le monde grec et romain*, edd. N. Belayche and J.-D. Dubois (Paris), 275–299.

Agosti, G. and Gonnelli, F. (1995), "Materiali per la storia dell'esametro nei poeti cristiani greci," in Fantuzzi and Pretagostini 1995, 289–434.

Alexiou, M. (2002, [1]1974), *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, revised by D. Yatromanolakis and P. Roilos (Lanham—Boulder—New York—Oxford).

Aliquot, J. (2009), *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire romain* (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 189: Beyrouth).

Amandry, P. (1950), *La mantique apollinienne à Delphes. Essai sur le fonctionnement de l'Oracle* (Paris).

Amela Valverde, L. (2004), "'Terra marique'. Un dato pasado por alto en relación con Pompeyo Magno (Dio Cass. 42.5.2)," *Helmantica* 55 (167), 225–230.

Amstutz, P. (2008), "Le bain chrétien de Diane ou les enjeux d'un paratexte ambigu," in *Métamorphoses du mythe. Réécritures anciennes et modernes des mythes antiques*, ed. P. Schnyder (Paris), 247–260.

Andres, S. (2013), *Die Versuchung des Synesios. Roman*, edd. S. von Blumenthal and D. Weirich (*Stefan Andres. Werke in Einzelausgaben*: Göttingen).

Arrigues, S. (1992), "Hyakinthos. Fleur mythique et plantes réelles," *REG* 105, 19–36.

Aubineau, M. (1959), "Le thème du 'bourbier' dans la littérature grecque profane et chrétienne," *RSR* 47, 185–214.

Audano, S., ed. (2008), *Nonno e i suoi lettori* (*Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica* 27: Alessandria).

Auinger, J. and Rathmayr, E. (2007), "Zur spätantiken Statuenausstattung der Thermen und Nymphäen in Ephesos," in Bauer and Witschel 2007, 237–269.

Aune, D.E. (1998), *Revelation 6–16* (*Word Biblical Commentary* 52B: Nashville, Tn.).

Austin, N. (1966), "The Function of Digressions in the Iliad," *GRBS* 7, 259–312.

Bär, S. (2012), "'Museum of Words'. Christodorus, The Art of Ekphrasis and the Epyllic Genre," in *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and its Reception*, edd. M. Baumbach and S. Bär (Leiden—Boston), 447–471.

Barchiesi, A. (1997), "Virgilian Narrative: Ecphrasis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Vergil*, ed. Ch. Martindale (Cambridge), 271–281.

Barchiesi, A. and Rosati, G., edd. (2007), *Ovidio. Metamorfosi, vol. II: libri III–IV* (*Scrittori greci e latini*: Milano).

Bardill, J. (1997), "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople," *AJA* 101, 67–95.

Bardill, J. (2004), *Brickstamps of Constantinople*, 2 vols. (Oxford).

Bardill, J. (2012), *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Oxford).

Barrett, C.K. ([1]1955, 1978), *The Gospel According to St John. An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text* (London).

Barron, S., ed. (1992), *'Entartete Kunst'. Das Schicksal der Avantgarde im Nazi-Deutschland*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles—München).

Barton, J. (1986), *Oracles of God. Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London).

Bassett, S. Guberti (1996), "Historiae custos. Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos," *AJA* 100, 491–506.

Bassett, S. Guberti (2000), "'Excellent Offerings'. The Lausos Collection in Constantinople," *ABull* 82, 6–25.

Bassett, S. Guberti (2004), *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge).

Baudry, G.-H. (2001), *Le baptême et ses symbols. Aux sources du salut* (*Le point théologique* 59: Paris).

Bauer, F.A. and Witschel, C., edd. (2007), *Statuen in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden).

Baumgarten, F. (1881), *De Christodoro Poeta Thebano* (PhD diss., Bonn).

Baumgarten-Crusius, L.F.O. (1836), *Opuscula Theologica, pleraque nondum edita* (Jenae).

Beasley-Murray, G.R. (1987), *John* (*World biblical commentary* 36: Waco, Tx.).

Beatrice, P.F., ed. (2001), *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia. An Attempt at Reconstruction*, (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 56: Leiden—Boston—New York).

Beck, D. (2005), *Homeric Conversation* (Cambridge, Ma.).

Becker, A.S. (1995), *The Shield of Achilles and the Poetics of ekphrasis* (Lanham, Md.).

Behr, C.A., ed. (1981), *P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works, vol. II: orationes XVII–LIII* (Leiden).

Belloni, L. et al., edd. (1995), *Studia Classica Iohanni Tarditi oblata, 2 vols.* (*Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum* 7: Milano).

Bénatouïl, T. and Bonazzi, M. (2012), "θεωρία and βίος θεωρητικός from the Presocratics to the End of Antiquity. An Overview," in *Theoria, Praxis, and the Contemplative Life After Plato and Aristotle*, edd. id. (Leiden—Boston), 1–14.

Benedetti, F. and Grandolini, S., edd. (2003), *Studi di Filologia e tradizione greca in memoria di Aristide Colonna* (Naples).

Bertini, G. (2005), "Parmigianino e i Sanvitale di Fontanellato. Iconographica," *Rivista di Iconografia Medievale e Moderna* 4, 144–153.

Bloch, R. (2011), *Moses und der Mythos. Die Auseinandersetzung mit der griechischen Mythologie bei jüdisch-hellenistischen Autoren* (Leiden—Boston).

Bloom, H. (1975), *A Map of Misreading* (New York—Oxford).

Bloom, H. (1989), *Ruin the Sacred Truths. Poetry and Belief from the Bible to the Present* (Cambridge, Ma.—London).

Bloom, H. (1997, [1]1973), *The Anxiety of Influence. A Theory of Poetry* (New York—Oxford).

Blumenthal, S. von (1999), *Christentum und Antike im Werk von Stefan Andres* (Hamburg).

Bogner, H. (1934), "Die Religion des Nonnos von Panopolis," *Philologus* 89, 320–333.

Böhm, G. (2003), "Der Übergriff auf den Betrachter. Zur Konzeption und Rezeption spätantiker Bilder," *JbAC* 46, 50–73.

Boismard, M.-É. (1958), "De son ventre couleront des fleuves d'eau (Jo. VII, 38)," *RBi* 65, 523–546.

Bol, R. et al. (2011), *Funde aus Milet, vol. 2: Marmorskulpturen der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Milet*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Berlin—New York).

Bonneau, D. (1964), *La crue du Nil* (Paris).

Bonner, C. (1954), "Two notes. I: The names Nonnos, Nonna," *JEA* 40, 15–17.

Borg, B.E., ed. (2004), *Paideia. The World of the Second Sophistic* (*Millennium Studien / Millennium Studies* 2: Berlin—New York).

Borges, J.L. (1971), "La Busca de Averroes," in J.L. Borges, *El Aleph* (Madrid), 93–104.

Boulanger, A. (2009), "La 'pure magie' du mythe. L'irrationnel dans le Bergroman de Hermann Broch et Doktor Faustus de Thomas Mann," in *Lectures politiques des mythes littéraires au XXe siècle*, ed. S. Parizet (Nanterre), 261–273.

Bowersock, G.W. (1994), "Dionysus as an Epic Hero," in Hopkinson 1994, 156–166.

Bowersock, G.W. (1994a), "Nonnos Rising," *Topoi* 4, 385–399.

Bowersock, G.W. (1994b), *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian* (*Sather Classical Lectures* 58: Berkeley—Los Angeles)

Bowersock, G.W. (2009), *From Gibbon to Auden. Essays on Classical Tradition* (Oxford).

Bowie, E.L. (2008), "Aristides and Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Jambic Poetry," in *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome and the Gods*, edd. W.V. Harries and B. Holmes (Leiden—Boston), 9–30.

Braden, G. (1974), "Nonnos' Typhoon. Dionysiaca Books I and II," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 15, 851–879.

Branca, V., ed. (1999), *Boccaccio visualizzato. Narrare per parole e per immagini fra Medioevo e Rinascimento, vol. 1: Saggi generali con una prospettiva dal barocco a oggi* (Torino).

Braswell, B.K. (1971), "Mythological Innovation in the Iliad," CQ 65, 16–26.

Braune, J. (1935), *Nonnos und Ovid* (Greifswald).

Braune, J. (1948), "Nonno e Claudiano," *Maia* 1, 176–193.

Bregman, J. (1982), *Synesius of Cyrene. Philosopher-Bishop* (Berkeley—Los Angeles).

Brésard, L. and Crouzel, H., edd. (1992), *Origène, Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques. Introduction, traduction, notes et index, vol. 2* (*Sources Chrétiennes* 376: Paris).

Brink, C.O. (1971), *Horace on Poetry, vol. 2: The Ars poetica* (Cambridge).

Brioso Sanchez, M. (1994–1995), "De la épica como cronica a la èpica subjectiva. Nono de Panópolis," *ExcPhilol* 4/5, 9–30.

Brisson, L. (1987), "Proclus et l'Orphisme," in *Proclus lecteur et interprète des anciens*, edd. J. Pépin et H.D. Saffrey (Paris).

Brock, S. (1982), "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen in Mittelalter*, ed. C.-F. Geyer (*Eichstätter Beiträge* 4: Regensburg), 11–40 (= id. 1992, *Studies in Syriac Christianity. History, Literature, and Theology* [*Variorum Collected Studies* 357: London], ch. XI).

Brown, N.O. (1947), *Hermes the Thief. The Evolution of a Myth* (Madison, Wi.).

Brown, N.O. (1953), *Hesiod. Theogony, translated and with an introduction* (Indianapolis).

Brown, N.O. (1972), "Metamorphoses II. Actaeon," *The American Poetry Review* 1 (Nov.–Dec.), 38–40, also in *The American Poetry Review* 38 (May–June 2009), 49–51.

Brown, N.O. (1991), *Apocalypse and/or Metamorphosis* (Berkeley—Los Angeles).

Brown, R.E., ed. (1966), *The Gospel According to John, vol. I–II. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (*Anchor Bible Series* 29: New York).

Brown, S.G. (2005), *Mark's Other Gospel. Rethinking Morton Smith's Controversial Discovery* (*Studies in Christianity and Judaism* 15: Waterloo).

Brown, S.G. (2007), "The Secrete Gospel of Mark Unveiled. An Essay Review (of: P. Jeffery, *The Secret Gospel of Mark Unveiled. Imagined Rituals of Sex, Death, and Madness in a Biblical Forgery*)," *Review of Biblical Literature* 09/15/2007 [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/5627_5944.pdf, 8.10.2015].

Brox, N. (1961), *Zeuge und Märtyrer: Untersuchungen zur Frühchristlichen Zeugnis-Terminologie* (*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 5: München)

Brumble, H.D. (1998), *Classical Myths and Legends in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. A Dictionary of Allegorical Meanings* (London—Chicago).

Brune, K.-H. (2004), "Die koptische Kunst—eine Brücke zwischen Heiden- und Christentum," in *Geschichte und Geist der koptischen Kirche*, ed. W. Boochs (Langwaden), 75–113.

Brunhölzl, F. (1993), "Theodor Hopfner (1886–1945). Viktor Stegemann (1902–1948). Albert Rehm (1871–1949)," *Eikasmos* 4, 203–216.

Bull, M. (2005), *The Mirror of the Gods. Classical Mythology in Renaissance Art* (London).

Bulloch, A.W. (1985), *Callimachus. The Fifth Hymn* (Cambridge).

Burke, T., ed. (2013), *Ancient Gospel or Modern Forgery? The Secret Gospel of Mark in Debate. Proceedings from the 2011 York University Christian Apocrypha Symposium* (Eugene, Or.).

Burkert, W. (1997, [1]1972), *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen. 2., um ein Nachwort erweiterte Auflage* (Berlin—New York).

Burkert, W. (1985), *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*, transl. J. Raffan (Cambridge).

Burnet, J., ed. (1905), *Platonis Opera. Phaedo*, vol. I (Oxonii).

Buxton, R. (2009), *Forms of Astonishment. Greek Myths of Metamorphosis* (Cambridge).

Cameron, Alan (1965), "Wandering Poets. A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14, 470–509 (repr. with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 1–36).

Cameron, Alan (1970), "Pap. Ant. 115 and the Iambic Prologue in Late Greek poetry," *CQ* n.s. 20, 119–129.

Cameron, Alan (1973), *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford).

Cameron, Alan (1978), "The House of Anastasius," *GRBS* 19, 259–276.

Cameron, Alan (1982a), "Strato and Rufinus," *CQ* 32, 162–173.

Cameron, Alan (1982b), "The Empress and the Poet. Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YClS* 27, 217–289 (repr. with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 37–80).

Cameron, Alan (1993), *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford).

Cameron, Alan (1993a), "On the Date of John of Gaza," *CQ* 43, 348–351.

Cameron, Alan (1995), *Callimachus and his Critics* (Oxford).

Cameron, Alan (2000), "The Poet, the Bishop and the Harlot," *GRBS* 41, 175–188 (repr. with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 81–90).

Cameron, Alan (2003), "A Greek Source of Ovid's Metamorphoses?," in Vian 2003, 40–60.

Cameron, Alan (2004), "Poetry and Literary Culture in Late Antiquity," in *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, edd. S. Swain and M. Edwards (Oxford), 327–354 (repr. with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 163-184).

Cameron, Alan (2004a), *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (Oxford—New York).

Cameron, Alan (2007), "Poets and Pagans in Byzantine Egypt," in *Egypt in the Byzantine world. 300–700*, ed. R.S. Bagnall (Cambridge—New York), 21–46 (repr. with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 147–162).

Cameron, Alan (2011), *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford).

Cameron, Alan (2013), "The Life, Work and Death of Hypatia," in *Le voyage des légendes.*

Hommages à Pierre Chuvin, edd. D. Lauritzen and M. Tardieu (Paris), 65–82 (repr. under the title "Hypatia: Life, Death, and Works," with corrections and additions in Cameron, Alan 2016, 185–203).

Cameron, Alan (2016), *Wandering Poets and Other Essays on Late Greek Literature and Philosophy* (Oxford).

Cameron, Alan and Long, J. (1993), *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius, with a Contribution by L. Sherry* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—Oxford).

Cameron, Averil and Cameron, Alan (1966), "The Cycle of Agathias," *JHS* 86, 6–25.

Campbell, M., ed. (1991), *Moschus. Europa. Edited with Introduction and Commentary* (Hildesheim—Zürich—New York).

Canfora, L. (2011), *La meravigliosa storia del falso Artemidoro* (Palermo).

Cannatà Fera, M., ed. (1990), *Pindarus. Threnorum Fragmenta* (Roma).

Cannatà Fera, M. (1992), *Il Pindaro di Plutarco* (Messina).

Cannatà Fera, M. (2003), "Pindaro in Trifiodoro," in Benedetti and Grandolini 2003, 193–198.

Cantilena, M. (1995), "Il ponte di Nicanore," in Fantuzzi and Pretagostini 1995, 9–67.

Caprara, M. (1999), "Nonno e gli Ebrei. Note a Par. IV.88–121," *SIFC* 17, 195–215.

Caprara, M., ed. (2005), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni, canto IV* (*Testi e commenti* 3: Pisa).

Caprara, M. (2008), "La 'vite parlante' di Par. XV 1–19," in Audano 2008, 57–66.

Carter, L. (1972), *Discoveries in Fantasy* (New York).

Carvounis, K. and Papaioannou, S. (forthcoming), "Rivalling song-contests and complementary Typhonomachies", in *Walking the Wire: Latin and Greek Late Antique Poetry in Dialogue* edd. B. Verhelst and T. Scheijnen (forthcoming).

Casanova-Robin, H. (2003), *Diane et Actéon. Éclats et reflets d'un mythe à la Renaissance et à l'âge baroque* (Paris).

Casson, S. and Talbot Rice, D. (1929), *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928 on behalf of the British Academy* (London).

Cazzaniga, I. (1958), "La tradizione poetica ellenistica nella favola ovidiana di Giacinto. Euforione, Bione, Nicandro, Schol. Nic. *Th.* 585," *PP* 13, 149–165.

Chamberlain, G.A. (2011), *The Greek of the Septuagint. A Supplemental Lexicon* (Peabody).

Chantraine, P. (1968–1980), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4 vols. (Paris).

Chrétien, G., ed. (1985), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome IV: chants IX–X. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Chuvin, P., ed. (1976), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome II: chants III–V. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Chuvin, P. ([3]2009, [1]1990), *Chronique des derniers païens. La disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien* (*Histoire*: Paris).

Chuvin, P. (1991), *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques. Recherches sur l'œuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis* (*Vates* 2: Clermont-Ferrand).

Chuvin, P., ed. (1992), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome III: chants VI–VIII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Chuvin, P. (1994), "Local Traditions and Classical Mythology in the Dionysiaca," in Hopkinson 1994, 167–176.

Chuvin, P. (2014) "Revisiting Old Problems. Literature and Religion in the Dionysiaca," in Spanoudakis 2014, 3–18.

Chuvin, P. and Fayant, M., edd. (2006), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XV: chants XLI–XLIII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Ciammiti, L. (1998), "Dosso as a Storyteller. Reflections on His Mythological Paintings," in *Dosso's Fate. Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy. Issues and Debates*, edd. L. Ciammiti, S. Ostrow and S. Settis (*The Getty Research Institute*: Los Angeles, Ca.), 83–112.

Clay, J.S. (1997), *The Wrath of Athena. Gods and Men in the Odyssey* (Lanham, Md.).

Coffey, M. (1957), "The Function of the Homeric Simile," *AJPh*, 78, 113–132.

Collart, P. (1930), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Études sur la composition et le texte des Dionysiaques* (*Recherches d'archéologie de philologie et d'histoire* 1: Le Caire).

Conconi, B. (2003), "Lettura di due leggende incrociate. Pietro Aretino e l'autore del 'Cymbalum Mundi'," in *Le Cymbalum Mundi. Actes du Colloque de Rome, 3–6 novembre 2000*, ed. F. Giacone (Genève), 273–297.

Connors, C. (2011), "Eratosthenes, Strabo, and the Geographer's Gaze," *Pacific Coast Philology* 46 (2), 139–152.

Cook, A.M. (1919), "Vergil, Aen. 7.641ff.," *CR* 33, 103–104.

Cribiore, R. (1995), "A Hymn to the Nile," *ZPE* 106, 97–106.

Crnčević, A. (2000), *Induere Christum. Rito e linguaggio simbolico-teologico della vestizione battesimale* (Rome).

Croke, B. (2008), "Poetry and Propaganda. Anastasius I as Pompey," *GRBS* 48, 447–466.

Crowther, N.B. (1979), "Water and Wine as Symbols of Inspiration," *Mnemosyne* 32, 1–13.

Daly, L.W. (1967), *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Bruxelles).

Daniel, S. (1966), *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (Paris).

Daniélou, J. (1953), "Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l'Église," *Eranos-Jb* 22, 433–472.

Daniélou, J. (1958), "Le symbolisme de l'eau vive," *RSR* 32, 335–346.

Daniélou, J. (1961), *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs* (Paris).

Daszewski, W.A. and Bernhard, M.-L. (1986), "Ariadne," *LIMC* III (addenda), 1050–1070.

Dauterman Maguire, E. and Maguire, H. (1989), *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House* (Urbana—Chicago, Il.).

Davidson Reid, J. (1993), *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s* (Oxford).

De Andrés, G. (1968), *Catálogo de los códices griegos desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (El Escorial).

Deas, H.T. (1931), "The Scholia vetera to Pindar," *HSCPh* 42, 1–78.

Debiasi, A. (2013), "Dioniso e i cani di Atteone in Eumelo di Corinto (Una nuova ipotesi su P. Oxy. XXX 2509 e Apollod. 3.4.4)," in *Redefining Dionysos*, edd. A. Bernabé, M. Herrero de Jáuregui, A.I. Jiménez San Cristóbal and R. Martín Hernández (*MEP* 5: Berlin—New York), 200–234.

de Boer, C., ed. (1915), *'Ovide moralisé'. Poème du commencement du quatorzième siècle publié d'après tous les manuscrits connu, vol. I: livres I–III, avec une introduction* (Amsterdam—repr. Wiesbaden 1966).

De Jong, I.J.F. (1987a), "The Voice of Anonymity. 'Tis'-Speeches in the Iliad," *Eranos* 85, 69–84.

De Jong, I.J.F. (2004, [1]1987), *Narrators and Focalizers. The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (London, [1]Amsterdam).

De Jong, I.J.F. (2004a), *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (Cambridge).

DeLaine, J. (1997), *The Baths of Caracalla. A Study in the Design, Construction and Economics of Large-Scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 25) (Portsmouth, Rh. I.).

Delaplanche, J. (2004), *Noël-Nicolas Coypel. 1690–1734* (Paris).

Delavaud-Roux, M.-H. (2009), "La danse dionysiaque. Un modèle d'expression pour les personnes âgées? (Nonnos, Dionysiaques, XIX, 159–224)," *EC* 77, 3–22.

Demoen, C. (1993), "The Attitude towards Greek Poetry in the Verse of Gregory Nazianzen," in *Early Christian Poetry. A Collection of Essays*, edd. J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 22: Leiden—New York—Köln), 235–252.

Depew, M. (1994), "POxy 2509 and Callimachus' Lavacrum Palladis: αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο," *CQ* 44, 410–426.

Depew, M. (2007), "Springs, Nymphs, and Rivers. Models of Origination in Third-Century Alexandrian Poetry," in *Literatur und Religion 2: Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen*, edd. A. Bierl, R. Lammle and K. Wesselmann (Berlin—New York), 141–171.

Des Places, É. (1949), *Pindare et Platon* (Paris).

De Stefani, C., ed. (2002), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, canto I, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*EIKASMOS. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica. Studi* 6: Bologna).

De Stefani, C., ed. (2011), *Paulus Silentiarius. Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae. Descriptio Ambonis* (Berlin—New York).

De Stefani, C. (2011a), "Homeric Parody in Nonnus," in Acosta-Hughes et al. 2011, 65–79.

De Stefani, C. (2011–2012), "Per una nuova edizione degli epigrammi di Paolo Silenziario," *Incontri di Filologia Classica* 11, 217–231.

De Stefani, C. (2014), "The End of the 'Nonnian School'," in Spanoudakis 2014, 375–402.

D'Ippolito, G. (1964), *Studi Nonniani. L'epillio nelle Dionisiache* (*Quaderni dell'istituto di filologia greca dell'Università di Palermo* 3: Palermo).

D'Ippolito, G. (1991), "Nonno e Virgilio," in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco, vol. 1: Letteratura greca* (Palermo), 527–532.

D'Ippolito, G. (1995), "Intertesto evangelico nei Dionysiaca di Nonno. Il livello attanziale," in Belloni et al. 1995, vol. 1, 215–228.

Doroszewski, F. (2014), "Judaic Orgies and Christ's Bacchic Deeds. Dionysiac Terminology in Nonnus' Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel," in Spanoudakis 2014, 287–301.

Doroszewski, F. (2016), "The Mystery Terminology in Nonnus' Paraphrase," in Accorinti 2016, 327–350.

Doroszewski, F. (forthcoming), "Rite or metaphor? The use of ὄργια in the Greek Christian writers of the 4th and 5th centuries," *Proceedings of the Initiation into the Mysteries Conference* (Károli Gáspár University, Budapest, 20–21 November 2015) (*Collection Károli Series*: L'Harmattan).

Dostálová-Jeništová, R. (1957), "Über den Namen des Dichters Nonnos," in Irmscher and Salač 1957, 31–35.

Dover, K.J. (1978), *Greek Homosexuality* (London).

Duc, Th. (1990), "La question de la cohérence dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis," *RPh* 64, 182–191.

Duchemin, P. (1955), "Platon et l'heritage de la poésie," *REG* 68, 12–37.

Du Toit, D.S. (1997), *Theios anthropos. Zur Verwendung von theios anthrōpos und sinnverwandten Ausdrücken in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 91: Tübingen).

Ebener, E., transl. (1985), *Nonnos von Panopolis. Werke in zwei Bänden, vol. 1: Leben und Taten des Dionysos I–XXXII; vol. 2: Leben und Taten des Dionysos XXXIII–XLVIII, Nachdichtung des Johannesevangeliums* (Berlin).

Edwards, C. and Woolf, G. (2003), "Cosmopolis. Rome as World City," in *Rome the Cosmopolis*, edd. C. Edwards and G. Woolf (Cambridge), 1–20.

Edwards, M.W. (1980), "The Structure of Homeric Catalogues," *TAPA* 110, 81–106.

Edwards, M.W. (1987), *Homer, Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore—London).

Ehrman, B., ed., transl. (2003), *The Apostolic Fathers, vol. I: I Clement. II Clement. Ignatius. Polycarp. Didache* (*Loeb Classical Library* 24: Harvard).

Eissfeldt, O. (1939), *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjathon. Phönizische Überlieferungen als Quelle für die Bücher 40–43 der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Halle an der Saale).

Ekroth, G. (2002), *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults* (Liège).

Elsner, J. (1995), *Art and the Roman Viewer. The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity* (Cambridge—New York).

Elsner, J., ed. (2002), *The Verbal and the Visual. Cultures of Ekphrasis in Antiquity*, (*Ramus. Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature* 31: Berwick, Victoria).

Elsner, J. (2007), "Viewing Ariadne. From Ekphrasis to Wall Painting in the Roman World," *CPh* 102, 22–44.

Engels, J., ed. (1962), *Petrus Berchorius. Reductorium morale, liber XV, cap. ii–xv. "Ovidius moralizatus" naar de Parijse druk van 1509: Metamorphosis Ouidiana Moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys Anglico de professione praedicatorum sub sanctissimo patre Dominico explanata, venundatur in aedibus Ascensianis & sub pelicano in vico sancti Iacobi, Parisiis* (Utrecht).

Erbse, H., ed. (1995), *Theosophorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Stuttgart—Leipzig).

Faber, R. (2004), "The Description of Staphylos' Palace (Dionysiaca 18.69–86) and the Principle of Ποικιλία," *Philologus* 148, 245–254.

Fähnrich, H. (2005), *Beiträge zur Kartwelologie* (Jena).

Fairbanks, A., ed., transl. (1931), *Philostratus the Elder, Imagines. Philostratus the Younger, Imagines. Callistratus, Descriptions* (*Loeb Classical Library* 256: Cambridge, Ma.—London).

Fantuzzi, M. (1995), "Mythological Paradigms in the Bucolic Poetry of Theocritus," *PCPhS* 41, 16–35.

Fantuzzi, M. (2012), *Achilles in Love. Intertextual Studies* (Oxford—New York).

Fantuzzi, M. and Pretagostini, R., edd. (1995), *Struttura e storia dell'esametro greco*, vol. 1 (*Studi di metrica classica* 10: Roma).

Faraone, Ch.A. (2013), "The Poetics of the Catalogue in the Hesiodic *Theogony*," TAPA 143, 293–323.

Faulkner, A., ed. (2008), *The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite. Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (Oxford).

Fayant, M.-C. (1998), "Hermès dans les 'Dionysiaques' de Nonnos de Panopolis," *REG* 111, 145–159.

Fayant, M.-C., ed. (2000), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XVII: chant XLVII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Fayant, M.-C. (2012), "Ampélos, Carpos et Hylas. Nonnos face à Théocrite et Apollonios de Rhodes," *Aitia* 2. *La tradition épique d'Apollonios de Rhodes à Nonnos de Panopolis. Hommages à Francis Vian* [http://aitia.revues.org/449, 1.8.2017].

Fayant, M.C. and Chuvin, P., edd. (2006), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XV: chants XLI–XLIII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Fee, G.D. (1971), "The Text of John in the Jerusalem Bible. A Critique of the Use of Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 90, 163–173.

Felten, J. (1913), *Nicolai Progymnasmata* (Leipzig).

Ferguson, E. (2009), *Baptism in the Early Church. History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids, Mi.—Cambridge).

Fincher, J. (2015), *Nonnus' Dionysiaca and the Redefinition of Epic Poetry and the Heroic Code* (PhD diss., Yale University).

Finkelberg, M. (1998), *The Birth of Literary Fiction in Ancient Greece* (Oxford).

Fitzgerald, W. (1987), *Agonistic Poetry. The Pindaric Mode in Pindar, Horace, Hölderlin and the English Ode* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London).

Fontenrose, J. (1978), *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations, with a Catalogue of Responses* (Berkeley).

Forbes Irving, P.M.C. (1990), *Metamorphosis in Greek Myths* (Oxford).

Foster, P. (2005), "Secret Mark. Its Discovery and the State of Research," *Expository Times* 117, 46–52.

Fournet, J.-L. (1999), *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle. La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, 2 vols. (Le Caire).

Fowler, D.P. (1991), "Narrate and Describe: the Problem of Ekphrasis," *JRS* 81, 25–35.

Franchi, R. (2012), "La 'Madre di Dio' in Nonno di Panopoli e il suo contesto storico-dottrinale. Tra maternità divina, verginità e sincretismo religioso," *Marianum* 74, 125–170.

Franchi, R., ed. (2013), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovanni, canto sesto, introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento* (*Biblioteca Patristica* 49: Bologna).

Frangoulis, H., ed. (1999), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XIII: chant XXXVII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Frangoulis, H. (2011), "Réécritures parodiques et humoristiques d' Homère chez Nonnos de Panopolis," in Acosta-Hughes et al. 2011, 95–106.

Frangoulis, H. and Gerlaud, B., edd. (2006), *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques, tome XII: chants XXXV–XXXVI. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Franke, A. (1899), *De Pallada epigrammatographo* (Lipsiae).

Frazer, J.G. (1898), *Pausanias's Description of Greece. Translated with a Commentary*, vol. 6 (London).

Frend, W.H.C., Wolter, M. and Engelbert, P. (1980), "Bekehrung, I. Alte Kirche und Mittelalter," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 5, 440–459.

Fritzsche, C.L. (1856), *Enthüllungen über den Simonides-dindorfschen Uranios* (Leipzig).

Fuhrmann, M. (1966), "Obscuritas. Das Problem der Dunkelheit in der rhetorischen und literarästhetischen Theorie der Antike," in *Immanente Ästhetik, ästhetische Reflexion. Lyrik als Paradigma der Moderne, Kolloquium Köln 1964*, ed. W. Leiser (München), 44–72.

Furnée, E. (1982), *Beiträge zur georgischen Etymologie, Fasz. 1: Georgisch-vorgriechische, georgisch-vorromanische und georgisch-vorindogermanische Materialien* (Leuven).

Gamkrelidze, T. and Ivanov, V. (1984), *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans, vol. II* (Tbilisi).

Garnett, R. (1940, [2]1903, 1888), *The Twilight of the Gods* (*The Thinker's Library* 81: London).

Geisz, C. (2013), *Storytelling in Late Antique Epic. A Study of the Narrator in Nonnus of Panopolis' Dionysiaca* (PhD diss., Oxford).

Gerbeau, J., ed., with the collaboration of F. Vian (1992), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome VII: chants XVIII–XIX. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Gerber, D.E. (1982), *Pindar's Olympian Ode. A Commentary* (Toronto).

Gerlaud, B., ed. (1994), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome VI: chants XIV–XVII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Gerlaud, B. (2005), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XI: chants XXXIII–XXXIV. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Gianotti, G.F. (1975), *Per una poetica pindarica* (Torino).

Gibbons, F. (1968), *Dosso and Battista Dossi. Court Painters at Ferrara* (*Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*: Princeton, N.J.).

Gigli Piccardi, D. (1984), "Dioniso e Gesù Cristo in Nonno, Dionys. XLV 228–39," *Sileno* 10 (= *Studi in onore di A. Barigazzi*, vol. 1: Rome), 249–256.

Gigli Piccardi, D. (1985), *Metafora e poetica in Nonno di Panopoli* (*Studi e testi* 7: Firenze).

Gigli Piccardi, D. (1998), "Nonno e l'Egitto," *Prometheus* 24, 76–82.

Gigli Piccardi, D. (2003a), "Zagreo, Semele, Dioniso. Morte e rinascita nelle Dionisiache di Nonno," in Benedetti and Grandolini 2003, 359–380.

Gigli Piccardi, D., ed. (2006, [1]2003), *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache, introduzione, traduzione e commento, vol. I: canti I–XII, testo greco a fronte* (*BUR-Classici greci e latini*: Milano).

Gigli Piccardi, D. (2009), "Phanes ἀρχέγονος Φρήν (Nonno, D. 12.68 e orac. ap. Didym., De trin. II 27)," *ZPE* 169, 71–78.

Gigli Piccardi, D. (2011), "L'esilio di Apollo nella Teosofia di Tubinga (§§16–17 Erbse = I 5–6 Beatrice)," *MEG* 11, 63–81.

Gigli Piccardi, D. (2012), "Ancora su Nonno e la poesia oracolare," *Aitia* 2. *La tradition épique d'Apollonios de Rhodes à Nonnos de Panopolis. Hommages à Francis Vian* [http://aitia.revues.org/486, 8.8.2017].

Gigli Piccardi, D. (2012a), "L'oracolo della vendemmia in Nonno (Dion. 12.110–113) e gli oracoli teologici," *Prometheus* 38, 273–281.

Giraudet, V. (2010), *Le monstre et la mosaïque. Recherches sur la poétique des Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis* (PhD diss., Univ. Paris-IV).

Giseke, B. (1864), *Homerische Forschungen* (Leipzig).

Giuliano, F.M. (2008), *Platone e la poesia. Teoria della composizione e prassi della ricezione* (St. Augustin).

Goldhill, S. (1994), "The Failure of Exemplarity," in *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, edd. I.J.F. De Jong and J.P. Sullivan (Leiden—New York—Köln), 51–73.

Golega, J. (1930), *Studien über die Evangeliendichtung des Nonnos von Panopolis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibeldichtung im Altertum* (*Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie* 15: Breslau).

Golega, J. (1966), "Zum Text der Johannesmetabole des Nonnos," *BZ* 59, 9–36.

Голубец, Ю.А., transl. (1997), *Нонн Панополитанский, Деяния Диониса, вступ. ст. А. В. Захарова* (Санкт-Петербург).

Gonnelli, F., ed. (2003), *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache, introduzione, traduzione e commento, vol. II: canti* XIII–XXIV, *testo greco a fronte* (*BUR-Classici greci e latini*: Milano).

González i Senmartí, A. (1981), "La 'poikilia' como principio estilístico de las Dionisíacas de Nono," *AFB* 7, 101–107.

Gordeziani, R. (2006), "The Cult Of Dionysus In The Light Of Linguistic Data," *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies* 9, 105–116.

Грабарь-Пассек, М.Е., transl. (1958), *Феокрит, Мосх, Бион, Идилии и Эпиграммы* (Москва).

Graefe, F. (1813), *ΝΟΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΤΑ ΚΑΤΑ ὙΜΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΑΙΑΝ. Des Nonnos Hymnos und Nikäa* (St. Petersburg).

Graziosi, B. and Haubold, J. (2005), *Homer: The Resonance of Epic* (London).

Greco, C., ed. (2004), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di San Giovani, canto tredicesimo, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*Hellenica* 12: Alessandria).

Green, R.P.H.G. (2006), *Latin Epics of the New Testament* (Oxford).

Greenham, D. (2006), *The Resurrection of the Body. The Work of Norman O. Brown* (London).

Grillmeier, A. (1983), "Gottmensch III," *RAC* 12, 312–366.

Grillmeier, A. (1990), *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche: Die Kirche von Alexandrien mit Nubien und Äthiopien nach 451*. Bd. 2/4 (Freiburg).

Grillmeier, A. (1997), "Gottmensch. Sprachfeld und theologiegeschichtliche Problementfaltung," in *Fragmente zur Christologie. Studien zum altkirchlichen Christusbild*, ed. Th. Heinthaler (Freiburg), 215–263.

Grosdidier de Matons, J., ed. (1964), *Romanos le Mélode. Hymnes II* (*Sources Chrétiennes* 110: Paris).

Gruber, J. and Strohm, H. (1991), *Synesios von Kyrene. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert* (Heidelberg).

Guberti Bassett: see Bassett.

Guichard, L.A. (2014), "Catálogos de metamorfosis de época imperial y tardoantigua," in *Metamorfosi tra scienza e letteratura*, edd. F. Citti, L. Pasetti and D. Pellacani (*Biblioteca di 'Nuncius', Studi e testi* 74: Firenze), 15–39.

Gullo, A., ed. (2010), *Giuliano d'Egitto. Epigrammi funerari, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (Diss. Pisa).

Gullo, A. (2013), "Tre epigrammi di Giovanni Barbucallo (AP 9.425–427)," in *Studi di poesia greca tardoantica*, edd. D. Gigli Piccardi and E. Magnelli (Firenze), 109–134.

Güthenke, C. (2007), "Rev. of Hirst 2004," *JHS* 127, 256–257.

Hadjittofi, F. (2008), "Callimachus' Sexy Athena. The Hymn to Athena and the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite," *MD* 60, 9–37.

Hadjittofi, F. (2011), "Nonnus' Unclassical Epic. Imaginary Geography in the Dionysiaca," in *Unclassical Traditions, vol. 2: Perspectives from East and West in Late Antiquity*, edd. C. Kelly, R. Flower and M.S. Williams (*Cambridge Classical Journal Suppl.* 35: Cambridge), 29–42.

Haidacher, H. (1949), *Quellen und Vorbilder der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (PhD diss., Graz).

Hamilton, J.T. (2001), "HYMNOS POIKILOS," *Helios* 28, 119–140.

Hardie, A. (2000), "Pindar's Theban Cosmogony (the First Hymn)," *BICS* 44, 19–40.

Harries, B. (1994), "The Pastoral Mode in the Dionysiaca," in Hopkinson 1994, 63–85.

Heath, J. (1992), *Actaeon, the Unmannerly Intruder. The Myth and its Meaning in Classical Literature* (New York).

Heiden, B. (2008), "Common People and Leaders in Iliad Book 2. The Invocation of the Muses and the Catalogue of Ships," *TAPA* 138, 127–154.

Heikel, I.A., ed. (1913), *Die Demonstratio evangelica* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten* [*drei*] *Jahrhunderte* 23. *Eusebius' Werke* 6: Leipzig).

Hermann, A. (1959), "Der Nil und die Christen," *JbAC* 2, 30–69.

Hernández de la Fuente, D. (2006a), "Nono y las 'Dionisíacas' en España," *Faventia* 28/1–2, 147–174.

Hernández de la Fuente, D. (2006b), "La confesión del Conde de Marcellus," in *Tropheia. Tributo a Carlos García Gual*, edd. J. Cano Cuenca, D. Hernández de la Fuente and Ó. Martínez García (Madrid), 103–139.

Hernández de la Fuente, D. (2007), "Nonnus, Peacock and Shelley. A Note on the First English Translations of the Dionysiaca," *RPL* 30, 188–198.

Hernández de la Fuente, D. (2008), *'Bakkhos Anax'. Un estudio sobre Nono de Panópolis* (*Nueva Roma. Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina Aevi Posterioris* 30: Madrid).

Hernández de la Fuente, D. (2013), "The Poet and the Forger. On Nonnus' False Biography by Constantine Simonides," in *Fakes and Forgers of Classical Literature. Ergo decipiatur!*, ed J. Martínez (Leiden), 59–72.

Herrmann, B. (2002), "'So könnte ja dies am Ende ohne mein Wissen und Glauben Poesie sein?' Über 'schwache' und 'starke' Autorschaften," in *Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen. DFG-Symposion 2001, ed.* H. Detering (Stuttgart—Weimar), 479–500.

Hilberg, I. (1879), *Das Princip der Silbenwægung und die daraus entspringenden Gesetze der Endsilben in der griechischen Poesie* (Wien).

Hillis Miller, J. (1995), *Ariadne's Thread: Story Lines* (New Haven).

Hirst, A. (2004), *God and the Poetic Ego. The Appropriation of Biblical and Liturgical Language in the Poetry of Palamas, Sikelianos and Elytis* (Bern).

Hollis, A. (1994), "Nonnus and Hellenistic Poetry," in Hopkinson 1994, 43–62.

Hollis, A. (2006), "The Hellenistic Epyllion and Its Descendants," in Johnson 2006, 141–157.

Hopkinson, N., ed. (1988), *A Hellenistic Anthology* (*Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics*: Cambridge).

Hopkinson, N., ed. (1994), *Studies in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (*Cambridge Philological Society Suppl.* 17: Cambridge).

Hopkinson, N. (1994a), "Nonnus and Homer," Hopkinson 1994, 9–42.

Hopkinson, N., ed. (1994b), *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques, tome VIII: chants XX–XXIV. Texte établi par N. Hopkinson et traduit par F. Vian* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Hopkinson, N., ed. (1994c), *Greek Poetry of the Imperial Period. An Anthology* (Cambridge).

Horst, P.W. van der (1993), "Rev. of Roos 1991," *Mnemosyne* 46, 117–119.

Hose, M., ed. (2012), *Synesios von Kyrene. Ägyptische Erzählungen oder Über die Vorsehung, herausgegeben von M. Hose, eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit interpretierenden Essays versehen von M. Hose, W. Bernard, F. Feder und M. Schuol* (SAPERE 21: Tübingen).

Hummel, P. (2001), "Polysyntaxe et polysémie dans la poesie de Pindare," *QUCC* 68, 41–50.

Hunter, R., ed. (2003), *Theocritus. Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (*Hellenistic Culture and Society* 39: Berkeley—Los Angeles—London).

Hutton, W. (2005), *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge).

Icard-Gianolio, N. and Szabados, A.-V. (1992), "Nereides," *LIMC* VI, 785–824.

Irigoin, J. (1952), *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris).

Irmscher, J. and Salač, A., edd. (1957), *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Tschechoslowakischen Republik* (*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten* 9: Berlin).

Izydorczyk, Z. and Dubois, J.-D. (1997), "Nicodemus's Gospel before and beyond the Medieval West," in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, ed. Z. Izydorczyk (Tempe, Az.), 21–41.

Jacobs, I. (2010), "Production to Destruction? Pagan and mythological statuary in Asia Minor," *AJA* 114, 267–303.

James, A.W. (1969), "Some Examples of Imitation in the Similes of Later Greek Epic," *Antichthon* 3, 77–90.

James, A.W. (2004), *The Trojan Epic. Posthomerica* (Baltimore—London).

James, L., ed. (2012), *Constantine of Rhodes. On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*, (Aldershot—Burlington, Vt.).

Jeanmaire, H. (1951), *Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris).

Jeffreys, E. (2006), "Writers and Audiences in the Early Sixth Century," in Johnson 2006, 127–139.

Jensen, R.M. (2000), *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London—New York).

Johansen, H.F. and Whittle, E.W., edd. (1980), *Aeschylus. The Suppliants* (Copenhagen).

Johnson, S.F. ed. (2006), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism*, (Aldershot—Burlington, Vt.).

Judrin, C. (1984–1992), *Inventaire des dessins du Musée Rodin*, vol. I–VI (Paris).

Kahlos, M. (2007), *Debate and Dialogue. Christian and Pagan Cultures c. 360–430* (Aldershot).

Kaldellis, A. (2007), *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge).

Kaldellis, A. (2007a), "Christodorus on the Statues of the Zeuxippos Baths. A New Reading of the Ekphrasis," GRBS 47, 361–383.

Kambylis, A. (1991), *Eustathios über Pindars Epinikiendichtung. Ein Kapitel der Klassischen Philologie in Byzanz* (Hamburg).

Kennedy, G.A. (2003), *Progymnasmata. Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Leiden—Boston).

Keydell, R. (1927), "Zur Komposition der Bücher 13–40 der Dionysiaka des Nonnos," *Hermes* 62, 393–434 (= id. 1982, 443–484).

Keydell, R. (1932), "Eine Nonnos-Analyse," *AC* 1, 173–202 (= id. 1982, 485–514).

Keydell, R. (1933), "Über die Echtheit der Bibeldichtungen des Apollinaris und des Nonnos," *ByzZ* 33, 234–254 (= id. 1982, 570–581).

Keydell, R. (1935), "Rev. of *Nonnos und Ovid*, by J. Braune 1935," *Gnomon* 11, 597–605 (= id. 1982, 557–565).

Keydell, R. (1936), "Nonnos (Nr. 15)," *RE* 17.1, 904–920.

Keydell, R., ed. (1959), *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca recognovit*, 2 vols. (Berolini).

Keydell, R. (1982), *Kleine Schriften zur hellenistischen und spätgriechischen Dichtung (1911–1976)*, zusammengestellt v. W. Peek (*Opuscula* 14: Leipzig).

Klapper, J. (1992), "The Search for Synthesis. Religion and Myth in the Work of Stefan Andres," *German Life and Letters* 4, 149–157.

Klapper, J. (2009), "Antikes Gedankengut, gelebter Glaube und Institution Kirche. Zur geistigen und literarischen Welt von Stefan Andres," in *Eigensinn und Bindung. Katholische deutsche Intellektuelle im 20. Jahrhundert, 39 Porträts*, ed. H.-R. Schwab (Kevelaer), 393–410, 769–772.

Климов, Г. (1994), *Древнейшие индоевропеизмы картвельских языков* (Москва).

Knox, P.E. (1988), "Phaethon in Ovid and Nonnus," *CQ*, 536–551.

Koechly, A., ed. (1857), *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiacorum libri XLVIII, accedit index nominum a F. Spirone confectus* (Lipsiae).

Koetschau, P., ed. (1899), *Origenes Werke II. Contra Celsum V–VIII, De oratione* (Leipzig).

Kost, K. (1971), *Musaios. Hero und Leander* (*Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft* 88: Bonn).

Krafft, P. (1973), "Erzählung und Psychagogie in Nonnos' Dionysiaka," in *Orientierung an Jesus. Zur Theologie der Synoptiker, für Josef Schmid zum 80. Geburtstag am 26. Januar 1973*, ed. P. Hoffmann (Freiburg), 91–137.

Král, J. (1907), "Ein einheitliches prosodisches Prinzip des Nonnos," *WS* 29, 50–80.

Kremmer, M. (1890), *De catalogis heurematum* (PhD diss., Leipzig).

Kristensen, T.M. and Stirling, L. (2016), *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices* (Ann Arbor).

Kröll, N. (2011), "Aphrodite am Webstuhl," *WHB* 53, 33–58.

Kröll, N. (2013), "Schwimmen mit Dionysos. Wasser und Badeszenen als Kompositionselemente in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis," *WS* 126, 67–100.

Kröll, N. (2014), "Rhetorical Elements in the Ampelus-Episode. Dionysus' Speech to Ampelus (Nonn. Dion. 10.196–216)," in Spanoudakis 2014, 251–264.

Kröll, N. (2016), *Die Jugend des Dionysos. Die Ampelos-Episode in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (*Millennium-Studien / Millennium Studies* 62: Berlin—Boston).

Kuiper, K. (1918), "De Nonno Evangelii Ioannei interprete," *Mnemosyne n.s.* 46, 225–270.

Laan, P.W.A.Th. van der (1993), "Imitation créative dans le Carmen Paschale de Sédulius," in *Early Christian Poetry. A Collection of Essays*, edd. J. Den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (Leiden), 135–166.

Lafont, A. (2003), "Le Corps nu de Diane ou les égarements du corps et de l'esprit dans Doctor Faustus et Edward II," in *Mythe et littérature. Shakespeare et ses contemporains*, ed. Y. Peyré (Toulouse), 69–82.

Laing, A. et al. (1986), *François Boucher. 1703–1770*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 17, 1986–May 4 (New York).

Langerbeck, H., ed. (1960), *Gregorii Nysseni in Canticum Canticorum* (*Gregorii Nysseni Opera* 6: Leiden).

Lauritzen, D. (2011), "'Exegi monumentum'. L'Ekphrasis autonome de Jean de Gaze," in *Ekphrasis. La représentation des monuments dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves. Réalités et Imaginaires*, edd. V. Vavřínek, P. Odorico and V. Drbal (*ByzSlav* 69 [3] suppl.: Prag), 61–79.

Lauritzen, D. (2015), *Jean de Gaza, Description du tableau cosmique. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).—See also Renaut.

La Vecchia, S. ed. (2000), *Pindari. Dithyramborum fragmenta* (Roma—Pisa).

Lehrs, K. (1837), *Quaestiones epicae* (Regimontii Prussorum).

Lenaghan, J. (2016), "Cultural Heroes," in *The Last Statues in Antiquity*, edd. R.R.R. Smith and B. Ward-Perkins (Oxford), 258–266.

Leuker, T. (2007), *Bausteine eines Mythos. Die Medici in Dichtung und Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Köln—Weimar—Wien).

Levine, R. (1989), "Exploiting Ovid. Medieval Allegorizations of the Metamorphoses," *Medioevo romanzo* 14, 197–213.

Lightfoot, J.L., ed. (1999), *Parthenius of Nicaea* (Oxford).

Lightfoot, J.L. (2014), "Oracles in the Dionysiaca," in Spanoudakis 2014, 39–54.

Lightfoot, J.L., ed. (2014a), *Dionysius Periegetes: Description of the Known World* (Oxford).

Lind, L.R. (1935–1936), "Un-hellenic Elements in the Subject-Matter of the Dionysiaca," *Classical Weekly* 29 (3), 17–20.

Lind, L.R. (1938), "Un-hellenic Elements in the Dionysiaca," AC 7, 57–65.

Livrea, E. (1987), "Il Poeta ed il Vescovo," *Prometheus* 13, 97–123.

Livrea, E., ed. (1989), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, canto XVIII, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*Speculum* 9: Napoli).

Livrea, E., ed. (2000), *Nonno di Panopoli. Parafrasi del Vangelo di S. Giovanni, canto B, introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento* (*Biblioteca Patristica* 36: Bologna).

Livrea, E. (2003), "The Nonnus Question Revisited," in Accorinti and Chuvin 2003, 447–455.

Livrea, E. (2006), "Pindaro enigmatico. Trittico sulla Quarta Pitica," *MD* 56, 9–34.

Livrea, E. and Accorinti, D. (1988), "Nonno e la Crocifissione," *SIFC* 81, 262–278.

Lloyd-Jones, H. (1985), "Pindar and the After-life," in *Pindare. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique de la Fondation Hardt* 31 (Vandœuvres-Genève), 245–283.

Lovatt, H. (2013), *The Epic Gaze. Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic* (Cambridge).

Lubac, H. and Doutreleau, L., edd. (2003), *Origène, Homélies sur la Genèse. Introduction par H. de Lubac et L. Doutreleau, traduction et notes par L. Doutreleau* (*Sources Chrétiennes* 7bis: Paris).

Ludwich, A. (1873), *Beiträge zur Kritik des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Königsberg in Pr.).

Ludwich, A. (1874), "Hexametrische Untersuchungen III," *JCPh* 20, 453–457.

Ludwich, A. (1886), "Zur griechischen Anthologie," *RhM* 41, 592–617.

Maas, P. (1927), "Zur Verskunst des Nonnos," *ByZ* 17, 17–18 (= id. 1973, *Kleine Schriften* [München], 169–170).

Maciver, C.A. (2012), *Quintus Smyrnaeus' Posthomerica. Engaging Homer in Late Antiquity* (Leiden).

Madden, J., ed. (1995), *Macedonius Consul. The Epigrams* (Hildesheim—Zürich—New York).

Magnelli, E. (1995), "Le norme del secondo piede dell'esametro nei poeti ellenistici e il comportamento della 'parola metrica'," *MD* 35, 135–164.

Magnelli, E. (2014), "Appositives in Nonnus' Hexameter," in Spanoudakis 2014, 265–283.

Maguire, H. (1974), "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art.," *DOP* 28, 113–140, also in Maguire 1998, I and Nagy 2001, 258–300.

Maguire, H. (1998), *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series* CS 603: Aldershot).

Maguire, H. (1999), "The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise," in *The Madaba Map Centenary 1897–1997. Travelling through the Byzantine Umayyad Period*, edd. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (Jerusalem), 179–184.

Manderscheid, H. (1981), *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen* (*Monumenta Artis Romanae* 15: Berlin).

Manfredi, M. (1981), *Papyri Greek and Egyptian. Edited by Various Hands in Honour of E.G. Turner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (London).

Mango, C. (1959), *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen).

Mango, C. (^{2}1990, 1985), *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (*IVe–VIIe siècles*) (*Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France, Monographies* 2: Paris).

Mango, C. (2004), reprint of second edition 1990 of above, with new addenda by author.

Mango, C. (2003), "Septime Sévère et Byzance," *CRAI* 147, 593–608.

Mango, C., Vickers, M. and Francis, E.D. (1992), "The Palace of Lausus at Constantinople and its Collection of Ancient Statues," *Journal of the History of Collections* 4, 89–98.

Marcellus, C. de, ed. (1856), *Les Dionysiaques ou Bacchus. Poème en XLVIII chants, grec et français, précédé d'une introduction, suivi de notes littéraires, géographiques et mythologiques, d'un tableau raisonné des corrections et de tables et index complets, rétabli, traduit et commenté par le Comte de Marcellus, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire* (Paris).

Marcellus, C. de, ed. (1861), *Paraphrase de l'Évangile selon Saint Jean, par Nonnos de Panopolis, rétablie, corrigée et traduite pour la première fois en français par le Comte de Marcellus, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire* (Paris).

Mare, W.H. (1961), *A Study of Greek* bomos *in Classical Greek Literature* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania).

Martindale, J.R., Jones, A.H.M. and Morris, J. (1980), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire. A.D. 395–527* (Cambridge).

Martínez Hernández, M. (2008), "Eros y erotismo en Nono. Historias de amor," *EClás* 133, 73–90.

Martínez Manzano, T. (2006), "Otra falsificación darmariana," *Helmantica* 57, 63–75.

Martins de Jesus, C.A. (2014), "The Statuary Collection held at the Baths of Zeuxippus (AP 2) and the Search for Constantine's Museological Intentions," *Memoria Académica* 21, 1–16.

Marvin, M. (1983), "Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla," *AJA* 87, 347–384.

Masson, O. (1994), "Le faussaire grec C. Simonides à Paris en 1854, avec deux lettres inconnues de Sainte-Beuve et un récit du comte de Marcellus," *JS* 2, 367–379.

Mattsson, A., (1942), *Untersuchungen zur Epigrammsammlung des Agathias* (Lund).

Mazza, D. (2012), *La fortuna della poesia ellenistica nelle Dionisiache di Nonno di Panopoli* (PhD diss., Rome—Thessaloniki).

Merry, W.W. and Riddell, J., edd. (1961), *Homer. Odyssey, Books I–XII, with Introduction, Notes, etc.* (Oxford).

Meyer, W. (1884), "Zur Geschichte des griechischen und des lateinischen Hexameters," *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, 979–1087.

Miguélez Cavero, L. (2008), *Poems in Context. Greek Poetry in the Egyptian Thebaid 200–600 AD* (*Sozomena. Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts* 2: Berlin—New York).

Miguélez Cavero, L. (2009), "The Appearance of the Gods in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus," *GRBS* 49, 557–583.

Miller, P.C. (1998), "Differential Networks. Relics and other Fragments in Late Antiquity," *JECS* 6, 113–138.

Minchin, E. (1996), "The Performance of Lists and Catalogues in the Homeric Epics," in *Voice into Text. Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece*, ed. I. Worthington (Leiden), 3–20.

Mittmann-Richert, U. (2008), *Der Sühnetod des Gottesknechts. Jesaja 53 im Lukasevangelium* (Tübingen).

Mondon, C. (2001), "Die *Verzauberung* de Hermann Broch ou le sortilège dans un monde désenchanté," in *L'Allemagne et la crise de la Raison. Hommage à Gilbert Merlio*, edd. N. Pelletier, J. Mondot and J.-M. Valentin (Bordeaux), 321–336.

Moog-Grünewald, M. (2008), "Aktaion," in *Mythenrezeption. Die Antike Mythologie in Literatur, Musik und Kunst von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (*DNP Suppl. 5*), ed. id. (Stuttgart—Weimar), 41–52.

Moreau, A. (1988), "Le discobole meurtrier," *Pallas* 34, 1–18.

Moreschini, C. and Sykes, D.A., edd. (1997), *St. Gregory of Nazianzus. Poemata Arcana* (Oxford).

Morrison, A.D. (2005), "Sexual Ambiguity and the Identity of the Narrator in Callimachus' Hymn to Athena," *BICS*. 48, 27–46.

Morros Mestres, B. (2010), *El tema de Acteón en algunas literaturas europeas de la antigüedad clásica a nuestros días* (Madrid).

Most, G. (1985), *The Measure of Praise. Structure and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes* (Göttingen).

Motte, A. and Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1992), "Le mot et les rites. Aperçu des significations de ΟΡΓΙΑ et de quelques dérivés," *Kernos* 5, 119–140.

Nagy, G., ed. (2001), *Greek Literature. Greek Literature in the Byzantine Period* (*Greek Literature* 9: New York).

Negri, M. (2000), *Eustazio di Tessalonica. Introduzione al commentario a Pindaro* (Brescia).

Nesselrath, H.-G. (1992), *Ungeschehenes Geschehen. 'Beinahe-Episoden' im griechischen und römischen Epos von Homer bis zur Spätantike* (Stuttgart).

Newbold, R.F. (2000), "Breasts and Milk in Nonnus' Dionysiaca," *CW* 94, 11–24.

Newbold, R.F. (2001), "The Character and Content of Water in Nonnus and Claudian," *Ramus* 30, 169–189.

Newbold, R.F. (2003), "The Power of Sound in Nonnus' Dionysiaca," in Accorinti and Chuvin 2003, 457–468.

Newbold, R.F. (2008), "Curiosity and Exposure in Nonnus," *GRBS* 48, 71–98.

Newbold, R.F. (2010), "Contests, Competitiveness and Achievement in Nonnus' Dionysiaca," *Scholia* 19, 111–125.

Newby, Z. (2002), "Testing the Boundaries of Ekphrasis. Lucian 'On the Hall'," in Elsner 2002, 126–135.

Newby, Z. (2009), "Absorption and Erudition in Philostratus' Imagines," in *Philostratus*, edd. E.L. Bowie and J. Elsner (*Greek Culture in the Roman World*: Cambridge etc.), 322–342.

Newman, J.K. (1985), "Pindar and Callimachus," *ICS* 10, 169–189.

Nicks, F. (2000), "Literary Culture in the Reign of Anastasius I," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, edd. S. Mitchell and G. Greatrex (London—Swansea), 183–203.

Nimmo Smith, J. (1996), "Nonnus and Pseudo-Nonnos. The Poet and the Commentator," in *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ. Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, edd. C.N. Constaninides, N.M. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys and A.D. Angelou (*Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia* 17: Venice), 281–299.

Nizzola, P. (2012), *Testo e macrotesto nelle 'Dionisiache' di Nonno di Panopoli* (Reggio Calabria).

Nöldeke, T. (1871), "ΑΣΣΥΡΙΟΣ, ΣΥΡΙΟΣ, ΣΥΡΟΣ," *Hermes* 5, 443–468.

Norden, E. (1903), *P. Vergilius Maro. Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig).

O'Hara, J.J. (1989), "Messapus, Cycnus, and the Alphabetical Order of Vergil's Catalogue of Italian Heroes," *Phoenix* 43, 35–38.

Opelt, I. (1967), "Die Christliche Spätantike und Pindar," *ByzF* 2, 284–298.

Otlewska-Jung, M. (2014), "Orpheus and Orphic Hymns in the Dionysiaca," in Spanoudakis 2014, 77–96.

Ouwaroff, S.S. (1817), *Nonnos von Panopolis der Dichter. Eine Beytrag zur Geschichte der Griechischen Poesie* (St. Petersburg).

Paananen, T.S. (2012), "From Stalemate to Deadlock. Clement's Letter to Theodore in Recent Scholarship," *Currents in Biblical Research* 11, 87–125.

Page, D., ed. (1978), *The Epigrams of Rufinus* (Cambridge).

Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. (1894), *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* (Petrograd).

Parisinou, E. (2000), " 'Lighting' the World of Women. Lamps and Torches in the Hands of Women in Late Archaic and Classical Periods," *G&R* 47, 19–43.

Parker, R. (1983), *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford).

Parlama, L. (1994), "Staphylos," *LIMC* VII.1, 807–808.

Parsons, P.J. and Bremer, J.M. (1987), "3723. Elegy," *P.Oxy.* 54, 58–64.

Paschalis, M. (2014), "Ovidian Metamorphosis and Nonnian *poikilon eidos*," in Spanoudakis 2014, 97–122.

Patillon, M. (2008), *Corpus Rhetoricum. Anonyme Préambule à la Rhétorique; Aphthonios, Progymnasmata; en Annexe: Pseudo-Hermogène* (Paris).

Peek, W., ed. (1968–1975), *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos*, 4 vols., Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (*Alpha—Omega. Lexika, Indizes, Konkordanzen zur Klassischen Philologie* 3: Hildesheim).

Perceau, S. (2002), *La parole vive. Communiquer en catalogue dans l'épopée homérique* (Leuven).

Picard, P., ed. (2013), *Rodin. La lumière de l'antiquité* (Paris).

Piepenbrink, K. (2012), "Selbstverständnis und Selbstdarstellung des Synesios von Kyrene als Bischof," in *Synesios von Kyrene. Politik—Literatur—Philosophie*, edd. H. Seng and L.M. Hoffmann (Turnhout), 73–95.

Pini, M.G. and Rizzi, M., edd. (2006), *Clemente di Alessandria. Gli Stromati. Note di vera filosofia* (Milano).

Pospelov, D., ed. (2002), Деяния Иисуса (*Scrinium Philocalicum* 1: Москва).

Preller, A.H. (1918), *Quaestiones Nonnianae desumptae e Paraphrasi Sancti Evangelii Joannei Cap. XVIII–XIX* (Noviomagi).

Price, R. and Gaddis, M. (2005), *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, vol. 1 (Liverpool).

Prost, M.A., transl. (2003), *Nonnos of Panopolis. The Paraphrase of the Gospel of John* (Ventura).

Pucci, P. (1982), "The proem of the Odyssey," *Arethusa* 15, 39–62.

Qaukhchishvili, T., transl. (1975), *Herodotus. History, Translation and Comments, vol. 1* (Tbilisi).

Rahner, H., transl. (1971), *L'ecclesiologia dei Padri. Simboli della Chiesa* (Roma).

Rapp, C. (2005), *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley—Los Angeles).

Reed, J.D. (1997), *Bion of Smyrna. The Fragments and the Adonis* (Cambridge).

Reeves, B.T. (2007), "The Role of the Ekphrasis in Plot Development. The Painting of Europa and the Bull in Achilles Tatius' Leucippe and Clitophon," *Mnemosyne* 60, 87–101.

Renaut, D. (2005), "Les déclamations d'*ekphraseis*. Une réalité vivante à Gaza au VIe siècle," in *Gaza dans L'Antiquité tardive. Archéologie, rhétorique et histoire*, ed. C. Saliou (Salerno), 197–220.—See also Lauritzen.

Renner, T. (1978), "A Papyrus Dictionary of Metamorphoses," *HSPh* 82, 278–293.

Ricciardelli, G., ed. (2000), *Inni orfici* (*Scrittori greci e latini*: Milano).

Riemschneider, M. (1957), "Der Stil des Nonnos," in Irmscher und Salač 1957, 46–70.

Riemschneider, M. (1966), *Der Schwur des Espaini. Ein Roman aus dem alten Urartu* (Leipzig).

Riemschneider, M. (1967), *Das Wunder von Jerusalem. Historischer Roman aus der Zeit Sanheribs* (Leipzig).

Riemschneider, M. (1968a), "Die Rolle Ägyptens in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos," in *Probleme der koptischen Literatur*, ed. P. Nagel (*Wissenschaftliche Beiträge, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Reihe K, Byzantinistische Beiträge*: Halle), 73–83.

Riemschneider, M. (1968b), *Keine Stadt ist vor Räubern sicher* (Leipzig).

Riemschneider, M. (1969), *Unrast und Einkehr. Ein Erasmus-Roman* (Leipzig).

Riemschneider, M. (1970), *Im Garten Claudias. Kulturgeschichtlicher Roman über den letzten großen Dichter der Antike* (Leipzig).

Rinon, Y. (2006), "*Mise en Abyme* and Tragic Signification in the *Odyssey*: The three Songs of Demodocus," *Mnemosyne* 59, 208–225.

Robert, L. (1982), "La date de l'épigrammatiste Rufinus. Philologie et réalité," *CRAI*, 50–63 (= id. [1989], *Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques, tome V* [Amsterdam]).

Roberts, M. (1989), *The Jeweled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, N.Y.—London).

Robertson, M. (1988), "Europe I," *LIMC* IV, 76–92.

Röder, J. (2010), "Evangelium nach Nikodemus," in *Das Wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet* (*WiBiLex*), edd. M. Bauks, K. Koenen and S. Alkier [http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/wibilex/, 8.10.2015].

Ronchey, S. (2010), *Ipazia. La vera storia* (Milano).

Roos, B.-A. (1991), *Synesius of Cyrene. A Study in His Personality* (Lund).

Roques, D. (2012), "Lecteurs de Synésios, de Byzance à nos jours (VIe–XXIe s.)," in *Synesios von Kyrene. Politik—Literatur—Philosophie*, ed. H. Seng and L.M. Hoffmann (Turnhout), 276–387.

Rose, H.J., see Rouse 1940.

Rotondo, A. (2008), "La voce (φωνή) divina nella 'Parafrasi' di Nonno di Panopoli," *Adamantius* 14, 287–310.

Rouse, W.H.D. (1940–1942), *Nonnos. Dionysiaca, with an English Translation by W.H.D. Rouse, Mythological Introduction and Notes by H.J. Rose and Notes on Text Criticism by L.R. Lind*, 3 vols. (*Loeb Classical Library* 344, 354, 356: Cambridge, Ma.—London).

Rubel, G. (2009), *Erkenntnis und Bekenntnis. Der Dialog als Weg der Wissensvermittlung im Johannesevangelium* (Münster).

Rutherford, I. (2001), *Pindar's Paeans. A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford).

Saïd, S. (2013), *Le Monde à l'envers. Pouvoir féminin et communauté des femmes en Grèce ancienne* (*Les belles lettres. Essais* 7: Paris).

Saldarini, A.J. (1988), *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society* (Edinburgh).

Sammons, B. (2010), *The Art and Rhetoric of the Homeric Catalogue* (Oxford).

Santamaría Álvarez, M.A. (2008), "Pindaro y el Orfismo," in *Orfeo y la tradición órfica. Un rencuentro*, vol. 2, edd. A. Bernabé and F. Casadesüs (Madrid), 1161–1184.

Sarishvili, G., transl. (1978), *Aeschylus. Tragedies. Prometheus Bound* (Tbilisi).

Schaper, R. (2011), *Die Odyssee des Fälschers. Die abenteuerliche Geschichte des Konstantin Simonides, der Europa zum Narren hielt und nebenbei die Antike erfand* (München).

Schärtl, M. (2011), *'Nicht das ganze Volk will, dass er sterbe'. Die Pilatusakten als historische Quelle der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main).

Scheiber, K. (2008), *Vergebung. Eine systematisch-theologische Untersuchung* (Tübingen).

Scheindler, A. (1878a), *Quaestionum Nonnianarum pars I* (Brunae).

Scheindler, A. (1878b), "Quaestionum Nonnianarum particula altera," *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 29, 897–907.

Scheindler, A. (1881), "Zu Nonnos von Panopolis," *WS* 3, 68–81.

Scheindler, A. (1881a), *Nonni Panopolitani Paraphrasis S. Evangelii Ioannei edidit Augustinus Scheindler, accedit S. Evangelii textus et index verborum* (Lipsiae).

Schloder, J. (1975), "Les Costa du Studiolo d'Isabella d'Este. Sources iconographiques," *Revue du Louvre* 25, 230–233.

Schmiel, R. (2003), "Composition and Structure. The Battle at the Hydaspes (Nonnos' Dionysiaca 21.303–24.178)", in Accorinti and Chuvin 2003, 469–481.

Schmitt, T. (2001), *Die Bekehrung des Synesios von Kyrene. Politik und Philosophie, Hof und Provinz als Handlungsräume eines Aristokraten bis zu seiner Wahl zum Metropoliten von Ptolemaïs* (*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 146: München—Leipzig).

Schmitzer, U. (2008), "Transformierte Transformation. Eine Fallstudie zu Erzähltechnik und Rezeption der Metamorphosen Ovids anhand der Actaeon-Sage," *Gymnasium* 115, 23–46.

Schmitzer, U. (2009), "Ovidio fra Parma e Berlino," *Paideia* 64, 599–620.

Schnackenburg, R., ed. (1967), *The Gospel According to St. John, vol. 1: Introduction and Commentary on Chapters 1–4*, transl. K. Smyth (New York—London).

Schnackenburg, R., ed. (1977), *Il vangelo di Giovanni. Parte seconda, testo greco e traduzione, commento ai capp. 5–12, traduzione italiana di G. Cecchi, edizione italiana a cura di O. Soffritti* (Brescia).

Schneider, C. (1954), *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums*, 2 vols. (München).

Schneidewin, M. (1884), "Statistisches zu Homeros und Vergilius," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* 121, 129–134.

Schregel, F.H. (1991), *Die Romanliteratur der DDR. Erzähltechniken, Leserlenkung, Kulturpolitik* (Opladen).

Schuddeboom, F.L. (2009), *Greek Religious Terminology—Telete & Orgia. A Revised and Expanded English Edition of the Studies by Zijderveld and Van der Burg* (*Religions in the Greco-Roman World* 169: Leiden).

Schulte, H. (1994), "Johannes Barbukallos, ein Dichter des Agathiaskranzes," *Hermes* 122, 486–497.

Scodel, R. (1997), "Pseudo-Intimacy and the Prior Knowledge of the Homeric Audience," *Arethusa* 30, 201–219.

Scodel, R. (2002), *Listening to Homer. Tradition, Narrative, and Audience* (Ann Arbor).

Сергеенко, М.Е., transl. (1962), *Арриан. Поход Александра* (Москва—Ленинград).

Settis, S. (2013, [1]2000), "Ars moriendi. Cristo e Meleagro," in *Tre figure. Achille, Meleagro, Cristo*, ed. M.L. Catoni (Milano), 83–108.

Ševčenko, N.P. (2011), "The Service of the Virgin's Lament Revisited," in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Text and Images*, ed. L. Brubaker and M.B. Cunningham (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoma Studies* 11: Farnham—Burlington, Vt.), 247–262.

Sheppard, A.D.R. (1980), *Studies on 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic* (*Hypomnemata* 61: Göttingen).

Sherry, L.F. (1991), *The Hexameter Paraphrase of St John Attributed to Nonnus of Panopolis. Prolegomenon and Translation* (Ann Arbor, Mi.; PhD diss., Columbia University: New York).

Shorrock, R. (2001), *The Challenge of Epic. Allusive Engagement in the Dionysiaca of Nonnus* (*Mnemosyne Suppl.* 210: Leiden—Boston—Köln).

Shorrock, R. (2011), *The Myth of Paganism. Nonnus, Dionysus and the World of Late Antiquity* (London).

Simon, B., ed. (1999), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XIV: cants XXXVIII–XL. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Simon, B., ed. (2004), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome XVI: chants XLIV–XVI. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Simon, E. (1964), "Nonnos und das Elfenbeinkästchen aus Veroli," *JDAI* 79, 279–336.

Simons, R. (2005), *Dracontius und der Mythos. Christliche Weltsicht und pagane Kultur in der Ausgehenden Spätantike* (*Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 186: Leipzig).

Simpson, M. (1969), "The Chariot and the Bow as Metaphors for Poetry in Pindar's Odes," *TAPA* 100, 437–473.

Skálová, Z. (1999), "Mourning with indigo. A re-stored mediaeval Passion triptych in the Coptic Museum, Cairo," in *East and West in the Crusader States. Context—Contacts—Confrontations, vol. II, Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in May 1997*, ed. K. Ciggaar and H.G.B. Teule (*Orientalia Lovanensia analecta* 92: Leuven), 177–207.

Smith, M. (1973), *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* (Cambridge, Ma.).

Smith, R.R.R. (1990), "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 80, 127–155.

Smith, R.R.R. (2007), "Statue Life in the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, AD 100–600," in Bauer and Witschel 2007, 203–235.

Smolak, K. (1984), "Beiträge zur Erklärung der Metabole des Nonnos," *JÖByz* 34, 1–14.

Snyder, J.M. (1981), "The Web of Song: Weaving Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets," *CJ* 76, 193–196.

Sonderkamp, J.A.M. (1984), "Theophanes Nonnus. Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 38, 29–41.

Spanoudakis, K. (2007), "Icarius Jesus Christ? Dionysiac Passion and Biblical Narrative in Nonnus' Icarius Episode (Dion. 47, 1–264)," *WS* 120, 35–92.

Spanoudakis, K. (2009), "Review of A.S. Hollis, Callimachus. Hecale, Oxford ²2009," *BMCRev* 10.02.2009.

Spanoudakis, K., ed. (2014), *Nonnus of Panopolis in Context. Poetry and Cultural Milieu in Late Antiquity with a Section on Nonnus and the Modern World* (*Trends in Classics Suppl.* 24: Berlin—Boston).

Spanoudakis, K. (2014a), "The Shield of Salvation. Dionysus' Shield in Nonnus' Dionysiaca 25.380–572," in Spanoudakis 2014, 333–371.

Spanoudakis, K., ed. (2014b), *Nonnus of Panopolis. Paraphrasis of the Gospel of John XI* (Oxford).

Stählin, O., ed. (1909), *Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata Buch VII und VIII* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten* [*drei*] *Jahrhunderte* 17. *Clemens Alexandrinus* 3: Leipzig).

Stegemann, V. (1930), *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte. Studien und Interpretationen zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (*Stoicheia* 9: Leipzig—Berlin).

Stenger, J. (2008), "Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari. Himerios' 38. Rede und die Epinikiendichtung," *Hermes* 136, 348–367.

Stephens, S. and Winkler., J.J. (1995), *Ancient Greek Novels. The Fragments* (Princeton).

Stirling, L. (2012), "Patrons, Viewers and Statues in Late Antique Baths," in *Patrons and Viewers in Late Antiquity*, edd. S. Birk and B. Poulsen (Aarhus), 67–81.

Stirling, L. (2016), "Shifting Use of a Genre: A Comparison of Statuary Décor in Homes and Baths of Late Roman West," in Kristensen and Stirling 2016, 265–289.

Стратановский, Г.А., transl. (1964), *Страбон. География* (Ленинград).

String, M. (1966), *Untersuchungen zum Stil der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (PhD diss., Hamburg).

Struck, P.T. (2005), "Divination and Literary Criticism," in *Mantikê. Studies in Ancient Divination*, edd. S. Iles Johnston and P.T. Struck (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 155: Leiden—Boston), 147–165.

Stupperich, R. (1982), "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen. Überlegungen zur Beschreibung durch Christodoros von Koptos," *MDAI(I)* 32, 210–235.

Suarez de la Torre, E. (1990), "Parole de poète, parole de prophète. Les oracles et la mantique chez Pindare," *Kernos* 3, 347–358.

Swete, H.B. (1893), *A Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter Found at Akhmim in Egypt* (London).

Symeonoglou, S. (1985), *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton, N.J.).

Talley, T.J. (1982), "The Origin of Lent at Alexandria," *Studia Patristica* 17, 594–612.

Tanaseanu-Döbler, I. (2008), *Konversion zur Philosophie in der Spätantike. Kaiser Julian und Synesios von Kyrene* (Wiesbaden).

Tanaseanu-Döbler, I. (2013), *Theurgy in Late Antiquity. The Invention of a Ritual Tradition* (Göttingen—Bristol, Ct.).

Taplin, O. (1980), "The Shield of Achilles within the 'Iliad'," *G&R* 27 (1), 1–21.

Theobald, M. (1998), *Die Fleischwerdung des Logos: Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh.* (*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen* 20: Münster).

Thraede, K. (1962), "Epos," *RAC* 5, 982–1042.

Tiedke, H. (1873), *Quaestionum Nonnianarum specimen* (Berolini).

Tiedke, H. (1878), "Quaestionum Nonnianarum specimen alterum," *Hermes* 13, 59–66.

Tiedke, H. (1879), "Quaestiuncula Nonniana," *Hermes* 14, 412–422.

Tischendorf, C., ed. (1876, ^{1}1853), *Evangelia Apocrypha, adhibitis plurimis codicibus Graecis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus edidit* (Lipsiae—repr. Hildesheim ^{2}1987).

Tissoni, F. (1998), *Nonno di Panopoli. I canti di Penteo* (*Dionisiache 44–46*)*, commento* (*Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'università degli studi di Milano* 177. *Sezione di filologia classica* 7: Firenze).

Tissoni, F. (1999), *Nonno di Panopoli. Le Dionisiache II* (*canti 13–24*), ed. D. del Corno, transl. M. Maletta, notes F. Tissoni (*Biblioteca Adelphi* 371: Milano).

Tissoni, F. (2000), *Cristodoro. Un'introduzione e un commento* (*Hellenica* 6: Alessandria).

Tissoni, F. (2008), "Ciro di Panopoli riconsiderato (con alcune ipotesi sulla destinazione delle *Dionisiache*)," in Audano 2008, 67–81.

Тресиддер, Дж. (1999), *Словарь символов* (Москва).

Turner, C.H. (1923), "On the Punctuation of St. John 7.37–8," *JThS* 24, 66–70.

Uhrig, Chr. (2004), *Und das Wort ist Fleisch geworden. Zur Rezeption von Joh 1,14a und zur Theologie der Fleischwerdung in der griechischen vornizänischen Patristik* (*Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie* 63: Münster)

Underwood, A.P. (1950), "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *DOP* 5, 43–138.

Urushadze, A. (1964), *Ancient Colchis in the Myth of Argonauts* (Tbilisi) (in Georgian).

Urushadze, A. transl. (1970), *Apollonius of Rhodes. Argonautica, Translation and Comments* (Tbilisi).

Valerio, F. (2011–2012), "Adversaria Agathiana. Per una nuova edizione degli epigrammi," *Incontri di filologia classica* 11, 193–215.

Valerio, F., ed. (2014), *Agazia Scolastico. Epigrammi, introduzione, testo critico e traduzione* (Venezia).

VanderKam, J.C. (2004), *From Joshua to Caiaphas. High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis, Mn.).

Van Der Kooij, A. (2003), "On the Use of βωμός in the Septuagint," *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leuven), 600–607.

Van Looy, H., ed. (1992), *Euripides. Medea* (Stutgardiae—Lipsiae).

Van Opstall, E.M. (2013), "Cave and Cosmos. Sacred Caves in Greek Epic Poetry from Homer (eighth century BCE) to Nonnus (fifth century CE)," in *The Ideologies of Lived Space in Literary Texts, Ancient and Modern*, edd. J. Klooster and J. Heirman (Gent), 15–33.

van Rossum-Steenbeek, M. (1998), *Greek Readers' Digests? Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri* (Leiden).

Verhelst, B. (2016), *Direct Speech in Nonnus' Dionysiaca. Narrative and Rhetorical Functions of the Characters' "varied" and "many-faceted" Words* (Leiden).

Vian, F. (1963), *Les Origines de Thèbes. Cadmos et les Spartes* (*Études et commentaires* 48: Paris).

Vian, F., coord. (1976–2006), *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques. Texte établi et traduit*, 19 vols. (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Vian, F., ed. (1976), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome I: chants I–II. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Vian, F. (1978), "Mythologie scolaire et mythologie érudite dans les 'Dionysiaques' de Nonnos," *Prometheus* 4, 157–172, also in Vian 2005, 389–404.

Vian, F., ed. (1990), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome IX: chants XXV–XXIX. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris).

Vian, F. (1993), "Préludes cosmiques dans les Dionysiaques de Nonnos de Panopolis," *Prometheus* 19, 39–52, also in Vian 2005, 483–496.

Vian, F. (1994), "Dionysus in the Indian War. A Contribution to a Study of the Structure of the Dionysiaca," in Hopkinson 1994, 86–98.

Vian, F., ed. (1995a), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, tome V: chants XI–XIII* (*Collection des Universités de France*: Paris)

Vian, F. (1995b), "L'invention de la vigne chez Nonnos," in Belloni et al. 1995, vol. 1, 199–214, also in Vian 2005, 551–564.

Vian, F. (1997), "ΜΑΡΤΥΣ chez Nonnos de Panopolis. Étude de sémantique et de chronologie," *REG* 110, 143–160, also in Vian 2005, 565–584.

Vian, F., ed. (2003), *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques, vol. XVIII: chant XLVIII. Texte établi et traduit* (*Collections des Universités de France*: Paris).

Vian, F. (2005), *L'épopée posthomérique. Recueil d'études*, ed. D. Accorinti (*Hellenica* 17: Alessandria).

Vian, F. (^{2}2008, 2001), "Echoes and Imitations of Apollonius Rhodius in Late Greek Epic," in *Brill's Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, edd. T.D. Papanghelis and A. Rengakos (Leiden—Boston), 387–411.

Viljamaa, T. (1968), *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Byzantine Period* (*Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 42: Helsinki).

Villarrubia, A. (1998), "Nono de Panópolis y el mito de Acteón," *Habis* 29, 249–268.

Volkmann, R. (1869), *Synesius von Cyrene. Eine biographische Charakteristik aus den letzten Zeiten des untergehenden Hellenismus* (Berlin).

Volpe, C.P. (1979–1980), "Osservazioni sulla Parafrasi del Vangelo di Giovanni di Nonno di Panopoli," *AFLN* 22, n.s. X, 41–49.

Walde, A. and Hofmann, J. (1938–1956), *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Heidelberg).

Walker, P.W.L. (1990), *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford).

Wallace, P.W. (1982), "The Final Battle at Plataia," in *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History, and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, ed. E. Vanderpool (*Hesperia Suppl.* 19: Princeton, N.J.), 183–192.

Watts, E.J. (2010), *Riot in Alexandria. Tradition and group dynamics in Late Antique pagan and christian communities* (*Transformation of the Classical Heritage. A Joan Palevsky Book in Classical Literature*: Berkeley—Los Angeles—London).

Webb, R. (2006), "The Imagines as a Fictional Text. Ekphrasis, Apatê and Illusion," in *Le Défi de l'Art. Philostrate, Callistrate et l'Image sophistique*, edd. M. Costantini, F. Graziani and S. Rolet (Rennes), 113–136.

Webb, R. (2007) "The Model ekphraseis of Nikolaos the Sophist as Memory Images," in *Theatron. Rhetorische Kultur in Spätantike und Mittelalter*, ed. M. Grünbart (*Millennium-Studien / Millennium Studies* 13: Berlin), 463–475.

Webb, R. (2009), *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham—Burlington, Vt.).

Webb, R. (2011), "Ekphraseis of Buildings in Byzantium. Theory and Practice," *ByzSlav* 69/3, 20–32.

Weitzmann, K. (1960), "The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their Impact on Christian Iconography," *DOP* 14, 43–68, also in Weitzmann 1971, VI.

Weitzmann, K. (1961), "The Origin of the Threnos," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, vol. I*, ed. M. Meiss (New York), 476–490, also in Weitzmann 1980, IX.

Weitzmann, K. (1971), *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination, with an Introduction by H. Buchthal*, ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago—London).

Weitzmann, K. (1971, ^{1}1963), "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in Weitzmann 1971, 176–223.

Weitzmann, K. (1980), *Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories* (London).

Welzig, W. (1979), "Allegorese im Dienste einer Titelrhetorik. Beobachtungen zum Titelkupfer einer barocken Predigtsammlung," in *Formen und Funktionen der Allegorie*, ed. W. Haug (Stuttgart), 419–428.

West, M.L., ed. (1998, 2000), *Homeri Ilias, 2 vols*. (*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Latinorum Teubneriana*: Stutgardiae—Lipsiae).

Whitby, M. (1985), "The Occasion of Paul the Silentiary's Ekphrasis of S. Sophia," CQ 35, 215–228.

Whitby, M. (1994), "From Moschus to Nonnus. The Evolution of the Nonnian Style," in Hopkinson 1994, 99–155.

Whitby, M. (2003), "The Vocabulary of Praise in Verse Celebration of Sixth-Century Building Achievements," in Accorinti and Chuvin 2003, 593–606.

Whitby, M. (2006), "The St Polyeuktos Epigram. A Literary Perspective," in Johnson 2006, 159–187.

Wifstrand, A. (1933), *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos. Metrisch-stilistiche Untersuchungen zur späteren Griechischen Epik und zu verwandten Gedichtgattungen* (*Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund* 16: Lund).

Wiles, M.F. (1960), *The Spiritual Gospel. The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge).

Wilken, R. (1971), *Judaism and the early Christian Mind. A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven, Ct.—London).

Wilkins, E. (1920), "A Classification of the Similes of Homer," *The Classical Weekly* 13.19, 147–150.

Wilkins, E. (1920a), "A Classification of the Similes of Homer (Concluded)," *The Classical Weekly* 13.20, 154–159.

Wilkins, E. (1921), "A Classification of the Similes in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius," *The Classical Weekly* 14.21, 162–166.

Wilkins, E. (1932), "A Classification of the Similes of Ovid," *The Classical Weekly* 25.10, 73–78.

Wilkins, E. (1932a), "A Classification of the Similes of Ovid (Concluded)," *The Classical Weekly* 25.11, 81–86.

Wilkinson, K.W., ed. (2012), *New Epigrams of Palladas. A Fragmentary Papyrus Codex* (*P.CtYBR inv. 4000*) (Durham).

Will, E. (1942–1943), "Sur la nature du pneuma delphique," BCH 66–67, 161–175.

Willcock, M.M. (1964), "Mythological paradeigma in the Iliad," CQ 58, 141–154.

Williams, F. (1978), *Callimachus. Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford).

Winkler, J.J. (1974), *In Pursuit of Nymphs. Comedy and Sex in Nonnos' Tales of Dionysos* (PhD diss., Austin, Tx.).

Wójtowicz, H. (1980), *Studia nad Nonnosem* (Lublin).

Yegül, F. (1986), *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis* (Cambridge, Ma.—London).

Yegül, F. (1992), *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Ma.—London).

Yegül, F. (2010), *Bathing in the Roman World* (Cambridge).

Zanker, P. and Ewald, B.C. (2004), *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (München).

Zentler, M.-A. (2011), *Ägyptischer Himmel in koptischer Erde. Pagan-altägyptische Reminiszenzen (Survivals) im spätantiken, koptischen Christentum* (PhD diss., Tübingen) [https://publikationen.uni-tuebingen.de/xmlui/handle/10900/46909, 8.8.2017].

Ziogas, J. (2013), *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women* (Cambridge).

Zuenelli, S. (2013), *Problemorientierter Kommentar zum 12. Buch der Dionysiaka des Nonnos* (PhD diss., Innsbruck).

Zuenelli, S. (2016), "Das Lied von der webenden Aphrodite: Eine metapoetische Interpretation von Dion. 24, 242–326," in *Weben und Gewebe in der Antike: Materialität, Repräsentation, Episteme, Metapoetik*, ed. H. Harich-Schwarzbauer (Oxbow).

Index of Passages

The following indexes are not exhaustive, but are designed to help the reader to trace references and themes across the different contributions to this volume.

The abbreviations of authors and works generally follow Liddell-Scott-Jones and Lampe.

***Acta Pilati* XI.5** 339

***AP* 4.3c (Agath.)** 304 f., 315, 322, 324n110, 325
5.241.7 (Paul. Sil.) 325
5.262.5 (Paul. Sil.) 311
5.275.5 (Paul. Sil.) 317
5.300.7 (Paul. Sil.) 319
6.12 (Julian of Egypt) 312, 315, 316, 318, 319, 326n131
6.16 (Arch.) 316, 323
6.54.1 (Paul. Sil.) 317
6.57.5 (Paul. Sil.) 317
6.63 (Damoch.) 306, 313, 314, 318
6.64.1 (Paul. Sil.) 322, 324
6.66.1 (Paul. Sil.) 322, 323
7.561.1 (Julian of Egypt) 301, 306
7.562.5 (Julian of Egypt) 321n99
7.568 (Agath.?) 300, 301, 305, 311, 312
7.584.1 (Julian of Egypt) 317
7.592.5 (Julian of Egypt) 318
9.11 (Isidorus?) 301, 310n45, 324n111
9.152.1 (Agath.) 303, 315
9.624.3 (Leont.) 306, 312
9.650.3 (Leont.) 301, 323, 324
9.739.3 (Julian of Egypt) 314
9.770.1 (Paul. Sil.) 324
12.43.3 (Call.) 377

***APl* 221.9 (Theaet.)** 313n62

Apollod. 3.1.1 22

A.R. 1.182–184 90 f.n16
2.1246–1249 291n8
3.932–937 103
4.57–65 103

Aristid., *Hymn to Dionysus* XLI 1–2 K 265

Bion *Adon.* 45–50 48n55

Call. *Dian.* 279
Lav.Pall. 45
110 247
357 ff. 12

Chrys. *Catech. ad illum.* 4.12 237

Colluth. 206 305n28

Cyr. Jer. *Myst.* 1.10 239 f.

Hom. *Il.* 4.130–131 93
5.902–904 93
8.555–556 95
16.212–215 96
20.226–229 90
23.431–432 92
23.636 90
23.711–713 91 f.

Hyg. *Fab.* 226 74n7

Ign. *Rom.* 7 158

***John* (*Ev.Jo.*) 1.10–12** 346
1.14 157 f.
4.20–23 184 f.
4.23 184, 188
5.31–32 162
7.8 190, 191n18
7.37–38 196
19.28a and 30b 192
20.13–16 344

Nonn. *Dion.* *passim*
1.46–137 374–394
1.69–71 35 f.
1.93–124 104–108
1.134–136 35

Nonn. ***Dion.*** (*cont.*)

1.334–343	25 f.
1.393–409a	23 f.
2.188–190	95
2.199–200	95
2.371–377	95 f.
2.375–376	96
2.679b–698	27
3.1–18	28 f.
3.79	266
3.157–163	40
3.257–319	21
3.319	22
4.238–246	108–110
4.293–306	30 f.
5.287–551	338
5.329–335	346 f.
5.388–394	343
7.141–165	15
7.226–254	110–114
10.252–263	39
10.314–318	40 f.
11.271–275	41 f.
11.470–472	44 f.
12.66–68	123
12.70–102	79–81
12.156–166	47
12.245–250	48
13.43–46	54
13.47–52	55
17.57–58	94n19
18.1–20.141	218
18.66/68	222
18.100/102	223
18.334–336	224
18.338–339	225
18.349–353	245
19.6–7	227
19.27–31	228 f.
19.89–90	232
19.104–105	233
20.5–8	235
20.16–22	239, 248
20.27–30	242
20.31–32	243
20.101–102	240
21.310–314	289
21.313–314	292 f.
25.18–21	257
25.242–252	14
25.325–327	2
25.340–341	2
25.370–373	291
27.148–152	298
27.436–438	92
28.284–287	90
29.85–87	93
29.157–161	93 f.
33.208–215	36 f.
33.217–218	37
33.221–224	37
33.255–256	292
35.51	352
35.69–72	208
36.259–261	292
37.590–593	92
39.225–250	8
40.227–233	268
40.285–288	297
41.227	152
41.368–384	77 f., 125
44.46–122	15
47.138–147	351
47.275–294	114–116
48.550–555	77

Nonn. ***Par.*** *passim*

1.27–34	346
1.73 and 1.77	166, 170 f., 175
1.88 and 7.121	172, 174
3.3–7	210
3.118–122	207
4.3 and 9.123	166, 169
4.66–69	199 f.
4.89–118	185 f.
4.122	141n3
4.230–232	225
5.40	176, 178
5.121–126	161
7.31–34	190
7.143–148	198
7.147–148	152, 201
7.177	172 f.
7.189	171 f., 175
9.66	174, 177
9.78	176
11.68–69	232 f.
11.99–100	233

11.199–201 181
11.214–215 175, 177
11.215 167 f., 172, 176
11.234 172, 175 f.
12.7–8 223
12.10/16 223
12.42 176 f.
16.9–11 347
18.91–93 and 112–114 179
18.114 174, 181
18.130 166, 170
18.146 and 149 176 f.
18.156 167, 169 f.
19.9–11 240 f.
19.146–148, 159–160 192
19.181–182 203 f.
19.213–220 205
20.57–72 343 f.
20.72b–75 352

Ov. *Met.* 3.3–5 22
3.582–691 11 f.

Papyri
P.Flor. 18 213 f.
P.Mich.Inv. 1447 82, 84
P.Mil.Vogel 3.126 74

Philostr. Jun. *Im.* 1.15 114

Pi. *P.* 1.25 ff. 269
12.6–12 269

Pl. *Lg.* 719c 150n40
Phdr. 251c5–252a6 230 f.
Smp. 209b 142

Plautus *Asinaria* 864–866 83

Typicon of Jerusalem 205 f.

Index of Greek Words

αἰολόμολπος 267n64
ἀκήλητος 172 f.
ἀκούω 3
ἁλιστεφής 267n64
ἁμαρτίνοος 172, 174, 178, 182
ἀναίδεια 176 f.
ἀνιπτόπους 167, 170, 171 f.
ἄπιστος 172 f., 174n37, 175, 176
ἀργυρόπεζα 113
ἄστατος 133 f.
αὐτόματος 225

Βάκχος 295
βωμός 186–188

ἔμφρων 141, 142, 144n18, 150n40, 152, 199–201, 346, 351
ἐνδόμυχος 201, 202, 207
ἔνθεος 144, 148n33, 149, 199, 204, 210, 257
ἐρεύγομαι 145, 146n25, 149, 207
ἑσμός 166 f., 168 f., 172, 173n30, 175, 179
ἐσσόμενος 146, 153, 154
ἑτερόζυγος 122
εὔγλωσσος 126
εὐεπίη (εὐέπεια) 125 f.
ἐχέφρων 141, 142n7

θεηγόρος 142n10, 144n16 n17, 145, 151n43
θεητόκος 157, 158 f., 164
θεμιστοπόλος 171, 172, 175
θεὸς ἀνήρ 157 f., 162–164, 165
θεοτόκος 158 f.
θέσκελος 143, 144, 149, 150n38, 203 f.
θεσπίζειν 146, 153, 154, 155n56
-θροος compounds 145
θυηπόλος 186, 187, 188 f., 193 f.

κεράννυμι 3
κισσόδετος 267n64
κνῖσα 187

λάλος 142, 152
λεγνωτόν 279
λύσσα 173 f., 346

μάντις 154, 257, 281
μάρτυς 3, 157, 159–162

νοερός 141, 142, 147n28, 200, 203, 238n66, 264, 323n110
νοήμων 141, 142n10, 144n16, 149n35, 152, 201

οἶνος 295 f.
ὀμφή 143, 144, 148 f., 210
ὄργια 186 f., 188, 258
ὀρίκτυπος 267n64

παλιμφυές 201
παλμός 200
περίφοιτος 377
ποικιλόμυθος 123, 145
πολύτροπος 123, 135
προθεσπίζειν 155n56
προκέλευθος 154, 245n84
προώριος 144n16, 154
πρωτόθροος 144n16 n17, 145

ταυροφυής 22
τελέτη 189–194, 249

φθόνος 173, 176–178

χορεύειν 3

General Index

Achilles Tatius 17, 32, 105–108, 375–378
Actaeon (Aktaion) 12, 45, 60, 66, 68, 84, 123, 247, 271, 338–351, 379n9
Actium 126 f., 135
Aegean sea 9, 61, 296
Aeschylus 58n21, 150n39, 174, 291
Agave (Agaue) 15, 154n53, 342, 343, 350 f.
Aietes (Aeetes) 292, 293, 297
Aion 45n47, 66, 336, 337
Akhmim 356, 394
Alcmene 14, 70, 74
Aleppo 16
Alexandria 15n23, 78, 159, 248, 329, 356, 358, 361, 365, 366, 368, 369, 375, 393
alliterations 2
Ampelus 37–50, 66, 79–82, 117, 128, 132, 134, 153n51, 244, 246, 266
analyst theories 4–6
Anatolia 10, 294, 296
Andres, Stefan 327–330, 334 f.
Anna, mother of Mary 11
Annas, high priest of Iudaea 166, 168, 178–182, 188
Apameia-on-the-Maeander 10
Aphrodite 34, 40n22, 46n50, 58n21, 66, 70, 93, 101n10, 102n14, 103n20, 104, 105n25, 109–113, 116 f., 119, 121, 124, 126, 130, 132 f., 135–137, 142n10, 278, 287, 288, 290, 360, 361, 376, 381n16, 387
Apollo 27, 28, 36 f., 40, 42, 44n43, 46n50, 47–50, 57, 65n46, 119n60, 144, 145n19, 233, 262, 270, 274, 278, 279, 282, 287, 288, 350, 362 f.
Apollodorus, pseudo- 17, 22, 91n17
Apollonius Rhodius 11, 13, 35n10, 87 f., 98, 202, 210, 291, 293, 302, 358, 375
  Argonautica 13, 87, 88, 98, 99n4, 103, 291
Ares 48, 58n21, 91, 93, 103n20, 110, 266, 269, 270, 292
Argonauts 13, 267, 293, 297
Argos, Greek town 9, 61, 102n12, 145n19, 291
Ariadne 9, 11, 56, 57, 70n62, 71, 77, 100, 114–116, 117 f., 244, 369, 385n19
Aristaeus (Aristaios) 17, 60, 69n61, 92, 125n21, 235, 345 f.
Artemis 45, 53n11, 76n15, 80, 91, 115, 116, 117, 271, 278, 279, 288, 338, 343, 346
Asia 65n46, 97n23, 274, 282n77, 289–293, 297 f., 356
Assyria 110, 218 f., 231, 290, 296
Astacid, lake 16, 289
Asterion 27, 28, 297
Athena 45, 48, 50, 58n21, 89, 91, 93, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119n58, 142n6, 177, 268, 276, 376
Athens 9, 133n41, 291, 337, 356, 358, 369, 378, 385
Augustus 126 f.
Aura 9, 11, 53, 71, 77, 101n10, 153n51
Aurelius Ammon 393
Ausonius 65n51, 331
Autumn, personification of season 79, 121, 123, 124, 130, 132–136

Baal Marqod 16
baptism 152, 173, 196, 200, 204, 206, 207, 209–211, 217, 235–242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 250, 360
Beirut (Berytos, Berytus) 15, 16, 110n30, 126–128, 130, 154n53, 262, 357, 358, 365, 366
Beroe 9, 16, 71, 127n26, 131, 135, 262, 278n47, 358, 365, 366
Bersuire, Pierre (Petrus Berchorius) *see Ovidius Moralizatus*
Bion 45n50, 48n55, 242n77
Bogner, H. 4, 331
Boreas 27, 35 f., 90, 104, 376, 378, 384 f.
Botrys 216, 218, 220–224, 226, 228 f., 231, 234, 235 f., 238–250, 290
Brongus (Brongos), shepherd 16, 94n19, 220, 224n27, 290
Brown, Norman O. 349
Byzantium 283n78

Cadmus (Cadmos) 13, 15, 17, 21–32, 40, 56, 57–59, 60, 62n36, 69n61, 77, 99, 108–110, 111, 117, 119n57, 119n60, 125, 126, 144n18, 151n43, 153n51, 170n21, 266, 269 f., 290
Caiaphas 166, 170, 174, 178–182, 188
Calamus and Carpus 33n*, 38, 43 f., 46, 50, 81 f., 119n57, 134 f., 246

Callimachus 12, 45 f., 94n19, 210, 219 f., 224, 226, 236, 249, 255 f., 266, 279, 377
Calypso 2, 34
Castalia 150n38, 151, 152, 210
catalogues 11, 14, 17, 34, 52–72, 74–84, 114–116, 127, 134 f.
catasterism 10, 18, 23, 29, 32, 57, 374n1
Caucasus 289, 291–298
Chalcidike 9
Chalcomede 36 f., 101n10, 104, 208, 249n97, 292
Christ, as offering 189
  human-divine nature 163
  miracles 155
  passion 154, 178
  resurrection 142
  trial and crucifixion 167, 188, 192, 193, 194, 203, 331n17
Christianity (Christentum) 7, 10, 11, 16 f., 141, 144n15, 147 f., 155, 201, 215, 297, 328, 330–337, 347n71, 351–353, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 370, 371
Christodorus of Coptos 15, 126n24, 271–288
Claudianus, Claudius 55, 219n9, 331, 356, 365, 367, 369
Clement of Alexandria 78, 203, 214n71, 216, 217, 221, 250, 251
Cleopatra 126 f.
Colchis 291–294
Collart, P. 1, 4 f., 10, 222, 224
Colluthus 244, 283–285, 300n7, 305n28, 314n66
composition, literary 4 f., 7–10, 13 f., 128 f., 150, 264–268
Core, and Zeus 11
cosmology 121
Coypel, Noël-Nicolas 374, 380–392
Cyril of Alexandria 158 f., 164, 168, 169, 171, 173–180, 182, 183, 193, 197, 200, 201, 248
Cyrus of Panopolis 301, 306, 316, 356
Cyzicus 9

Danae 14, 49, 70, 71, 74
Delphi 27, 28, 30, 119n60, 143, 114n15, 145, 150–152
  and πνεῦμα 151 f.
  and sound 143, 152
  chasm 151 f.
Demeter 48, 70, 108, 132, 153n51, 212, 231 f., 377
Deriades 64, 67, 68, 169, 173, 174, 182, 183, 192n23, 262, 289, 290, 296
digression 87, 134–137, 264 f.
Dionysus
  and Christ 147 f., 169 f., 173, 174, 176, 250, 347n71
  and women 8, 69 f.n62, 77, 114–116
  apotheosis 7 f., 9, 71
  birth and childhood 23, 49n59, 53, 57, 153n51, 295
  effeminacy of 2, 246
  first and second D. 11, 71
  journey/travel of 7, 58n19, 68, 289–294, 296–298
  manifestations of 31 f.
  shield of 2, 14, 123, 259 f.n23
  troops/army of 14, 54 f., 59–63, 65, 67–69, 101n11, 258, 289
Διὸς ἀπάτη 14 f.

ekphrasis (ecphrastic technique) 22, 47n53, 65n50 n51, 103 f., 105, 114n45, 117–119, 121, 130 f., 134 f., 265, 271–287, 300, 306, 366, 375, 377
ἐνάργεια 52, 118
encomium (biographical eulogy) 5, 47n53, 48n56, 231, 356
Ephesus, Council of 157, 158, 159, 164, 339, 357
epyllion (late antique literary technique) 10, 283
Erigone 9, 18, 225n28, 249
Eros 23, 31, 38, 43–46, 50, 69 f.n62, 74, 104, 109 f., 116, 134 f., 375, 376, 387
eschatology, in *Par.* 154, 191, 194
ethopoeae 100, 102–104, 303
Euripides 10, 13, 116, 126n25, 287, 293
Europa 14, 21–36, 49, 70, 71, 74, 99, 103n15, 104–108, 110 f., 116–118, 208, 271, 374–392
Eustathius 171, 256, 259–264, 267, 270

Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*) 184, 190–193, 196

Ganymede 33n*, 39–42, 43, 50, 234
Garnett, Richard 359, 361 f., 364 f., 371

Gaza 17, 263, 284, 286n97 n99
genres, literary, in *Dion.* 3, 17, 18, 52, 57, 114n45, 125, 126, 129, 131n39, 156
geography, of *Dion.* 47n52, 56–65, 85, 126 f.n26, 129n34, 130 f., 359n15
George of Pisidia 285, 303, 304, 309
Georgian language 295 f.
Geudis, river 16
Giants 9, 53n8, 168
Gigantomachy 9, 18, 69n60
Golega, J. 1, 4, 152, 157–159, 165, 221, 336 f.
Gregory of Nazianzus 126n24, 154n55, 179n53, 182, 189, 209, 235n53, 239n68, 241n72, 317n79, 318n84, 324n113, 357, 362, 365, 367
Gregory of Nyssa 169n13, 197, 198n12, 201, 223, 236n58, 237n61, 239n68, 240n69, 241n72

Harmonia 13, 15, 23, 30, 58n22, 62n36, 69, 77, 79, 108, 117, 119n60, 120–137, 144, 145, 153n51, 234, 266
Heliodorus of Emesa 17
Helios 58n21, 79, 121, 129–133, 134, 136, 234, 292 f., 337
Hellenistic poetry 2, 7, 11, 40n23, 91, 210, 213, 267n61, 308, 309, 326, 374, 377
Hera 15, 25 f., 32, 49, 61, 70, 71, 91n17, 101n10, 102n13, 103n18, 105, 145n19, 169 f., 177, 182, 183, 374n7, 387
Heracles 14, 49n57, 50, 94n19, 146, 225, 275 f., 278, 288
Hermes 26, 70n62, 77, 124n14, 125, 145, 278, 288, 337
Hernández de la Fuente, David 372 f.
Hesiod 6, 90n16, 124, 126, 213, 257, 277, 287, 349
High priests, Pharisees and Jews, as opponents to Christ 166–179
Hindukush 294
Holy Sepulchre 152n48, 205–207
Homer 2, 3, 4, 13–15, 17, 33 f., 37n16, 55, 62, 65, 66, 69, 72, 86–97, 98, 103, 113n38, 117n54, 125 f., 130n38, 142n8, 144, 181, 187, 213, 234, 240n70, 255, 256, 258, 259, 263n46, 270, 272n12, 273n18, 274, 277, 278n51, 280n61, 281, 283n78, 288, 290, 293, 302, 325, 337n44, 364, 369
Homer, *Iliad* 14, 87
  Achilles' combat with Scamandrus 290
  Achilles mourning Patroclus 236, 239
  Achilles' shield 130n38
  Achilles' spear in *Il.* 22 91
  Agamemnons greed 68
  Andromache and Hector 229 f.
  catalogue of ships in *Il.* 2 54 f., 59, 61 f., 63, 65, 68n59, 69, 72
  catalogue of Zeus' female lovers in *Il.* 14
  Dione's catalogue in *Il.* 5 34
  Διὸς ἀπάτη (deception of Zeus) 14 f., 69–71, 244n83
  divine observers 103
  fight between Ajax and Odysseus in *Il.* 23 91 f.
  funeral games 14, 66, 234
  Iliadic characters in *Dionysiaca* 88n10, 89–91
  Lycurgus 290
  Priam and Achilles 33 f., 240
  Priam and counsellors 280
  similes and comparisons in *Il.* and imitation by Nonnus 89–97
  speech in *Il.* 98, 99n4
Homer, *Odyssey*
  divine observers 103, 129n34, 132
  opening of 123
  similes and comparisons in *Od.* and imitation by Nonnus 87
  speech in *Od.* 98
  suitors 13, 175, 182
Homeric Hymns 12, 40n22, 116 f., 132
Homeric lexic, epithets and formulas 127, 171, 173, 175, 177, 214, 263
Hyacinthus 33n*, 39 f., 42, 43, 44, 46n50, 47, 48, 49n57, 50, 233
Hydaspes 8, 68n60, 176, 289, 290
Hyginus 75, 77, 78, 91n17
Hymenaeus 44n42, 60, 61n29, 68, 89, 93, 244, 246, 247
Hymnos (shepherd) 16, 17, 365

Iacchus 9, 71
Icarius (Icarios) 9, 13, 53n8, 69n60, 101n11, 224 f.n28, 249, 347n71
Iconium 10
Illyria 15

Indians 14, 16n25, 53n8, 59, 63, 65, 67–69, 89 f., 97, 101n11, 170, 176, 183, 221n18, 249n97, 258, 264, 289, 290, 292, 296 f.
inspiration, and pregnancy 142 f.
 and water 143, 147, 150–153
 of Pythia 150–152
Io 21, 22, 25 f., 70, 71, 74, 174, 377
Iolcos 13

Jason 103, 243, 292, 333
Jerusalem 11, 185–194, 220 f., 337
Joachim, father of Mary 11
John Chrysostom 173n33, 175, 180, 182, 200, 211, 237, 244n82
John Malalas 272n11, 274n23, 275n29, 283
John of Gaza 263, 284, 286n99
Judas 168, 170, 177, 181, 182, 346

Kartvelian language 295 f.
Keydell, R. 1 f., 4, 5, 8, 74, 114n45, 222, 226, 299, 318 f.n87, 331
Kontrastimitation 147, 155, 334, 337

Laërtes 13
Lazarus 142, 161, 181, 216, 217n3, 218–220, 223, 224, 226–228, 231–233, 235, 239, 250, 337
Libanius 59n24, 280
Libya 13, 60, 62n36, 295
living God 147, 195n1
living water 150–153, 195–215
Lychnis 15
Lycurgus 53n8, 153n51, 218, 222, 247, 277, 290
Lydia 38, 47n52, 61, 292

manuals 73–76, 84 f.
Marcellus, Count of 3, 336, 356, 360, 372 f.
Mary, mother of Jesus 158 f., 229n42, 341
Menander the Rhetor 5
metamorphosis 11, 14, 15n22, 17, 22, 53, 66, 76, 79–84, 101n10, 108, 124 f., 128, 132, 133 f., 153, 267
metapoetic analysis of the *Dion.* 120–123, 125, 129n33, 130, 131n39, 134, 135
Methe 218, 226–231, 236, 238, 241, 246 f., 249, 290
metrics
 accents on verse end 312, 318
 correptio Attica 323 f.
 correptio epica 325 f.
 elision 299–302, 308
 Hermann's bridge 311
 hexameter 2, 12, 17, 18
 hexameters with proparoxytones before trochaic caesura 304
 hiatus 305, 325, 326n129
 Hilberg's law 314, 320 f., 323n108
 Ludwich's law (on proparoxytones at verse-end) 305 f., 318 f.
 metrical lengthening 320–322, 323n105 n108 n109
 Meyer-Giseke laws 311 f., 313, 314, 318, 326n130
 monosyllaba on verse end 312 f.
 Naeke's bridge 311
 Scheindler's law (spondaic bisyllaba with arsis on the second syllable) 323n110
 spondees in hexameter 315 f., 317 f., 326
 Tiedke's law (on oxytones before penthemimeres) 302 f., 304, 309, 319n89, 319 f.n90
 Tiedke-Meyer's law 312
 Wifstrand's law 319 f.
Minos 14, 49n57
monologue 25, 32, 97, 99, 100, 115, 116, 262
Morrheus 36 f., 63, 64n45, 97, 104, 208, 292
Moschus 13, 22, 29, 31 f., 35n8, 374–377, 379
Muse(s) 22, 65n46, 112, 135, 151, 153, 258, 273n18, 274, 278, 282
music 2, 14, 78, 114, 125, 260n24, 269 f.
mythographic lists 73, 75–79, 81 f., 84

narratee 86, 89, 91, 93, 94, 97, 103, 105 f.n25
narrator 12, 31, 32, 50, 53, 65, 69n62, 86–97, 98 f., 103n19, 105, 116, 118, 119n58, 149n36
Nausicaa 15, 116
Naxos 9, 114 f., 295
Neoplatonism 144n15, 256, 260, 277, 331
 language and vocabulary 141 f.n4, 147, 200 f.
Nicaia (Nicaea) 9, 10, 11, 16, 70n62, 71, 101n10, 119n57, 244, 358, 365, 367, 379n9
Nonnian aesthetics
 baroque 10, 364, 368
 circular composition 4, 7, 8, 181 f.n61
 mosaic-style juxtaposition 8
'Nonnian school' 1n1, 2

Nonnus, and Ovid 11 f., 32, 267n61, 367, 374, 378, 379 f.
'life' of 355–362, 365, 371
bishop of Edessa? 17, 332 f., 357, 361
Nysa 290, 295

Olympus 10, 49, 57, 58, 63, 71, 91, 102, 152, 234, 289, 291, 296, 298, 374n1
Opheltes 14, 18, 66, 67
Ophion 123, 144
Oppian of Cilicia 13
oracles 27, 30 f., 141, 144, 145, 146–149, 155, 195, 256n6
Origen 197, 201–203
Orpheus 77, 125, 145n19, 151n43, 231, 234n51, 257n12, 260, 293
Orphic literature 122, 260, 263
Ovid 22, 23, 31n9, 40n23, 88, 124n18, 338, 350, 376, 378 f.
Ovide moralisé 347–350
Ovidius Moralizatus (Pierre Bersuire) 347–349

Pallene 9, 66, 77
Pan 26, 77, 102n13, 103n20, 115n46, 125, 208, 365, 379n9
Paraphrase, and dogmatic discourse 158 f., 163, 164, 331n17
παρθένοι φυγόδεμνοι 7, 367
patria (πάτρια) 6, 7, 8, 10, 15 f., 17
Pausanias 58, 59, 114n43, 117 f.n54, 297
Peek, W. 5, 268
Pelops 39, 41 f., 50
Pentheus 9, 11, 15, 45, 153n51, 169n11, 182, 183, 342 f., 350
Perseus 9, 14, 49n57, 69n60, 70n62, 85n47, 120n1, 266, 268, 269
Phaethon 11, 18
Phanes 79, 122 f., 124, 131, 145, 234
Philomela 11, 57, 81, 82, 125
phonetics
crasis in Nonnus and his 'followers' 305
Photius (Photios) 17, 158, 165, 358
Phrygia 9, 61, 82, 289, 296
Pilatus 177, 218, 225, 226, 236, 238 f., 242, 246, 249n96
Pindar 41, 116, 232n47, 255–270, 277, 288
Pisander of Laranda 16n25, 71, 74, 269
Pithos 218, 225 f., 236, 238 f., 242, 246, 249n96
Plato (Platonic elements) 141, 150, 197, 199, 230, 249, 256, 288, 293, 331
Plautus 83, 84
Pliny the Elder 78, 281n64
poikilia (ποικιλία) 7, 9, 18, 52, 53, 66, 91, 123 f., 131, 134 f., 259, 264, 265
portents 154
Poseidon 16, 35n8, 39, 41, 42, 69n60, 102n14, 104, 105n22, 108, 276n32, 278, 287, 376, 377, 387, 388 f., 390 f.
prefiguration 153–155
Proclus 179n53, 200, 257, 260, 263
Procopius of Gaza 17, 152n50, 284n86 n87
proems, of the *Dion.* 22, 31 f., 49n57, 53, 255 f., 257, 258 f., 260n23, 264
progymnasmata 48n56, 102, 286
prophecy, and voice 143
and water: *see* inspiration and water
scriptural 152
Propontis 9
Proteus 14, 31, 53, 66, 267
πρῶτος εὑρετής 17, 77, 78, 125, 135
Pythia 142n9, 150–152

Quintus Smyrnaeus 34, 87, 88, 94, 98, 103n15, 313n57
Posthomerica 34, 87, 88n10, 98, 99n4, 103

reader 28, 32, 44n42, 46, 54–57, 69, 73, 85, 100, 103, 104, 113, 114, 118 f., 120–125, 127, 129, 130n38, 132, 133–137, 165, 187, 188, 191, 207, 212, 218, 240, 245, 249, 259, 356, 375, 377, 378
resurrection 142, 181, 192 f., 207, 213, 218, 220, 222, 224–235, 241, 244
Rhea 2, 53, 63, 65n46, 148n33
rhetorical theory and practice 7, 34n3, 48–50, 81, 100, 104, 118, 166, 226, 271
Riemschneider, Margarete 359, 364–371
Rodin, Auguste 350

Samaritan woman 141, 150, 175, 184–187, 191, 193, 194, 203
Samothrace 13, 21, 28, 30, 61, 108, 110
Selene 58n21, 78, 102n14, 103, 107, 112 f., 116n47, 119, 377
Semele 11, 14, 15, 49, 69n61, 70, 71, 74, 99, 101n10, 102n14, 110–114, 116, 117, 154n55, 244n83

Severus, patriarch of Antiocheia 17
similes and comparisons 34n6, 43n33, 49n57 n59, 50, 55, 86–97, 105n24, 110 f., 119n58, 376, 388
Simonides, Constantine 359–361, 365, 371
Sithon, Sithonia 9
speech, direct 25 f., 28, 33, 38, 43, 44 f., 47n53, 49, 53n11, 89n13, 98–119, 149–151, 233
Staphylus 14, 49n57, 66, 216–251, 266, 290
Stegemann, V. 1, 4 f., 120
Sturluson, Snorri 353
syncretism 141, 147, 155, 359
syncrisis 47n53, 48 f., 49, 50n60, 59
Synesius of Cyrene 144n15, 147n28, 200n19, 256n6, 257n12, 327–332, 334 f., 336n34, 357, 365, 369 f.

tablets of Harmonia 77, 79, 120, 129–133, 144, 145, 234
Taurus (Tauros), Mount 23, 25–30, 56
Teiresias 11 f., 15, 45, 113, 144n16, 145n19, 148
Telete 9
Theagenes and Charicleia 17
Thebes 13, 23, 30 f., 58, 62n36, 112, 149, 153n51, 220, 257, 259 f.n23, 291
Theocritus 11, 291, 293, 314n65, 322n104, 358
θεομαχία 14
Theosophia Tubingensis (Tübingen Theosophy) 147, 256n6
Thracia (Thrace) 9, 27, 62, 109n29, 276n31, 294, 295
τις-speeches 101, 116n49
Typhon (Typhoeus) 23–26, 35n11, 56 f., 61, 62n36, 71, 76n15, 88n8, 95, 142, 153n51, 269, 374n1
Typhoneia (Typhonomachy, Typhony) 18, 23, 27, 29, 57, 95 f., 105n23, 269
Tyre (Tyrus) 3, 9, 16, 18, 59, 110n30, 153n51, 290, 358
Tyrrhenian, pirates 11, 12, 18, 45

Veroli casket 380n15, 386
Vian, F. 2 f., 7 f.
vine 37 f., 45n47, 47n53, 59, 79, 81, 128, 134, 135, 153n51, 213n64, 289, 290, 294
Virgil 83 f., 91n17, 142n9, 272n6, 280, 283n78, 288, 367
Vouet, Simon 380
voyeurism 110, 113 f., 271, 282

Wifstrand, A. 1 f., 302, 308, 319 f., 321 f.

Zagreus 11, 71, 225n28
Zephyrus 39 f., 42, 44, 118
Zeus 11, 14 f., 21–32, 39, 40 f., 42 f., 45n47, 48 f., 50n60, 56, 58n21, 62n36, 66, 69–72, 74, 95, 101n10, 102n13, 103n18, 104 f., 110, 113, 125n19, 142, 145, 153n51, 154n55, 170, 208, 219, 222, 234, 244n83 n84, 266, 269, 271, 289, 294, 374, 375, 377, 385